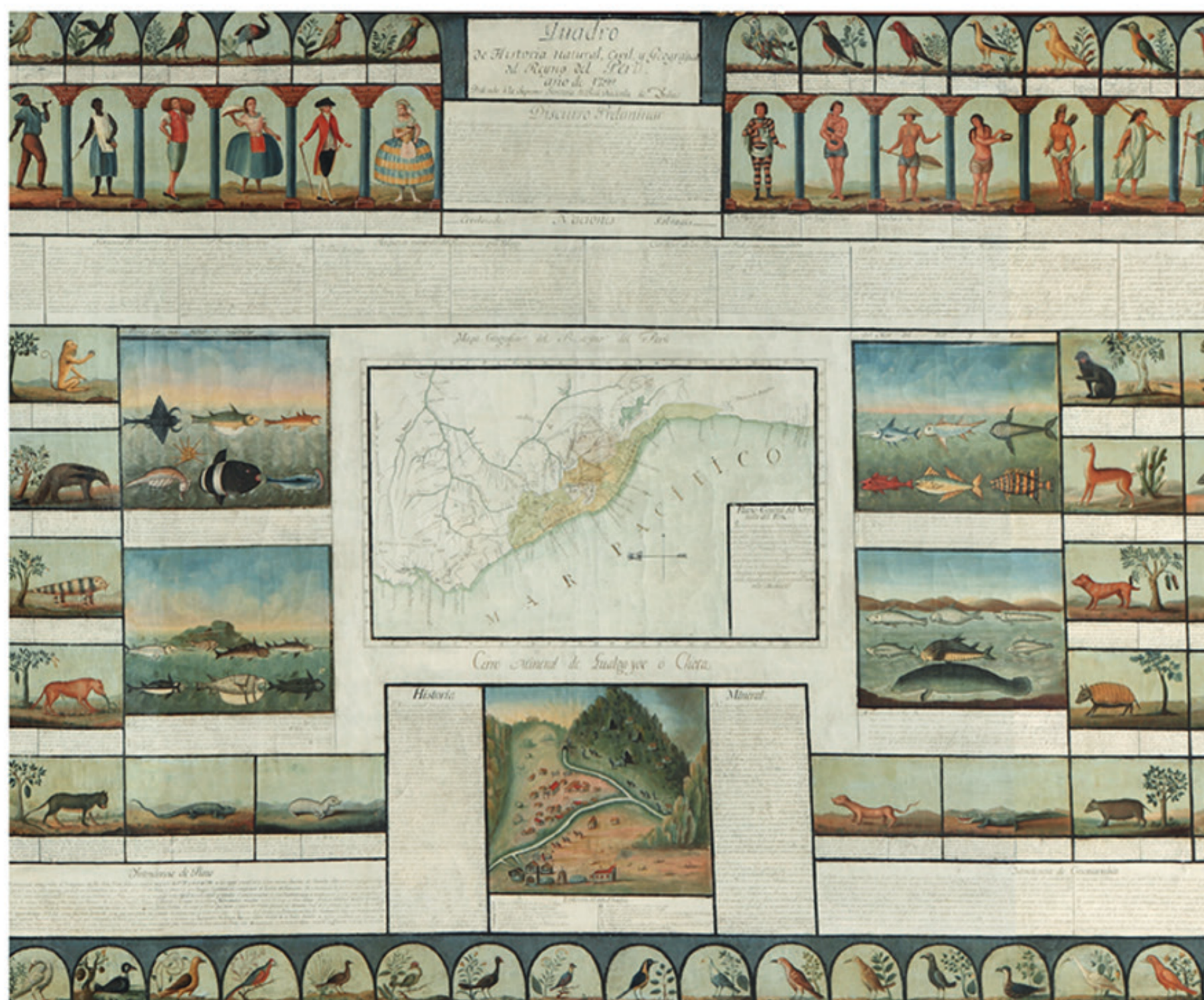


# The Routledge Companion to the Hispanic Enlightenment



Edited by Elizabeth Franklin Lewis, Mónica Bolufer Peruga,  
and Catherine M. Jaffe

# The Routledge Companion to the Hispanic Enlightenment

*The Routledge Companion to the Hispanic Enlightenment* is an interdisciplinary volume that brings together an international team of contributors to provide a unique transnational overview of the Hispanic Enlightenment, integrating both Spain and Latin America.

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*Edited by Elizabeth Franklin Lewis,  
Mónica Bolufer Peruga, and  
Catherine M. Jaffe*

*Series Editor: Brad Epps  
Spanish List Advisor: Javier Muñoz-Basols*

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# Introduction

*Elizabeth Franklin Lewis, Mónica Bolufer Peruga,  
and Catherine M. Jaffe*

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For specialists of the Hispanic eighteenth century, the general lack of understanding or appreciation of the existence of an Enlightenment movement in Spain and its colonies dates from the eighteenth century itself, captured in the infamous comment by Masson de Morvilliers in his 1782 article “Espagne” of the *Encyclopédie méthodique*: “What do we owe to Spain? After two centuries, after four, after ten, what has Spain done for Europe?” (1782, 565; Mais que doit-on à l’Espagne? Et depuis deux siècles, depuis quatre, depuis dix, qu’a-t’elle fait pour l’Europe?). Likewise, within Hispanism, the eighteenth century in both Spain and Latin America, especially in literary studies, has been viewed as of little importance, overshadowed by much greater moments of Spanish and Latin American history and culture that preceded and followed it. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo in his *Historia de los heterodoxos* (1880–1882) famously attacked the eighteenth century in Spain as an inauthentic time, when:

[e]very great literary spirit fled, both the purebred Spanish authors as well as the somber and potent imitators, leaving behind only a shell. The winds of France chilled us to the bone; weak prosaicism, elegant timidity, salon manners, light-hearted tone, a sickly spirit, and that flirtatiousness or subtleness of wit known as “preciousness” was drying everything up.

(2003, 1184)

todo grande espíritu literario, así el original y castizo como el de imitación sobria y potente, habían huido, y en los mejores sólo quedaba la corteza. El viento de Francia se nos había calado hasta los huesos; y el prosaísmo endeble, la timidez elegante, la etiqueta de salón, la ligereza de buen tono, el *esprit* enteco y aquella coquetería o sutileza de ingenio que llamaban *mignardise* lo iban secando todo.

In the twentieth century, influential studies of the Enlightenment as an international movement from Peter Gay (1966–1969) to Jonathan Israel (2010), Dorinda Outram (2013), and Anthony Pagden (2013), have focused almost exclusively on northern Europe and largely ignored Spain and its colonies. Nonetheless, scholars have recently shown interest in exploring Enlightenment in the “peripheries” (in our estimation an inadequate denomination for a country like Spain that still possessed an expansive empire) or in the identification of a “global” Enlightenment, as can

be seen in collections such as Butterwick (2008), Nussbaum (2003), and Gies and Wall (2018). Within Hispanic studies, scholarship on the long eighteenth century in Spain and its colonies (roughly the last two decades of the seventeenth century through the first decades of the nineteenth) has expanded significantly, especially since the last decades of the twentieth century, deepening our understanding of the complexities of the *Siglo de las Luces* (Century of Light), its relation to the larger Enlightenment movement, and its cultural and political impact in Spain and Latin America.

In the spirit of the **Routledge Companions to Hispanic and Latin American Studies** to gather self-reflective, critically aware volumes presenting contemporary debates, the twenty-nine chapters of this volume reflect the current status of Hispanic Enlightenment studies. Building upon important histories of the Enlightenment in Spain and Latin America from Jean Sarrailh (1957), Richard Herr (1958), A. Owen Aldridge (1971), Nigel Glendinning (1972), Juan Luis Alborg (1974), René Andioc (1976), and more recently by Francisco Sánchez-Blanco (1997), Antonio Mestre (1998), Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos (2005), Jesús Astigarraga (2015), and Brian Hamnett (2017), this volume gathers experts in multiple disciplines—literature, history, art, music, science, economics, political science—working in diverse areas of the world, including Latin America, Spain, the United Kingdom, and the United States. Departing from the idea that the Enlightenment represented a crucial historical and cultural juncture in both Spain and Latin America, the chapters in this volume address the idea of the existence of a distinctive Hispanic Enlightenment. Although it shares many of the same interests with Enlightenment movements of other countries—from the search for knowledge and the questioning of tradition to attempts at aesthetic, cultural, political, or economic reform—Hispanic Enlightenment expressed itself in ways that were born out of its past and that affected the paths that Spain and its former colonies would take toward modernity.

We consider the Enlightenment broadly as a complex, transnational, diverse movement of the long eighteenth century distinguished by a set of ideals—not without their own internal tensions—and communicative practices that were shared across national boundaries and yet unique to local circumstances, adapted through cultural transfer, and affected by specific contexts (Kontler 2006; Festa and Carey 2009). By showing the innovative and exciting new directions of recent research in eighteenth-century Hispanic studies, we seek to challenge commonplace assumptions about the Enlightenment in Spain and Latin America held by both scholars of the northern European Enlightenment and of Hispanic Studies: that Spain and Latin America lacked an Enlightenment; that the Enlightenment arrived late and was short-lived; or that it was merely imitative. Within Hispanism we call into question the scholarly tradition that has assumed that there was no original literary, philosophical, political, or scientific production in eighteenth-century Spain or Latin America. Many of these ideas stem from nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century scholars who interpreted the eighteenth century as an insignificant cultural anomaly sandwiched between Spain's great Golden Age of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the nineteenth-century's period of nation-building reflected in the Romantic and Realist movements. Similarly, the eighteenth century in Latin American studies has often been overlooked by many scholars who focus either on the earlier colonial age or on the modern postcolonial period. In British and American universities, the Hispanic eighteenth century is still rarely taught. Additionally, due to the traditional geographic divisions of the disciplines, when it is taught, scholars tend to focus either on Spain or on Latin America rather than on transatlantic connections of a Hispanic Enlightenment.

In the past few decades, researchers in diverse fields have shown a robust interest in the Hispanic Enlightenment, taking into account the impact of the period's social, political, economic, cultural, and aesthetic reforms on either side of the Atlantic. Scholars such as Jorge

Cañizares-Esguerra, Bianca Premo, Ruth Hill, Raúl Coronado, and Karen Stolley have forcefully recalibrated the Eurocentric orientation of Enlightenment studies to show that the Enlightenment was actively produced in Hispanic America. Experts have challenged more narrow definitions among primarily English-language historiography that would deny the existence of a Catholic Enlightenment (Mestre 1979, 1998; Egido 1987; and later in English, Lehner 2016, 2017) and have also explored concepts of chronology and the long eighteenth century to counter notions of a late, short-lived, and therefore unimportant Enlightenment in Spain and its colonies. Additionally, recent theoretical approaches in fields from gender studies to critical race theory and the history of science have countered traditional narratives of the Hispanic Enlightenment (Bolufer 1998; Haidt 1998; Hill 2000, 2009; Vicente 2017). The chapters in this volume reflect these developments and they collectively contribute to a reassessment of the relation of the Hispanic Enlightenment to the global Enlightenment, as well as of its role in the development of modernity in the transatlantic Hispanic world.

Our volume is divided into sections devoted to the following critical concepts that reflect the multifaceted trajectory of the Enlightenment among overlapping social, political, cultural, artistic, and intellectual arenas in the Spanish empire: ideas, reforms, circulations, control, and subversion. In order to better assess their broad importance to the period, issues of gender, race, and class in Spain and Latin America are considered throughout the volume. Many chapters focus empirically on specific ideas, events, works, and actors of the Hispanic Enlightenment while they also explore questions of the existence and diffusion of, the exchange and transformation of, or even resistance to, Enlightenment ideas and reforms in the Hispanic world. The authors address the following questions in their chapters: How was the Hispanic Enlightenment expressed as both part of a global movement and particular to a local context? How were Enlightenment ideas created, imitated, adapted, resisted, applied, or transformed? How did these ideas and practices relate to what came before and after the Enlightenment?

**Part I: A World of Ideas** examines the flow and exchange of influential ideas from outside the Hispanic world (France, Italy, Britain, the Netherlands, and North America) and from within (among the Court, Spain's provinces, and its colonies). The section opens with a chapter by **Mónica Bolufer** on the development of historiographical approaches to Enlightenment in Spain and Latin America. **Karen Stolley** examines empire in the Hispanic context. She suggests rethinking notions about a global Enlightenment by examining "other empires" that speak to the racial, geographic, and political complexities of Spain and Spanish America. **Ruth Hill** studies Spanish explorer and scientist Antonio de Ulloa's use of geography and race in the trans-American natural history *Noticias Americanas* (1772; *American News*), while **Nuria Valverde** examines environments (anatomical, architectonic, and industrial) articulated around liminal eighteenth-century spaces. Both Hill and Valverde consider important scientific ideas and practices in Spain and its colonies and the influence those ideas had on considerations of race and the very structure of empire. **Jesús Torrecilla** examines the evolution of thought in the Catalan intellectual Antonio de Capmany, from his early Enlightenment optimism to his later anti-Enlightenment, anti-French stance that anticipates Romanticism and that parallels other figures such as Francisco de Goya. **Catherine Jaffe** examines the development and eventual "domestication" of early feminist thought from Spain's Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, Josefa Amar y Borbón, and Rita Caveda, to Mexico's José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, to show how Enlightenment ideas about women circulated throughout the Atlantic world at the beginning of the liberal era and reflected broader anxieties about shifting power relations. Finally, **Ronald Briggs** follows ideas of Enlightenment into the nineteenth century in his study of two figures of Latin American independence: Simón Rodríguez (1769–1854) and Antonio José de Irisarri (1786–1868). Inspired by the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, these thinkers shared a suspicion

of their era's passion for literacy as the key to building good citizens, yet their differing views on human intellectual capacity led them to nearly opposite conclusions.

The chapters of **Part II: Reforming the Public and Private** examine the application of Enlightenment ideas in public and private arenas through the open debate of learned societies and the periodical press, the promotion of education, the restraint of sexual conduct, the shaping of social behavior through the law and the novel, and government-directed projects of renovation and reform of cities and the arts. **Jesús Astigarraga** examines the convergence of various groups, institutions, and publications interested in political economy and the promotion of economic reform throughout Spain as seen in the Economic Societies of Friends of the Country, various dictionaries and newspapers of commerce and economics, and the first university chairs of economics. **Elizabeth Franklin Lewis** provides an overview of a select group of learned women highlighted by male reformers as models of enlightened femininity. Their symbolic public presence is contrasted with real contributions of women such as Josefa Amar y Borbón, who attempted to lend their voices to public debates. **Ana Rueda** examines late-eighteenth-century narratives of seduction, tracing gradual shifts in values away from male figures of seduction—Don Juan and Casanova—toward a dynamic cycle of seduction by females intended to lead men into marriage. Rueda finds seduction narratives to be a site for changing social behaviors that also helped shape and revitalize the development of the maligned eighteenth-century novel in Spain. **Mariselle Meléndez** traces the interpersonal relationships and legal clashes of foreigners, female black slaves, and Spanish authorities, and examines how they negotiated race, ethnicity, and gender on the fringes of the Spanish empire in the port city of Cartagena, Colombia. Through legal documents of a case of concubinage against a French immigrant, Meléndez shows Cartagena as a spatial locality opened to cultural encounters, racial interactions, global political agendas, and new ways of thinking about what it meant to be foreign. Also interested in the role of cities, **Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos** studies the diffusion of Enlightenment culture and structures from the cultural and political center in Madrid to peripheral regions around Spain and its colonies. He shows that enlightened models of urban culture and citizenry were exported as a framework that served to unify behavior and values. In this way, authorities were able to control and authorize intellectual production and to standardize territorial relationships. **Jesusa Vega** addresses long-held notions of Francisco de Goya as somehow set apart from his time, to consider instead Goya's active role in artistic debates, practices, and institutions of the Spanish Enlightenment. **Susan Deans Smith** highlights through a case study of the silversmiths of the Royal Academy of San Carlos in Mexico City similar Enlightenment reforms in the preparation of artists and artisans. Her examination of some of the problems confronted by both the silversmiths and Spanish Bourbon officials in putting educational theory into practice goes beyond conventional framings of guild-academy antipathies and of artisan "resistance" to new academy requirements (such as to training in classical drawing), finding instead acceptance of the new neoclassical aesthetic promoted by Bourbon officials in New Spain.

**Part III: Interactions, Exchanges, and Circulations** looks at relationships of individuals, social and cultural groups, and networks within Spanish and Latin American contexts and with other cultures: political and economic relationships, colonial rivalries, travel and its narratives, as well as migrations (both voluntary and forced) across the Spanish empire. Included in these interactions, exchanges, and circulations are the role of translation in the exchange and adaptation of ideas, encyclopedism, and tensions between "traditional" and foreign-influenced art forms. **María Victoria López-Cordón** discusses interactions among three important groups—nobility, government bureaucrats, and publicists—all of whom "interpreted" Enlightenment in the Spanish context, putting theory into practice and building public opinion. **Janis Tomlinson** discusses artist Francisco de Goya's enduring relationships with writer and thinker Gaspar

Melchor de Jovellanos, poet and jurist Juan Meléndez Valdés, and the playwright Leandro Fernández de Moratín during the 1790s, against the backdrop of the evolving court of Carlos IV. **Gabriel Paquette** examines British attitudes toward Spain and its empire in the Age of Enlightenment, showing that some eighteenth-century British observers were enamored of the Bourbon reforms while in the first decades of the nineteenth century they held up Spanish liberals as a model to emulate. British interest in Spain is also the subject of the chapter by **Sally-Ann Kitts**, which studies the transnational practices of cultural sociability and exchange by Lord Henry Holland, his wife Elizabeth Vassall Fox, and their close friend and companion Dr. John Allen, with Spaniards, Hispanic culture, and Spanish politics in the period of the late Enlightenment. Exchange of Enlightenment ideas through the translation of texts is the subject of the chapter by **María Jesus García Garrosa**, who analyzes the debate in Spanish society between those who supported translation because of its contribution to cultural interplay that opened Spain to renewal, and those who opposed the negative changes they believed it might bring. **Clorinda Donato and Manuel Romero** study Enlightenment encyclopedism in the Spanish context from Benito Feijoo's *Teatro critico universal* (1726) to Antonio de Sancha's translation and adaptation of the *Encyclopédie Méthodique* as the *Encyclopedia metódica* (1788–1794). Galant music in eighteenth-century Mexico is the subject of the chapter by **Drew Davies**, in which he considers the words and music of *Al combate* by Ignacio Jerusalem, dedicated to King Carlos III, in the context of international Enlightenment musical genres as practiced in the Spanish world. **Eva Mehl** concludes Part III by tracing the exchange of forced labor across the Spanish empire from Mexico to the Philippines as a result of antivagrancy campaigns in late colonial New Spain, reflecting enlightened attitudes toward poverty and economic rationality.

**Part IV: Control and Subversion** explores economic, political, religious, and cultural control of people and ideas, as well as attempts by individuals or groups to evade, subvert, and even defy such control. **David Gies** looks at the long struggle for legitimacy that actors, playwrights, company directors and other “show biz folks” (*gente de la farándula*) experienced from the very beginning of the century as they attempted to bring their art and skills to public attention. Resisted, censored, and frequently banned by local, national, and ecclesiastical authorities, Spanish theater fought vigorously to reflect Spanish “reality” and to provoke new ways of thinking in a country still unsure of its “enlightened” mission. **Rebecca Haidt** studies depictions of the popular working-class types known as *majos* and *majas* in one-act comic *sainetes*. She shows they were represented as keenly policed and subject to seizure, imprisonment, and transport to forced labor at Spanish public works and North African presidios, referring audiences to both evolving Enlightenment penal reforms and the harvesting of everyday lives to furnish the labor needed for larger territorial imperatives. **Mehl Penrose** looks at the ways in which military officer and poet Gaspar de Nava Álvarez interrogated eighteenth-century notions of masculinity and sexuality through homoeroticism in his *Poesías asiáticas* (*Asian Poems*, 1833), subverting French influences and instead invoking Islamicate discursive images as a sort of new Arcadia in the Spanish collective imaginary. **Daniel Muñoz** focuses on the Spanish Inquisition, its relations with other forms of censorship, and the Spanish authors who tried to subvert inquisitorial control. **Gabriel Torres Puga** discusses attempts by the Inquisition in New Spain (Mexico) to suppress the transgressive and revolutionary ideas of “radical Enlightenment” not only through censorship and book bannings, but also by prosecutions of readers, especially after events of the French Revolution in 1789 and during early moves toward American independence. **Claudia Rosas** writes about the viceroyalty of Peru during the last decades of the eighteenth century, focusing on two key moments: the Túpac Amaru rebellions sparked in 1780 in the south Andean region, and the impact of the French Revolution during the 1790s. Finally, **Ivana Frasset** discusses events of the late Hispanic Enlightenment surrounding the Courts at Cádiz and the first Spanish

constitution. Liberalism and republicanism were imbued with enlightened legacies but also were reinvented in a new conceptualization of the political that broke free of the control of empire. Frasquet shows that these theories would permeate the founding of the Spanish–American states in the following decades of the nineteenth century.

The reader will note interesting overlaps and intersections between and among the four sections of the book. For example, Jaffe, Lewis, Meléndez, Penrose, and Rueda all address gender; Haidt, Meléndez, and Mehl discuss the role of the divisions of social power; while Stolley, Hill, Meléndez, and Rosas deal with race. Professional, political, and academic institutions are analyzed in the chapters by Hill, Astigarraga, Álvarez Barrientos, Vega, Deans Smith, and Rosas. Education is central to Jaffe, Briggs, Lewis, and Deans Smith. Geopolitical relationships are key to the chapters by Stolley, Kitts, Hill, Meléndez, and Paquette, while sociability and friendship are highlighted in López-Cordón, Kitts, and Tomlinson. Davies, Vega, Deans Smith, García Garrosa, Rueda, Gies, and Penrose all discuss aesthetics and the arts. Science is the focus of the chapters by Hill and Valverde. Still, this collection is not an exhaustive study of every important topic, trend, figure, or work of importance to Enlightenment in Spain and Latin America. The histories and studies mentioned at the beginning of this introduction (and included in the bibliography that follows) are still very relevant to today’s students and scholars. This collection aims to provide English-speaking readers, through these varied yet overlapping chapters written by some of the leading scholars working in the field at this moment, an introduction to the themes and theoretical approaches that are shaping our understanding of Enlightenment in Spain and its former colonies now, and to the scholarship that is energetically opening up new paths of inquiry for the future.

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## Part I

# A world of ideas

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# The Enlightenment in Spain\*

## Classic and new historiographical perspectives<sup>1</sup>

*Mónica Bolufer Peruga*

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### The “discovery” of the Spanish Enlightenment: Intellectual and political contexts

The interpretation of eighteenth-century Spain has been profoundly affected by the changing political, social, and intellectual context from which the country’s past has been analyzed (Enciso 1990; Fernández Sebastián 2002). Throughout the nineteenth century, it was marked by the conflict between conservative and liberal ideologies. For the most traditionalist intellectuals, the eighteenth century represented an era of regrettable foreign influence on Spain’s culture. They saw the Enlightenment as an antireligious, frivolous movement incited by Frenchified fashions, and foreign to Spain’s nature, a notion that would be developed by the most retrograde sectors of Francoist historiography. On the other hand, for nineteenth-century liberals (with significant differences between the distinct liberalisms: conservative, moderate, progressive), the Enlightenment and Bourbon reformism represented the root of the ideals of progress and reform and of the struggle against secular prejudices, the principles of which they considered themselves heirs. This perspective was transmitted to the Second Republic (1931–1939), a period during which some intellectuals became interested in investigating the roots of Spanish modernity. Such was the case, for example, with Gregorio Marañón (*Las ideas biológicas del Padre Feijoo*, 1934) and Pilar Oñate (*El feminismo en la literatura española*, 1938).

Regardless of whether the fact was celebrated or regretted, the dominant view for a long time was that there had not been a Spanish Enlightenment worth the name, as the philosopher José Ortega y Gasset roundly declared in 1930: “The great educational century passed us by” (1983, II, 600; *Nos ha faltado el gran siglo educador*). Thirty years later, another philosopher, the Franco regime dissident Julián Marías (1963), presented the eighteenth century as one more of the Spains that could never be (like that of the Spanish Silver Age of the 1920s and the Second Republic): an era of lost opportunities, liberalizing but suddenly broken by conservative regression, thus projecting the drama of the Civil War (1936–1939) onto the past.

Beginning in the 1960s, foreign Hispanists contributed significantly to the renewal of studies on eighteenth-century Spanish culture and society. In particular, Jean Sarrailh (1957), in a foundational work originally published in French in 1954, asserted that there had existed a movement of intellectual renewal in Spain similar to that of the Enlightenment in other

countries, although he may have exaggerated French influence and excessively delayed its start. The work of other Hispanists—such as French scholars François López, Lucienne Domergue, Marcelin Defourneaux, and George and Paula Demerson, the Italian scholar Giovanni Stiffoni, the British scholar Philip Deacon, and the Americans Richard Herr and J. H. R. Polt—would continue along the same lines.

With the decades of the 1970s and 1980s there came an increase in research and a significant change in interpretive schemas tied to a historiographical revision that reappeared in Spain during the Transition that followed the hiatus created by the dictatorship. The changes were intense and fertile, particularly in the field of socioeconomic history, which revealed the reality—but also the boundaries—of the demographic and economic growth that occurred during the Enlightenment era. This growth was especially obvious on the periphery, with increases in agricultural production, crop diversification, the push to produce manufactured goods (particularly textile goods), commercial development both in domestic markets and with America, and the processes of social differentiation and polarization (Fernández Díaz 2009; Mantecón 2013). The changes took longer to be incorporated into the area of intellectual and cultural history. A notable exception to this delay can be found in the work of José Antonio Maravall, whose pioneering studies on eighteenth-century Spanish culture, published across several decades and collected posthumously (1991), dealt with such diverse topics as trends in political reform, the importance of education, and aesthetic sensibilities.

Substantial changes resulted from that interpretive transformation (Enciso 1990). As a basic premise, the existence of a Spanish Enlightenment was solidly established, not as merely a pallid, faltering, indirect reflection of the “authentic” French Enlightenment, but as a movement with its own specificity, within the general limits of European Enlightenment, its own connections to an internal dynamic of socioeconomic and political change, rather than being merely propelled by foreign influences. Furthermore, in the face of the classic idea of a very late Enlightenment that did not take off until the second half of the eighteenth century—with the exception of isolated precursors like Benito Jerónimo Feijoo (who published his works between 1726 and 1760)—the research of José María López Piñero (1979), Pedro Álvarez de Miranda (1992), Antonio Mestre (1996), and Jesús Pérez Magallón (2002), among others, situated the origins of the Enlightenment in the so-called time of the *novatores* (1680–1720), early innovators in philosophy, science and erudite history. This was followed by the early Enlightenment (the generation of Feijoo and Gregorio Mayans, between 1726 and 1754) and its peak towards the end of Fernando VI’s reign and during that of Carlos III (1759–1788) (Sánchez-Blanco 1999, 2002). The decade of the 1790s witnessed the terrible impact of the French Revolution, causing an intense preventive reaction by the government (increased border checks, prohibiting the publication of references to the events of the Revolution, closing all periodicals except for official ones in 1791, controlling *tertulias*—gatherings in private homes where topics of the day were discussed—and conversations). At the same time, it was a time of rich intellectual and literary production by a younger generation of educated men, some of whom had fairly radical ideas (Sánchez-Blanco 2007; Lorenzo Álvarez 2009).

In addition, studies of the Spanish Enlightenment in the 1980s and 1990s highlighted its dual sources: European—not only French—influence (selectively assimilated) along with Spain’s own traditions (Sánchez-Blanco 1991; Mestre 1998). Undoubtedly, many of the influences (intellectual, artistic, literary, as well as in customs and manners) came from France, reinforcing, along with the ascent of the Bourbons and the dynastic alliance, a shift already begun by the end of the seventeenth century with respect to the former outward flow of Spanish culture to other lands during the political supremacy of the Habsburg monarchy. But there were also close cultural ties with Italy, ranging from music—especially opera—theater, and art, to economic and

legal ideas, which were strengthened by the expulsion and exile of the Jesuits to Italy in 1767. An English influence is also noticeable in the scientific and philosophical spheres, political economy and literature, while a German influence is evident in the fields of philosophy, law, economy (cameralism), and industrial and mining technologies. Meanwhile, certain Spanish cultural heritages were recuperated and given new value, reclaimed (also selectively) by the intellectuals of the eighteenth century as their own predecessors: while Baroque literature was rejected, Spanish texts on philological criticism and humanist religiosity from the sixteenth century, and those of the *arbitristas* or reformers of the seventeenth, were valued and reprinted.

## The Spanish Enlightenment within the framework of studies on the Enlightenment

The historiographical appreciation of the Spanish Enlightenment has been inscribed for decades within the most general framework of an evolution from a view of the Enlightenment as an almost exclusively French, or at any rate German, phenomenon, to one that understands it as an international movement with distinct territorial variations (not only national but also regional, local, and even individual). In this way, territories whose social and political circumstances did not easily allow the emergence or public expression of radical ideas, and whose most significant contributions were produced not on an intellectual or theoretical level, but on the level of practical projects (like Portugal, Spain, and many of the Italian territories), were incorporated into the Enlightenment canon (Bolufer 2003).

That widening of the geographical boundaries of the Enlightenment has allowed for the revision of some themes that the excessive identification with the French model (and specifically with the *philosophes*) had distorted, such as the question of religion. Inasmuch as the irreligious nature of the Enlightenment has been questioned, pointing out the minor role that deism and atheism played across Europe, the Spanish case appears not as an exception, but as one more among the Christian Enlightenments—in this case, Catholic. The majority of enlightened Hispanics (Spaniards and *criollos*, American-born descendants of Spaniards) positioned themselves within orthodoxy, although there was a lukewarm or skeptical minority on the question of religion, particularly among the younger generation (Juan Meléndez Valdés, Francisco de Cabarrús, Manuel José Quintana). Many of them maintained anticlerical, royalist positions (defending the authority of the monarchy over the Holy See on ecclesiastical questions), and opposed the more ritualistic, showy manifestations of Catholicism in favor of a more internalized, sober spirituality, Christ-centered and devoted to the Bible (which was translated into Spanish in 1791–1795, after three long centuries of prohibition). They also sought a greater role for laypeople in Church life (Mestre 1979; Egido 1987). In this sense, the recent historiographical growth of the notion of a “Catholic Enlightenment” (Lehner 2016; Smidt 2010) has not been a particular novelty in Spain, where since the 1970s historians (along with their French and Italian colleagues) have been exploring the manifestations of reformist or enlightened Catholicism (Bolufer 2018).

Likewise, the widening of the Enlightenment canon to other countries where enlightened men maintained closer ties to the government (as was the case in Spain, and also in Prussia and Portugal), in contrast to the French, has contributed to its being understood as more than simply a system of ideas, but also as having a practical, reformist aspect, understood not as a lack, but as a realistic response to its context. Indeed, as María Victoria López-Cordón explains in her chapter in this volume, the Enlightenment in Spain had a decidedly bureaucratic bent. We know now that the social and cultural changes of the Enlightenment involved all sectors of the population in one way or another, and not just an enlightened minority opposed to the inert masses, passive and attached to tradition. However, the Enlightenment movement was supported

significantly by a new power elite in service to the monarchy. They were no longer recruited only from the aristocracy, but also from among the lesser nobility (*hidalgos*) and from the professional classes. They were increasingly trained and convinced of their mission to serve not only the king, but also the nation. Most men of letters and sciences held bureaucratic or judicial positions in the monarchic machine in Spain and the Americas (Álvarez Barrientos 2006), which explains the decidedly pragmatic character of the Hispanic Enlightenment: many expressed their reflections as memoirs, reports, and concrete measures (for example, the most notable texts on political economy were a product of heated debates and legislative proposals, such as the *Informe sobre el expediente de la ley agraria* by Jovellanos [1795; Report on Agrarian Law]), rather than in philosophical or theoretical treatises. In the case of enlightened women, those who were not aristocrats also belonged to families connected to the professional and administrative fields in which education (together with contacts and influence) was the path to social advancement and prestige for their male relatives. Some of these enlightened women explicitly shared their families' appreciation for the importance of personal merit and education, but expressed a specific and painful awareness that their sex was denied "jobs, honors and interests" (*empleos, honores e intereses*), as Josefa Amar y Borbón (1994, 66)—the daughter and granddaughter of doctors in service to the king, and wife and mother to lawyers—wrote.

Understanding the particularities of the Spanish Enlightenment within the wider frame of revising the general Enlightenment has also allowed us to consider the multiple forms in which "public opinion" emerged. Contradicting Jürgen Habermas's theory, which attributed a bourgeois, anti-absolutist character to the "public sphere" of the British Enlightenment, in Spain (but also in most of Europe) many spheres of debate and more open experimentation with forms of sociability developed in the heart of the professional class, and occasionally under the aegis of the absolute monarchy, rather than in opposition to it: academies, Economic Societies of Friends of the Country, and *tertulias* in private homes. In some of these venues a new language of patriotism, citizenship, merit, and civic pride was being created that would imperceptibly move away from the political culture of the *ancien régime* (Franco 2004; López-Cordón and Luis 2005; Arias de Saavedra 2012). Other spaces of discussion were articulated from an increasingly broader, more diverse publishing market, with classic forms (theater, satirical lampoons, etc.) and new ones (the periodical press) that fostered conversations not only in cafés and more or less elite, enlightened *tertulias*, but also in the most public places on the street and in the plazas. In this way, forms of "public opinion" were developing that intellectuals and servants of the State made an effort to direct and shape, considering it to be an ever more necessary support for government measures (Calvo 2013). At the same time, they feared and tried to exorcise the danger of a plebian public opinion, the most stunning manifestation of which were the Esquilache Riots in 1766 (Medina 2009).

Thus, historiography and Spanish society itself in the 1970s and 1980s were shedding the legacy of Francoism, opening up to Europe, and losing a certain inferiority complex and sense of isolation. Concurrently, perspectives on the history of Spain began to turn away from a very influential paradigm in intellectual circles and in the collective imaginary of both Spain and Europe: the perennial Spanish "exceptionalism" or "anomaly," commonly read as backwardness, but also as an attractive exoticism (Andreu 2016).

From that desire to examine Spanish "difference," and later, to question it, an essential topic of research has been the degree to which censorship of print materials, both prior to publication (governmental) and afterwards (inquisitorial), managed to effectively limit the production, expression and circulation of ideas. Studies on the reception of foreign books underscored the fact that many of them were prohibited by the Inquisition (the indexes of 1747 and 1790, the supplement of 1805, and complementary edicts), including, for example, the complete works of

Rousseau and Voltaire. Nevertheless, real control of reading and diffusion of the works was relatively limited: the prohibitions were often too late, permits to read prohibited books were easy to obtain, and the books themselves (with or without permits) were present in many private and institutional libraries, and were used, paraphrased, and quoted. Although the famous trial of Pablo de Olavide (a *criollo* condemned by the Inquisition in 1781, apparently with the consent of Carlos III) frightened enlightened intellectuals, caused many accusations and self-denunciations, and spread throughout Europe the image of an obscurantist, despotic Spain, in general the circulation of books and ideas was more intense than we had thought decades ago, and thus refutes the idea of exceptionalism and isolation.

Hence, the characteristics that define the Spanish Enlightenment have come to be understood less in terms of absolute peculiarities and more as traits particular to Spain (although shared, to some extent, with other territories) within the common threads of European Enlightenment. What the philosopher Eduardo Subirats (1981) would call an “insufficient” Enlightenment—compared to French encyclopedism—today seems to us more like a Catholic Enlightenment, utilitarian, with strong connections to power and, in general, moderate (Astigarraga 2014), although it also harbored more daring tendencies and manifestations, especially towards the end of the century. Otherwise, how else could the rupture of 1808–1812 be explained?

Spanish historians are aware that this diversification of perspectives is what has allowed the Spanish Enlightenment to burst onto the international historiographical scene, as illustrated by the title *Enlightenment, Enlightenments* (*Ilustración, ilustraciones*) chosen for the conference held in 2007 at the emblematic site of an Enlightenment institution, the Basque Society of Friends of the Country. In turn, that shift in perspective is linked, in Spain as well as elsewhere, to a change of focus “from the theorized Enlightenment to the lived Enlightenment” (Astigarraga, López-Cordón, and Urkia 2009, vol. I, 155; *de la Ilustración pensada a la Ilustración vivida*); in other words, a redirection of historiographical interest from the great principles or intellectual programs to the embodiment of enlightened values and ideas in attitudes and specific practices (Jaffe and Lewis 2009).

In this regard, it is worth mentioning the studies on the production and dissemination of print materials, which have revealed the spread of presses and bookstores in the second half of the eighteenth century throughout the Iberian Peninsula, beyond the major centers of publication (Madrid, Valencia, Barcelona): the consolidation of the book market, until then heavily dependent on foreign—particularly French—presses and booksellers; the development of the periodical press and other inexpensive, accessible products that broadened the social base of the print market (see the syntheses by Saavedra and Sobrado 2004; Fernández 2009; Mantecón 2013). None of this, of course, detracts from the importance of the oral dissemination of ideas, the interactions between writing and orality (reading aloud, preaching, etc.), and handwritten or clandestine dissemination. By contrast, research on the contents of private and institutional libraries indicates the slow erosion of exclusively religious readings in favor of others on history, education, economy and the sciences, and the circulation of theoretically prohibited works. Investigations on literacy and schooling confirm a certain reduction in illiteracy (despite significant inequalities according to gender, social status, and a rural vs. urban milieu) and a growing demand for instruction that the reformist projects to extend education (never defenders of an equal education, but rather profoundly differentiated) did not manage to satisfy. In economic history, interest shifted from production, the fundamental field of study in the 1980s, to consumption, with particular attention to developments in diet, attire, and the furnishing and decorating of homes, which involved broad segments of the population (with the exception of the poorest) and constituted a phenomenon that was also cultural, indicative of aspirations to comfort, respectability, and modernity.

Likewise, the discovery of what in the 1980s was called the “provincial Enlightenment” accompanied historiographical development against the centralism that traditionally prevailed in the Spanish academic world, in the context of the new Spain that arose during the Transition. This development was fed by studies that revealed the demographic and economic impact of the Mediterranean and Atlantic cities of the Iberian Peninsula in the eighteenth century. In general, intellectual and artistic life gravitated strongly towards the Court, the radiating focus of an intensely centralist Bourbon cultural politics, where official institutions, many of the main presses, and most of the periodicals had their headquarters, attracting intellectuals in search of jobs or influence. However, the Enlightenment was also articulated through academies, universities, private *tertulias*, and periodical publications widely distributed across Peninsular and American territory (Larriba 1998).

More recently, the study of voyages has gained popularity. These included everything from the great scientific explorations of America to trips across Europe financed by the government or as part of a nobleman’s education. They not only contributed to creating increasingly cosmopolitan identities, but also to disseminating the experience of cultural diversity among broad swaths of the public, through the intense circulation of travel narratives (Pimentel 2003). It is little wonder, then, that Josefa Amar (1994, 182–183) advised women to read that type of literature to learn about “the breadth of the world from [within] their seclusion” (*desde su retiro, la amplitud del mundo*).

All those contributions from social and cultural—and not only strictly intellectual—history allow us today to understand the complexities of the changes of that century, conceptualizing the Enlightenment as a more diffuse process with greater social and territorial importance, and Enlightenment men and women as actors inserted into networks of relationships and sociability.

Discarding the idea of “Spanish exceptionality” has allowed us to review a classic theme from renewed analytical perspectives: Spain’s relationship with the rest of Europe in the era of its loss of the political and cultural hegemony that it had exercised in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Admiration for France, England, and the United Provinces of the Netherlands and the lament over Spain’s “decadence” and “backwardness” make up part of the self-awareness and rhetoric of enlightened eighteenth-century men and women, and stretch a line of continuity between them and the seventeenth-century *arbitristas* and *novatores*: Spaniards receive intellectual innovation from abroad, “as if we were Indians” (*como si fuéramos indios*), writes Juan de Cabriada in 1687 (Cabriada 1687, 230); and decades later, Feijoo repeats it in his *Teatro crítico*, first published in 1726 (Feijoo 1778). In a letter from Paris in 1778, José Viera y Clavijo (1849, 7) expresses a sharp sense of inferiority: “We are witnesses of the astonishing advances of this nation in the sciences and arts [...]. We turn our eyes to our own land, make the sad comparison, and look for a way to console ourselves” (*Somos testigos de los asombrosos adelantos de esta nación en ciencias y artes [...]. Volvemos los ojos hacia nuestra tierra, hacemos la triste comparación, buscamos el modo de consolarnos*). By contrast, the use of comparison with other countries as a stimulus for criticism and reform does not prevent these enlightened men from feeling mistrustful of foreigners, as shown by criticisms of superficial cosmopolitanism and of the use of Gallicisms in language, fashions, and ways of life. However, these criticisms were hardly specific to Spanish society; rather, they became a common trait in a Europe seduced by the influence of French culture. What did become particularly acute in Spain was the defensive reaction to foreign criticisms, such as those of Montesquieu (*Lettres persanes*, 1721), some foreign travelers, Nicolas Masson de Morvilliers, who in the *Encyclopédie méthodique* (Masson de Morvilliers 1782, 565) denied that the country had made any significant contributions to European culture in recent centuries, and those who questioned the procedures of the conquest and colonization

of America, such as Raynal (*Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, 1770) and the Scottish historian William Robertson (*History of America*, 1777). For some French philosophers (especially Voltaire), Spain was, for all intents and purposes, the true “other” of the Enlightenment: the very image of political despotism, religious fanaticism, imperial cruelty, disordered emotions, and sequestered women. That image was never the only one, since there was still some fear of the imposing Spanish empire, and its social changes and administrative, economic and military reforms were followed with interest (Checa 2012),<sup>2</sup> but it *was* the image that ended up being the most prominent and enduring in European Romanticism and in the construction of nineteenth-century Spanish nationalism, both conservative and liberal (Andreu 2016; Bolufer 2016b).

These critical foreign texts unleashed a heated debate among Spanish intellectuals. The justifications of Spain encouraged by the Bourbon government (Antonio José Cavanilles, Juan Pablo Forner) alternated with more nuanced stances (Juan Sempere y Guarinos, Juan Andrés) and with voices that took advantage of the foreign attacks to rail against censorship and defend freedom of expression (Tomás de Iriarte, Luis García del Cañuelo in the newspaper *El Censor*). Rarer were criticisms from Spain against the process of the conquest: in general, eighteenth-century intellectuals closed ranks in its defense, and dissenting voices were quickly silenced.

Traditional historiography, taking a sense of patriotism for granted, interpreted these reactions as legitimate defenses of the collective honor against foreign insults. For some time now, though, we have viewed them rather as part of the symbolic construction of the nation that, in Spain, has its most direct origins in the eighteenth century. The process was fomented by the loss in 1714 of the Netherlands, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia (the Treaty of Utrecht), which left the Spanish monarchy limited, in Europe, to its own peninsular borders. It was fueled from above by the new Bourbon dynasty, with the suppression of the old laws and institutions of the kingdoms of the Crown of Aragon and an intense centralizing policy, but also driven from below by economic and cultural changes: the century’s economic growth, which stimulated foreign trade, and the enlightened concept of patriotism understood as a contribution by private citizens to the public good (Cepeda and Calvo 2012).

The Enlightenment was, in Spain as in other countries, diverse and at times paradoxical. The most classic division is generally established between enlightened reformists—those who tried to reform the economy, society, politics, and culture without attacking the principles of social order or politics (the absolute monarchy)—and liberals, who since the 1780s had begun to defend ideas that went against the very foundations of the ancien régime and would end up, in the context of the institutional vacuum caused by the French invasion in 1808, leading to political breakdown (takeover by the Councils, legitimized as repositories of national sovereignty, and development of a daring constitutionalism that would give rise to the Constitution of Cádiz of 1812). However, the dividing line between one group and the other is less than clear. If we consider the changes in context and the individual biographical trajectories the transition between enlightened absolutism and liberal breakdown is not a clean break, but a complex combination between the old and the new (López-Cordón and Luis 2005). By contrast, that division does not explain all the internal differences between enlightened positions, which did not always fall tidily on one side or the other of that line. This can be seen, for example, in the debate regarding the admission of women to the Royal Madrid Economic Society, in which conflicting notions of female citizenship were argued by enlightened men who in other respects shared similar political and intellectual references (Kitts 1995; Bolufer 1998; Smith 2006). This multifaceted Enlightenment would be abruptly cut off by the French Revolution and Napoleon’s invasion, but its rich, complex legacy spills over to the nineteenth century.

## New perspectives and current challenges

While the historiography on the Enlightenment in Spain has been profoundly revised in recent decades, it continues to be dogged by certain limitations. First, there is the problem of unfamiliarity of different approaches to the study of Enlightenment—in the fields of history, literature, philosophy, and political and economic theory—in a Spanish academic environment in which the disciplinary distinctions are acute. It is significant, for example, that the four main specialized journals, *Cuadernos de Ilustración y Romanticismo*, *Cuadernos Dieciochistas*, *Cuadernos de Estudios del Siglo XVIII*, and *Dieciocho: Hispanic Enlightenment*, are from the field of literary studies, with a much lower presence of historians.

Secondly, the often unconscious identification with enlightened values and reformist objectives and actions has led to less attention being paid to other aspects of eighteenth-century culture that cannot be identified with the Enlightenment, and so they are dismissed as archaic or static. Above all, this identification has led to frequently and uncritically sharing the viewpoint of those who considered themselves enlightened. This problem has been common to an international historiography that has tended to confuse the Enlightenment as a historical phenomenon with the Enlightenment as a system of intellectual and ethical values on which we base modernity. But this is exacerbated in Spain by the way in which the trauma of the Civil War conditioned the retrospective interpretation of the past. From the interpretive schema of the “two Spains,” the reformist impulse of the Second Republic and its tragic end with the military coup that gave rise to the Franco dictatorship, supported by the Church and European fascisms, was identified with other historical episodes, among them, the battle between enlightened minorities and reactionary forces (Church, Inquisition, the common masses). These interpretive schemas gave way some time ago to more complex and less openly sympathetic views of the Enlightenment and its relations with power. These perspectives on the concerns specific to enlightened reformism have ceased to be viewed exclusively through the lens of the objectives that their protagonists explicitly declared (individual wellbeing and public usefulness). They are now also understood through their unacknowledged motivations and unintended effects, in which social control and moralizing efforts, corporate or professional interests, and individual ambitions all play a part, as occurred with populationist concerns or the reform of manners (Equipo Madrid 1988; Bolufer 2000; Medina Domínguez 2009).

More worrisome, furthermore, and only partially overcome in recent times, is the scant representation of Spanish historiography in international forums and the very limited presence of the Spanish Enlightenment in works that synthesize or give broad overviews of the field. That absence is not as noticeable in works published in France or Italy, historiographies with which there is a close relationship: two important historical dictionaries on the Enlightenment, coordinated respectively by Vincenzo Ferrone and Daniel Roche (1998) and by Michel Delon (1997), each include an article on the Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal) (Fernández Sebastián).<sup>3</sup> But the omission becomes obvious in English synthetic works. As just one example, the volume *The Enlightenment World* (Fitzpatrick et al. 2004) does not incorporate any Spanish or Latin American authors, nor is there any chapter specifically about the Spanish Enlightenment among the thirty-nine that make up the book. And the dossier of the *European Review of History* entitled “Enlightenment and Communication” (2006), edited by László Kontler and resulting from a session of the Twentieth International Congress of Historical Sciences (Sydney, 2005), includes no work on the Spanish or Latin American Enlightenment; nor is it even mentioned in the introduction or final reflections on “the new topography of Enlightenment.”<sup>4</sup> It is as if Spain had not yet completed the requirements to enter an international Enlightenment canon that has been expanded nowadays to include not only France and Prussia, but also Italy, Great Britain,

Holland, and Scandinavia; nor had it proven to be sufficiently “exotic” to deserve attention within the new interest in the global Enlightenment. This translates into the scant interest and receptivity by a good part of British and North American historiography, but also demonstrates the weakness of cultural and intellectual history in Spanish historiography, and more broadly, the way in which it has always shown itself to be more inclined to assimilate international contributions and debates than to make its presence felt within them with its own voice.

However, the current trend of understanding the Enlightenment in terms of communicative practices and cultural exchanges (translation, trips, sociability, conversation), in relativizing the unique character of the Enlightenment and its identification with a clear center, offers better accommodation to other “lesser” Enlightenments that have been seen for a long time in terms of mere passive reception and imitation of ideas, forms, and cultural practices created in other places. In this sense, the approaches of recent times that underline the importance of the adaptations and reinterpretations suited to variable contexts have allowed for the enrichment and reformulation of the Hispanic Enlightenment, offering a means through which Spanish and Latin American historians are more actively participating in the global historiographical debate.

Among these new perspectives, and without exhausting all possibilities, there are three that seem especially worth noting. In the first place, women’s and gender history, the emergence of which began in the 1980s, connecting with the broad debate underway in international historiography, is one of the fields in which the studies from or about Spain have made the greatest impact on the habitually unreceptive English-speaking academia (Bolufer 2005; Bermúdez and Johnson 2018).<sup>5</sup> The substantial presence of the discussion on the nature, formation, and social functions of women (see Jaffe’s chapter in this volume) and the fierce tenacity in defining and constructing, in behavior and in awareness, the models of femininity considered to be appropriate to the objectives of reformism (domestic, sensitive, patriotic, and religious without being overly pious) has been well demonstrated, as have been the corresponding but differentiated models of civic masculinity (Bolufer 1998; Haidt 1998; Smith 2006; Molina 2013). The controversy was related to (and at the same time helped foster) the greater social and cultural presence of women in many spaces of the century: as patronesses and hostesses in the aristocratic, elitist circles of sociability, but also as writers and translators (Bolufer 1998, 299–339; Lewis 2004, and her essay in this volume), as readers, and as part of the public that attended artistic, scientific and festive spectacles (Vega 2010). The conviction with which women like Josefa Amar and Inés Joyes criticized the inequality between the sexes, approaching Mary Wollstonecraft’s stances without in the least sharing her more democratic political ideology, provide arguments for complicating an overly simplistic dichotomy between a “moderate” and a “radical” Enlightenment, which does not completely capture the complexities and paradoxes of ideas and experiences.

At the same time, this attention to aspects of gender allows us to broaden our understanding of enlightened reformism to also cover other aspects different from those that have traditionally been the center of attention: economic, administrative, and cultural projects, justified in the name of the regeneration and modernization of society and the increasing power of the State (agrarian reform; promotion of transportation, commerce, and manufacturing; legislative unification and administrative centralization; defense and control of the colonial empire; cultural dirigisme, etc.). The reform of manners and the education of individuals (in their behaviors, moral values, and affections) was also an indissoluble part of the transformation of institutions and of society. This reform was occasionally attempted through legislative changes and political instructions (for example, the Royal Decrees [*Pragmáticas*] on marriage of 1776 and 1804), but mostly through an unfocused process by way of moral, educational, hygienic, and fictional literature, as in, for example, the promotion of the neoclassical and sentimental theater, considered to be very educational (García Garrosa 1990) and the production and circulation of medical texts with heavy

moralizing and patriotic overtones (Bolufer 2000). Hence, the education of emotions and the construction of the private as a moral, pedagogical, emotional, and civic space that is articulated upon the difference between the sexes, and to which are attributed fundamental educational and political functions, constituted a process parallel to and closely related to the development of a new notion of “the public” (Morant and Bolufer 1998; Bolufer 2016b).

Secondly, the study of the Enlightenment from a cultural—and not a strictly intellectual, philosophical or literary—perspective has allowed for the nuancing of the dichotomy established between a very minoritarian Enlightenment and a supposedly traditionalist, static, and almost inert popular culture, demonstrating that the relations between one and the other were more fluid and dynamic, and simultaneously paradoxical and frequently conflictive. In practice (reading, attending performances, sociability, consumption and material culture, etc.), the enlightened languages circulated more widely than we tended to think, through instruments of broad dissemination such as the theater or the periodical press. In the literary sphere, for a long time attention was focused exclusively on what was thought to be the “authentic” literature of the eighteenth century, the one that adopted enlightened forms and vocabulary, especially the essay and neoclassical theater. But today there is new interest in other highly successful genres that are not merely a continuation of Baroque traditions (for example, Ramón de la Cruz’s *sainetes*, which had very complex ideological roots), as well as in clandestine production or works of limited circulation (like erotic literature), which has led to reevaluating the complex relations between them (Aguilar Piñal 1996; Huerta and Palacios 1998). For example, new studies on *cordel* literature (chapbooks and popular prints) indicate how, despite official rejection, it gained a diverse following (including educated readers), was adapted by versatile printers, and carried both moralizing and ambiguous messages, which underlines the porous boundaries between “popular” and “highbrow” contents and forms (Gomis 2013). The works on autobiographical writing have traced the distinctions, but also the similarities, that “popular” autobiographical writings (by artisans, peasants, or nuns) show compared to other cultured models (those about literary life, or about achievements and services), interpreting them as a testimony to cultural and social interactions (Durán 2005, 2009). Another example is found in the public or private shows in which science, art, and illusion were closely intertwined: from balloon ascensions to experiments with electricity or optics, shadow puppets, or wax figures, which all enjoyed a certain respectability, and in which refinement, the pleasure of watching, and more or less scientific curiosity all went hand in hand, creating a largely shared visual culture, although crossed by differences of status, gender, and education (Lafuente and Pimentel 2002; Vega 2010).

Third and last, considering the Atlantic and imperial dimension of the Spanish Enlightenment and incorporating that perspective into the core of studies on the Hispanic eighteenth century is still largely a pending challenge for Spanish historiography, because traditionally the studies on peninsular Spain and colonial America have gone through separate academic routes. Today we can see a greater interest in emphasizing how personal and family trajectories, books and periodicals, and material culture circulated from one side of the Atlantic and the Hispanic Pacific to the other, and in understanding to what extent the possession of the American territories and their transformation under Bourbon politics, from the condition of vice-royalties making up a single monarchy to that of colonies, also profoundly influenced the history of the Peninsula. In this sense, one example is provided by the studies on science, which have emphasized the undeniable but often forgotten importance that the Spanish colonizing enterprise had on the development of modern science, the way it was linked to politics and military strategy (for example, through the great scientific expeditions), and disseminating imperial ideologies (Lafuente 2012), but also how the science conducted in the colonies depended heavily on the local knowledge, objects, practices, and agents (*criollos* and indigenous

peoples) that reelaborated, instead of passively consuming, the knowledge produced from the metropolis (Pimentel 2000 Lafuente 2000). And at the same time, the *criollos* (among them, notably, the Jesuits) developed views about history that questioned the primacy of the European metropolitan gaze (Cañizares 2001). Spanish and Latin American scholars have played a major role in highlighting the bias that colors the perspectives of the so-called global or transatlantic histories, which in their efforts to overcome Eurocentrism often identify the world with the British empire.<sup>6</sup>

All those new or revised perspectives today constitute open lines in Spanish historiography on the Enlightenment and its era, and they are enabling an active—no longer passive or reactive—integration into the global historiographical debate. As I wrote some time ago in a review of a valuable collective work (Astigarraga 2014), there are many ways in which putting the Hispanic Enlightenment (both peninsular and American) at the heart of eighteenth-century studies can help us to revitalize both of them. Greater attention to national and local varieties and contexts; an awareness of transatlantic, imperial dimensions; concern for forms of circulation (including translation), understood not as passive reception or imitation, but as active adaptation, hybridization, and cultural transfer; interest in the practical, utilitarian dimension of Enlightenment, and a less teleological view of the connections between Enlightenment and revolution are some of the lines in which the most stimulating contributions of past and present scholarship (by specialists of Spain, Europe and the Americas) have already changed—and can continue to change—our perceptions of Enlightenment itself.

## Notes

★ Translated by Linda Grabner, University of Pennsylvania

- 1 The research for this chapter has received funding from the European Research Council under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Project CIRGEN, ERC Grant Agreement No 787015).
- 2 See Paquette's contribution to this volume.
- 3 Javier Fernández Sebastián is the author of the first of these articles. The second is the work of the Hispanist Lydia Vasques.
- 4 In the four volumes of the *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment* (Kors 2003), there is one entry on Spain, and another on Latin America, as well as several biographies on well-known peninsular or American Enlightenment personages.
- 5 It is also significant that the only well-known Hispanics in the index of names in *The Enlightenment World*—Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, Josefa Amar, and Inés Joyes—are authors who participated in debate on gender.
- 6 The dossier of the journal *Osiris* entitled "Nature and Empire: Science and the Colonial Enterprise" (2000) includes articles by several Spanish historians; see in particular those by Juan Pimentel (2000) and Antonio Lafuente (2000).

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## Other empires

### Eighteenth-century Hispanic worlds and a global Enlightenment

*Karen Stolley*

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#### Introduction: “other empires”

Anthony Pagden famously observed, “There never was, of course, a ‘Spanish Empire’” (1990, 3). What Pagden meant was that early modern Spain was a confederation of kingdoms and principalities that included Castile, Aragon, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, and the Americas. Spain’s territories in the Americas were not “colonies” in the administrative sense of the word as it was used in the British/Anglo-American context. Sixteenth-century Spanish conquistadors and jurists envisioned the newly conquered lands overseas as kingdoms (*reinos*) or republics (*repúblicas*) and saw their project as one of *translatio imperii* (“transfer of rule”). New institutions like the viceroyalties were developed to administer empire in the Americas; the Spanish Hapsburg bureaucracy processed vast amounts of information collected through *relaciones* (written accounts) and *visitas* (official visits).<sup>1</sup> The transition to the Bourbon dynasty at the beginning of the eighteenth century led to a reordering of the imperial functions of expansion and preservation, with an increasing focus on free trade and administrative centralization.<sup>2</sup> These functions were mapped onto viceregal centers and peripheries in a farflung and diverse Hispanic empire.

The use of the plural in the title of this chapter—other empires, Hispanic worlds—suggests possibilities for bringing new voices and perspectives into discussions of the global Enlightenment. “Other empires” might be Spanish rather than British; Bourbon rather than Hapsburg; Aztec or Inca rather than European; represented in Spanish, Quechua, Nahuatl or Latin rather than English and French. The eighteenth-century Hispanic empire faced a particular set of complex realities on the ground: the governance of imperial subjects who included *criollos* (American-born Spaniards), indigenous peoples, African-descendants, mestizos, mulattos and Spaniards; efforts to put in place enlightened reforms of the imperial political economy; scientific and philosophical debates about the nature of the New World; and the central role of religion. These issues, many of which are explored in later sections of this volume, do not always align with the imperial ideologies and practices of England and France, and this has led to a scholarly blind spot in discussions of the global Enlightenment. For example, the eighteenth-century Hispanic world barely makes an appearance in Dorinda Outram’s treatment of the global Enlightenment, even in the context of extensive discussions of questions related to empire such as cross-cultural contact, political economy and the problem of slavery (Meléndez and Stolley 2015, 3).<sup>3</sup> Yet

discussions of eighteenth-century empire that do not take into account “one of the most extensive and powerful empires in existence at the time” cannot truly pretend to be global (Astigarraga 2015, 10).

In this essay I propose to examine how enlightened ideas about empire were applied and transformed in eighteenth-century Spanish America as a way of rethinking the global Enlightenment itself (Brading 1991; Cañizares-Esguerra 2001; Paquette 2008).<sup>4</sup> The mapping of global Hispanic networks of diplomacy, cultural and scientific exchange, and trade reminds us of the geographically situated ways in which enlightened knowledge was produced and circulated. Expanding the cartography of eighteenth-century empire to include the entangled complexities of the Spanish empire means taking into account imperial peripheries such as the Río de la Plata region, the Philippines, the Caribbean, and what is now the US-Mexico border (Hill 2018).<sup>5</sup> Spain sought to defend its borders against imperial rivals and smugglers through the establishment of population centers—towns, forts and missions—and the presence of official and extra-official imperial agents who included *criollos* and mixed race subjects, members of religious communities and scientific expeditions, as well as military officials and imperial administrators.<sup>6</sup> All claimed a role in defining empire. Many of them wrote about their experiences, and those writings represent an often-overlooked treasure trove of the eighteenth-century archive.

This archive includes works written not only “en español” but in transcribed indigenous languages such as Nahuatl and Quechua, and in Latin, reflecting an expansive and enlightened notion of language in service of empire. There were many late eighteenth-century clergy in New Spain who were well-versed in indigenous languages and cultures. The best-known of these, Francisco Javier Clavijero, author of the *Historia antigua de México* (1780–1781), imagined a future in which *criollos* and the indigenous population would be heirs to a shared (and invented) cultural and political tradition (Pagden 1990, 97).<sup>7</sup> Rafael Landívar wrote in Latin when he penned his *Rusticatio Mexicana*, a didactic poetic treatise on the geography, flora and fauna, mining, and agriculture of the author’s Guatemalan homeland (Laird 2006). Eighteenth-century Mapuche (Araucanians, as they were called at the time) drew on their tradition of *parlamentos* in diplomatic negotiations with the Spanish, offering a real-life multi-lingual and cross-cultural encounter, unlike the invented dialogues with the “noble savage” that French *philosophes* narrated in highly artificial and staged settings. At the same time, argues Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, “a new art of reading” in the eighteenth century led to the emergence of conjectural historiography that privileged Spanish American mastery of indigenous sources and first-hand experience (2001, 9).

As Astigarraga and many other Spanish scholars have affirmed, “the Spanish Enlightenment was essentially pragmatic, utilitarian and applied” (2015, 9).<sup>8</sup> As I will argue in what follows, this distinctive Hispanic Enlightenment, understood in its transatlantic dimensions, in turn informs our understanding of the global Enlightenment.

## Subjects and agents of empire

Empire is about governance, whether the focus is imperial expansion—that is, acquiring and exploiting territory for economic or political gain—or imperial administration—that is, the evolving structures by means of which individuals negotiate their path through centralized policies and practices, either as agents or subjects. Governance of imperial subjects in Spanish territories in the Americas meant fleshing out hierarchies related to Enlightenment thinking on race and difference. These rely on the Linnaean classification system and geographic determinism, both of which fall short in terms of providing a context for understanding the indigenous and mixed-race populations of Spanish America, as a quick overview demonstrates. Emmanuel

Kant's 1785 essay, "Definition of a Concept of Race," posits four races based on geography and skin color (black, red, olive yellow, white), but gives little attention to the native inhabitants of Spanish America.<sup>9</sup> Thomas Jefferson confesses in *Notes on the State of Virginia* (1785) that, "Of the Indian of South America I know nothing" (Kramnick 1995, 662). Neither Kant nor Jefferson would have understood the establishment of a "republic of Spaniards" and a "republic of Indians" that provided the foundation for Hispanic imperial administration. Moreover, enlightened ideas about geographical determinism are confounded by the combination of tropical climes and Andean peaks, and the grandeur of the Aztec and Inca empires resists European definitions of savagery.

This explains Ruth Hill's call for a transatlantic critical race theory that acknowledges both the eighteenth-century imperative for rationalized categorization and the particularities that arise from local contexts (2006, 2). In eighteenth-century Spanish America, for example, the hierarchical principles of *casta/raza/estado* (caste/race/status) are deeply embedded in Hispanic legal and social traditions that are not generally considered in scholarship on the global Enlightenment. The tradition of *limpieza de sangre*, or blood purity, inherited from late medieval and early modern Iberia, converged with hierarchies of caste status when it crossed the Atlantic, complicating official and informal negotiations of racial identity in Spanish American colonial society.<sup>10</sup> As customs were challenged by changing demographic realities in the eighteenth century, imperial subjects employed the *gracias al sacar*—that is, the purchase of an official dispensation of whitening—to buy themselves an improvement in their social status (Twinam 2005, 249). Late-eighteenth-century decrees favoring members of mixed-race militias similarly reflect the complex porosity of social identity and mobility (Twinam 2005, 263–263).<sup>11</sup>

Nowhere is this complexity of race, caste and status better reflected than in eighteenth-century *casta* paintings produced in New Spain (and, to a lesser extent, in Peru).<sup>12</sup> Constructed as multi-panel compositions of sixteen to twenty portraits, each illustrating a family grouping made up of a father, a mother and a child, *casta* paintings reflect the realities of miscegenation, as well as eighteenth-century *criollo* anxieties regarding those realities. The complex hierarchies of race, caste and status are communicated not only through the play of color, light and darkness, the faces and bodies of those portrayed, but also their clothes, interior and exterior physical surroundings, and the material objects that surround them. Both Ilona Katzew (2004) and Magali Carrera (2003), who have studied the *casta* paintings exhaustively, recognize the irony that they flourished as a pictorial genre—a taxonomic snapshot of Spain's eighteenth-century imperial subjects in the Americas—at a time when the precise categories they illustrated were becoming blurred or disappearing.

Increasingly, courts and tribunals became sites for the contestation of the rights and responsibilities of imperial subjects within the casuistic, context-based, flexible legality of colonial Spanish America. Even when questions of jurisdiction produced layered and at times competing administrative structures, imperial subjects figured out how to navigate those structures in astute and deeply pragmatic ways. In *The Enlightenment on Trial*, Bianca Premo explores legal practices and concepts in the eighteenth-century Spanish empire, demonstrating how ordinary, unlettered people exercised legal agency. She argues that the cases she studied represent a new model for understanding the Enlightenment as "the popularization and everyday reworking, in the moment, of dynamic ideas of rights, freedom, and merit" (Premo 2017, 15–16).

Beyond the frames of *casta* paintings and the confines of viceregal courtrooms, negotiations with indigenous populations took place on the imperial periphery. In this context, the term "Indians"—whether referring to *indios no sometidos* (unconquered or independent Indians), *domésticos* or *salvajes*—is used as a cultural and political (rather than racial) category, in the plural



Figure 2.1 Juan Patricio Morelete Ruiz. “Casta Painting X. From Spaniard and Return Backwards, Hold Yourself Suspended in Mid Air” (X. De español y torna atrás, tente en el aire). Circa 1760. Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

and in their respective and inter-related roles as subjects and agents of empire (Weber 2005). Acknowledging the many ways in which Indians were active participants in negotiations with Spanish administrators and military officers expands enlightened notions of imperial governance of conquered peoples that in the works of European *philosophes* and armchair travelers remain limited to philosophical dialogues and idealized portraits of noble savages.

In the Río de la Plata region, for example, Charrúas and Minuanes took advantage of Spanish and Portuguese imperial mapping initiatives to expand their informal economy, using their mobile indigenous encampments (*tolderías*) as a hedge against new European settlements (Erbig 2016). Indigenous caciques adapted and responded to imperial territorial advances, establishing far-reaching networks that regulated tribute, trade, and travel throughout the region, while Spanish and Portuguese imperial agents attempted to stake a claim through the establishment of forts and towns—an eighteenth-century anticipation of the nineteenth-century maxim, “*gobernar es poblar*” (to govern is to populate). The complicated inter-imperial wranglings in this region involved Guaraní and Jesuits as well, and led to the establishment of neutral zones separating each imperial territory. Over time, both the Portuguese and the Spanish came to recognize the threat that Jesuit-indigenous communities posed to control of their imperial peripheries. The result was the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portuguese territory in 1759 and from peninsular Spain and Spanish territories in America in 1767.

The royal slaves of El Cobre, Cuba, planted a flag on the Spanish imperial map, challenging British-based ideas about the slavery/freedom binary that informs much thinking about eighteenth-century race and empire. The royal slaves of El Cobre swore fealty to the King of Spain but considered themselves (and were considered by others) to be free subjects, claiming the right to form families, hold property, and appropriate the tailings, or residue, of the copper mines where they labored. El Cobre was home to a mix of royal slaves and free people of color whose shared practices “constituted significant manifestations of personal and social if not yet civic freedoms” (M.E. Díaz 2000, 31). *Indios chinos* represent yet another category of imperial subjects whose legal, economic, and social situation reflects the complex networks of Spanish empire in the eighteenth century. *Indios chinos* were born in the Spanish Philippines before migrating to Spanish territories in the Americas (primarily in New Spain), where they claimed membership in the Republic of Indians (Seijas 2017, 123). Because scholars have tended to view Mexico and the Philippines as distinct regions rather than as part of an expansive Spanish empire and to consider identity through a European/Indian binary, the experiences of *indios chinos* have been overlooked until recently. But these experiences, like those of El Cobre’s royal slaves, challenge scholars to expand our understanding of imperial negotiations of race and labor structures in a global Enlightenment.

This deployment of a particular local identity for legal, laboral, or social ends is a key characteristic of eighteenth-century Hispanic empire in which miscegenation and *mestizaje* are central. Mestizos, the mixed-blood sons and daughters of European-indigenous unions, often played an important role as unofficial bilingual intermediaries, as their multi-lingual fluency and geographical mobility gave them a distinct advantage in cross-cultural communications that were essential on the imperial frontier. Here again, lived experience complicates enlightened philosophical thinking; practice complicates theory. *Vecindad* (the status of being a neighbor) was how citizenship and belonging were understood in early modern Castile; the concept traveled to Spanish America as Spanish conquistadors established settlements and brought jurisdictional communities into being through a combination of violence and notarial rhetoric (Herzog 2003).<sup>13</sup> As eighteenth-century mestizos move into and around colonial urban spaces, smaller towns, and the hinterlands as subjects and agents of empire, they represent an evolving kind of belonging; close proximity leads to a blurring of boundaries. Yet as intra-viceregal immigration increased, an emerging distinction between *originarios* and *forasteros*—that is, between long-time locals and outsiders—hardened into a prejudice against transients, further reinforcing the power of reputation and a reliance on comportment and custom to determine acceptance and identity. Mestizos thus embody a problematic in-betweenness, challenging conventional binaries such as savagery-civilization, Indian-European, and even “república de españoles”-“república de indios,” which left little room, definitionally, for mixed-blood members. For Joanne Rappaport, “The central question is not ‘Who is a mestizo?’ or ‘What is a mestizo?’, but ‘When and how is someone a mestizo?’” (2004, 4), pointing to the experiential and pragmatic elements of how identity was defined in the Hispanic empire.

A number of eighteenth-century texts reflect the anxiety provoked by growing numbers of mestizos in the Andean region. Juan de Velasco’s *Historia moderna del reino de Quito* (1789) characterizes mestizos as troublemakers who were especially vulnerable to vice and dishonesty; his view stems in part from recent events such as the 1765 urban uprising in Quito and the 1780 Tupac Amaru rebellion, both of which fueled rumors that Indians and mestizos would join forces against Spanish authorities. Catalina de Jesús Herrera also watched with concern the changing urban landscape of Quito from behind convent walls, sharing her fears in letters to her father confessor that were bound with the manuscript of her spiritual autobiography, *Secretos entre el alma y Dios* (1758–1760). Herrera’s anxiety stems from the fact that it’s not clear what

kind of institutional or imperial authority might be called upon to defend Quito from the threats she envisions—racial mixing, linguistic confusion, idolatrous practices, indigenous uprisings, and the general dismantling of the viceregal lettered city (Stolley 2013, 142).

*Criollo* anxiety notwithstanding, the Republic of Letters supports global Hispanic imperial networks that span transatlantic worlds of enlightened science, the military, and diplomacy, linking American-born *criollos* and European-born Spaniards like the Aragonese Azara brothers. The famed *ilustrado* José Nicolás de Azara held various administrative positions over a period of several decades, including serving as Spain’s ambassador in Rome from 1785 to 1798. His brother Félix was a military engineer who was dispatched in 1781 to the Río de la Plata region as head of a commission charged with resolving an ongoing border dispute with the Portuguese. He ended up spending two decades in South America, making cartographic, ethnographic, geographic, zoological, and botanical observations that were later published— thanks to his brother’s repeated interventions on his behalf—as part of enlightened debates about nature in the New World. Azara and his contemporaries were engaged in the making of the early modern scientific paradigm of natural history in terms of territorialized economies of imperial knowledge production.

Another facet of Félix de Azara’s career emerges from his correspondence with his administrative superiors, later published as the *Memoria sobre el estado rural del Río de la Plata y otros informes*. These at times highly charged memoranda reflect the author’s keen awareness of the challenges, discussed earlier in this essay, posed to Spanish control of the Río de la Plata borderlands by Portuguese rivals and various indigenous groups. Azara, both a pragmatist and an idealist, sought to persuade his administrative superiors to respond to these threats through commerce and friendly relations, or—if necessary—through force. Azara views the frontier as both a space of interaction between cultures and peoples (a “contact zone,” to use Mary Louise Pratt’s term) and a set of political boundaries that mark the limits and aspirations of imperial expansion. His suggestions regarding the founding and location of settlements and forts, the development of ranching and agriculture, and the fomentation of commerce and trade anticipate the ambitions of the nineteenth-century nation-states that would later emerge in the area.

A sense of enlightened *criollo* patriotism infuses the writings of José de Oviedo y Baños and Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo, who wrote as favorite sons of their respective cities. Oviedo y Baños’s *Historia de la conquista y población de la provincia de Venezuela* (1723) attempts to legitimize empire on eighteenth-century terms. He celebrates the successful establishment of well-ordered cities like Caracas that exemplify the move from conquest to settlement and enjoy the fruits of the civilized and civic-minded labors of their inhabitants (Stolley 2013, 44). Perhaps no figure represents the Hispanic empire in the Americas better than Pedro de Peralta Barnuevo (1664–1743), a prolific *criollo* writer who tackled a range of subjects from astronomy to medicine and engineering.<sup>14</sup> His most frequently mentioned works are *Historia de España vindicada* (1730) and *Lima fundada, o conquista de Perú* (1732)—epic poems that can be read as a defense of Spanish Bourbon empire through the story of its Hapsburg imperial origins. Peralta understands Peru as *patria* and is writing for an audience that considers itself both Peruvian and peninsular. He epitomizes what María Soledad Barbón (2016) calls “the politics of praise” in the Bourbon empire, combining Baroque rhetoric and enlightened thinking in speeches, poetry contests, and parades that were performed by indigenous and *criollo* imperial subjects.

However, in the face of Bourbon centralizing reforms that threaten to displace them, both Oviedo y Baños and Peralta argue for a revindication of the Hapsburg system of merit-based rewards for *criollo* support of empire. Claims to imperial administrative office and its attendant privileges in the eighteenth century were based on settlement and service rather than conquest: “The *criollo* of the eighteenth century [...] was now, in keeping with a general

eighteenth-century distrust of heroism, appealing to a genealogy based upon a history of service and development rather than one of arms and bloodshed” (Pagden 1987, 61–62). In their defense of a new kind of imperial history, these enlightened soldiers wield the pen rather than the sword and write Hispanic empire into the narrative of the Enlightenment.<sup>15</sup>

## Circulating Enlightenment: Commerce, science, religion

Money and commerce are key elements in the construction and defense of empire in the eighteenth century, as an earlier focus on territorial expansion gave way to a focus on commerce as a means of furthering imperial ends. The Hapsburg empire was the inevitable point of departure for Bourbon discussions of political economy, and the notion of New World treasure continued to fuel imperial aspirations in debates between physiocrats and mercantilists that were key in the evolution of eighteenth-century political economy.<sup>16</sup> The Bourbon reforms have been understood as replacing a providentialist Hapsburg narrative with one focused on economic prosperity and a more centralized political culture. In the Spanish empire, transatlantic trade routes and roads that had emerged during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries supported an eighteenth-century global network of commodity exchanges linking Mexico to Spain, Africa, Europe, and Asia. Expanding trade routes and a wider range of commodities to be traded led to the development of new economic centers, and illegal forms of commerce such as piracy and contraband continued to flourish alongside legal forms. Yet all too often, scholars do not take into account how developments in the Spanish Empire, including the increase in transatlantic trade, affected the global political economy (Carey 2014; Outram 2013, 43–53).

Spain’s global empire in the eighteenth century saw a shift in interest from precious metals (gold and silver) to other metals (including copper), an emphasis on new scientific mining techniques such as amalgamation and slag mining, a focus on the implications of Bourbon economic reforms for communities on the periphery of empire, and a turn to what has been called a *criollo* moral economy. These developments recognize the value added by human capital and new science, complicating the view of Spanish territories in the Americas merely as a terrible extraction machine, and they can be seen in the writings and careers of a number of key figures.

Bartolomé Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela (1676–1736), in his *La historia de la villa imperial de Potosí*, foregrounds the structures of bureaucratic administration that support the mining town rather than the materiality of the mountain’s silver veins.<sup>17</sup> Writing at a moment when Potosí’s fortunes were in decline, Arzáns alternates between economic concerns such as the effects of the devaluation of Potosí’s coinage and gossipy, sensationalist tales of the city’s *criollo*, indigenous and *casta* inhabitants. José Martín Félix de Arrate does something similar in his *Llave del Nuevo Mundo* (written in the mid-eighteenth century but not published until 1830), although he focuses more resolutely on *criollo* exemplarity. Arrate, one of the favorite sons of the port city of Havana, pens an urban *relación de méritos*, a project of reclamation in which he tallies up the many financial contributions the city of Havana has made to the larger Hispanic imperial project—including the building of ships and the construction of fortifications—and reiterates the fundamental ties between center and periphery in the Bourbon Spanish Empire. These ties will be even more important in the wake of the British attack on Havana in 1762.

Pedro Romero de Terreros, a mining entrepreneur and the first Count of Regla, exemplifies the technological expertise that emerges in the eighteenth-century Spanish empire. The remittances of gold and silver sent back to the towns of Huelva and Extremadura by Romero de Terreros and earlier *indianos*—hybrid products of Spanish birth and New Spanish experience—were concrete evidence of the contributions made by imperial subjects, and they played an important part in establishing networks of ambition between Spain and her territories on the

other side of the Atlantic (Boorstein Coutier 2003). These networks include the imperial periphery (see Prado 2015; Weber 2005; and Meléndez's chapter on Caribbean port cities in this volume).

A more critical view of Hispanic empire and its subjects can be glimpsed in the pages of native Spaniard Alonso Carrió de la Vandra's *El lazarillo de ciegos caminantes* (1773), published under the pseudonym "Concolorcorvo." This work, ostensibly a compendium of practical information on the overland trajectory from Montevideo to Lima, includes scathing observations of the mestizos, Indians and gauchos the author encountered along the way, as well as frequent denunciations of the corruption of colonial administrators; one might argue that it reflects the progressive disintegration of Spanish imperial authority during the final decades of the eighteenth century. At the same time, its detailed account of how the postal service functions as imperial connective tissue illuminates the on-the-ground realities of the Republic of Letters.

Eighteenth-century Hispanic worlds figured in the re-imagining of the Enlightenment's Republic of Letters by producing new kinds of knowledge and writing a new kind of natural history. This knowledge in turn becomes an imperial administrative issue: how to manage, order, and monetize New World flora and fauna? In the Spanish imperial Republic of Letters, the gap between the eighteenth-century classificatory impulse and the diversity of Spanish American reality becomes fodder for enlightened debates of the nature of the New World that played out across the map of Hispanic empire, as *criollos* invoked advances in scientific knowledge stemming from their first-hand observations and experiences to contest their European interlocutors.<sup>18</sup> Eighteenth-century Europeans constructed from afar a new interpretive model of natural history, while Spanish American writers emphasized local experience and direct observation over theory. A new *patriotismo científico* looked for place-based solutions, using local knowledge to address local problems, and converged with an imperial reform agenda seeking to maximize American resources and commercial potential.<sup>19</sup> But, as Lafuente (2000) has observed, neither *criollos* or Spaniards were homogeneous or static groups, and science in Spanish American territories took neither a purely complicit or consistently resistant posture vis-à-vis the metropolis. Enlightened science played a key role in updating imperial administrative and commercial structures and practices through new advancements in botany, mining, astronomy, chemistry, and anatomy.

The many scientific expeditions to the Caribbean, the Philippines, and the Americas that were organized in the closing decades of the eighteenth century, the specimens and illustrations that were the result, and the imperial administrative apparatus that supported and benefited from them all counter the center-periphery model of knowledge production that tends to dominate scholarship on the Enlightenment. Daniela Bleichmar (2012, 2015) argues that the transimperial scientific expeditions organized during the reigns of Charles III and Charles IV—to Chile and Peru (1777–88), New Granada (1783–1816), New Spain (1787–1803), and Malaspina's expedition (1789–94)—made empire visible and thus exploitable. Plants, which were more transportable as specimens than animals, offered greater potential for development as commodities (Schiebinger 2004, 227). But the expeditions were not solely extractive. They also served to foster institutions and initiatives and bolster scientific communities that included *criollos*, Spaniards, and other Europeans in an often complicated dance of imperial rivalries and collaborations. Charles-Marie de la Condamine's 1751 joint French-Spanish expedition to refute English and Dutch speculation about the shape of the globe is a case in point (Safier 2008).

Enlightened imperial science in the Hispanic world is often informed by Catholicism and practiced by Jesuits, as Margaret Ewalt (2008) explains in her book on Jesuit José Gumilla's *Orinoco ilustrado y defendido* (1741–1745), a volume which grew out of Gumilla's missionary work in the Orinoco River region of New Granada during first half of the eighteenth century. Gumilla, who

was read by La Condamine and Humboldt, uses theological rhetoric to describe and evaluate New World flora and fauna. His work engages broad networks of commerce and knowledge production and attempts to translate indigenous knowledge into European understanding in order to defend Spain's imperial project in the Orinoco region from Dutch incursions and Carib cooperation with Dutch pirates. Ewalt notes, "Naturally, imperial economics motivate Gumilla's appropriation of Amerindian knowledge more frequently when it transmits potentially profitable botanical secrets" (2008, 16). José Eusebio Llano Zapata's *Memorias histórico, físicas* (1757) offers another example of an empirically informed account of New World natural wonders such as chocolate and the medicinal Peruvian bark (*cinchona*). Llano Zapata, a Peruvian-born mestizo and a Jesuit, shaped his narrative both to appeal to the enlightened Catholic King of Spain Charles III and to incorporate indigenous sources to refute erroneous European science (Ewalt 2018, 204).

Exiled Jesuit Rafael de Landívar also integrated local knowledge and enlightened science in his *Rusticatio Mexicana*. The poet's description of agricultural and industrial forms of economy—cochineal dye, sugar cane, the mining and processing of precious metals, cattle-raising—becomes a narrative of enlightened *criollo* agency in which Landívar emphasizes the central place of labor in colonial society, invoking the value of indigenous knowledge and traditions as well as eighteenth-century debates about physiocracy and mercantilism. Like Clavijero and Gumilla, Landívar is committed to refuting the charges of New World inferiority and degeneracy put forth by George-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon, and Cornelius De Pauw. His didactic impulse encompasses natural history, ethnography, information about techniques of cultivation and manufacture, and a commitment to combining enlightened scientific investigation with Christian piety in ways that are unique to the Hispanic Enlightenment.

Although the Inquisition continues to exercise authority in eighteenth-century peninsular Spain and Spanish America, religion sometimes worked in more enlightened ways.<sup>20</sup> In New Spain, creole clerics such as the Jesuit Francisco Javier Clavijero collaborated with indigenous leaders who petitioned the authorities for support for the education of the native population (M. Díaz 2015). The Spanish Crown had long favored the use of native languages for the purposes of evangelization, even as DePauw and other Europeans critiqued their rationality and eloquence. However, the clergy—Franciscans, Dominicans and, increasingly in the eighteenth century, Jesuits—were seen as suspect for their role in the indoctrination and education of indigenous peoples. Given that the Bourbon reforms included secularization as a strategy for curbing the power of the Church, the "de-Indianization" of parish life, including the imposition of Spanish language, was a priority even as there was a renewed interest in expanding opportunities for natives to study and enter religious life.

In addition to the role that Jesuits played in the development of Hispanic natural history, they also made valuable contributions to eighteenth-century historiography (Peralta Ruiz 2009). We might even think of the Jesuits as an example of "other empires," given their reach as agents of empire, founders of missions, administrators of plantations, travelers and ethnographers. Ivonne del Valle (2009) suggests that Jesuit imperial agency is manifested in both the personal correspondence of the Jesuits and, necessarily, in their official reports as a narrative of failure—the failure of the evangelization project, the challenges of climate and poverty and hostile or resistant indigenous groups, and the realization that the tasks related to community building, agriculture, and commerce were often at odds with their spiritual responsibilities. Clearly their expulsion in 1767 from Spanish territories in the peninsula and the Americas marks a turning point in the history of Spanish empire and Enlightenment in which religion plays such a distinctive role.

## Conclusion

Hispanic worlds and their “other empires” did figure in the European eighteenth-century imaginary, as reflected by the reception of Voltaire’s *Alzire, ou les Américains* (1736) and *Candide, ou l’Optimisme* (1759), and Francoise de Graffigny’s blockbuster epistolary novel *Lettres d’une Péruvienne* (1747), which feature Inca characters and plot elements. But beyond these admittedly fictionalized accounts, how was Hispanic empire experienced and represented in the global Enlightenment? The relationship between Enlightenment and empire in the Hispanic context is frequently dismissed in scholarship on the eighteenth century and omitted from most attempts at global history. But, as I hope to have shown, eighteenth-century Hispanic worlds produced a distinct strain of enlightened imperial institutions and practices to deal with the governance of imperial subjects, the implementation of political and economic reforms, the exploration of New World nature as a kind of scientific and commercial laboratory, and the reconciliation of empirical thinking and faith. The subjects and agents of empire who responded to these issues and the authors who wrote about them shared an ongoing engagement with their local environment and an awareness of debates and concepts that circulated globally. Together they offer a complex and important commentary on the Bourbon Spanish Empire in the Americas and its place in the global Enlightenment which, carefully considered, requires us to reassess our understanding of both empire and Enlightenment.

## Notes

- 1 Institutions like the House of Trade (‘Casa de Contratación de las Indias,’ established in Sevilla in 1503 and transferred to Cadiz in 1717) and the Council of the Indies (‘Real y Supremo Consejo de las Indias,’ established in 1524) worked together to provide an administrative structure for Hapsburg imperial governance and were later complemented by the establishment of the various viceroyalties, with the viceroy embodying Spanish royal authority on the ground.
- 2 The Spanish Habsburg dynasty came to a close in 1700 with the death of Charles II, who left no heirs. Philip of Anjou was proclaimed Philip V of Spain, and Bourbon ascendancy was confirmed by the War of Spanish Succession (1701–1714). Historians generally make a distinction between the first half of the eighteenth century and the second, when the Bourbon reform agenda took root and accelerated the rate of change. For the purposes of this chapter, I will consider the full expanse of the eighteenth century as an evolving political culture.
- 3 As the editors of this volume argue, even recent work on “Other,” national, or peripheral Enlightenments has tended to overlook Spain and Spanish America. See also Bolufer’s chapter in this volume.
- 4 See the September 2018 special issue of *Eighteenth-Century Studies* devoted to “Empires.”
- 5 See also Mehl’s chapter in this volume.
- 6 In her book on the rationalization of the cartographic space of Europe’s maritime empires over the span of four centuries, Laura Benton explains how “...sovereignty in empire formed as multiple agents positioned themselves to act as subjects of and proxies for imperial power” (279–280).
- 7 The work was originally written in Spanish but translated into Italian for publication; it was later published in Spanish.
- 8 See Bolufer’s chapter in this volume.
- 9 In “The Difference between the Races,” Kant describes Arabs as “so to speak, the Spaniards of the Orient ...,” but in his discussion of the “savages” of North America he makes no mention of South America (Kramnick 637–639).
- 10 Twinam notes that, “By the late eighteenth century, Spanish American Creoles typically defined those with *limpieza de sangre* as having ‘always been known, held and commonly reputed to be white persons, Old Christians of the nobility, clean of all bad blood and without any mixture of commoner, Jew, Moor, mulatto, or converso in any degree, no matter how remote’” (2005, 253–254).
- 11 For a discussion of how race and ethnicity factored into debates about who might practice medicine, see Jouve Martín.

- 12 Casta paintings responded to European anxiety over miscegenation by “constructing a view of an orderly society bound by love (hence the use of the familial metaphor), but one that was hierarchically arranged” (Katzew 2011). In this *casta* painting by Juan Patricio Moralete Ruiz (see Figure 2.1), one of sixteen original scenes that formed the set, the artist “situates the mixed couples in elaborate landscape settings and pays careful attention to the figures’ clothing and attributes.” The unusual race classifications, “torna atrás” (turn backwards) and “tente en el aire” (hold yourself suspended) were derogatory terms that referred to children born to mixed-race parents who appeared darker than their seemingly white parents. See Ilona Katzew 2011, “Curator’s Note.”
- 13 See Frasquet’s chapter in this volume.
- 14 David Slade and Jerry Williams have made invaluable contributions to eighteenth-century scholarship through their editions of Peralta’s works.
- 15 Premo discusses Spain’s role in “writing its empire out of the narrative of Enlightenment” (8).
- 16 See Astigarraga, “Economic Societies and the Politicisation of the Spanish Enlightenment,” *Spanish Enlightenment Revisited*.
- 17 Arzán’s manuscript was not published until 1968.
- 18 See Valverde’s chapter in this volume.
- 19 See Rodríguez García’s discussion of Llano Zapata’s *Memorias Histórico-físicas-apologéticas de la América Meridional*.
- 20 See chapters by Muñoz and Torres Puga in this volume.

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# The georacial past in the New World present

## Antonio de Ulloa's *Noticias Americanas* (1772)

Ruth Hill

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After the 1736–1743 French–Spanish Geodesic Expedition to measure the Earth (Safier 2008), and a stint as a prisoner of the English in London, the Spanish mathematician Antonio de Ulloa (1716–1795) returned to Madrid, where he and Jorge Juan published their enormously successful *Relación histórica del viaje a la América Meridional* (1748; *Historiographical Account of a Journey to South America*). In 1752, already a member of the Royal Society of London and other scientific academies, Ulloa lobbied Ferdinand VI's ministers to found a royal society of geography and natural history. The *Real Casa de la Geografía y Gabinete de Historia Natural* (Royal House of Geography and Cabinet of Natural History) was comprised of naturalists and geographers handpicked and supervised by Ulloa until 1755 (Montero 2003, 21–24; Puig Samper 1995, 114–118; Pelayo 1996, 261–263). That conjoining of geography and natural history reveals the mature Ulloa's core scientific pursuits. Beyond the direct observation of nature and the scientific projects executed during the Geodesic Expedition, experiential knowledge of metallurgy, mineralogy, and the economics of mining accrued from Ulloa's founding and governorship (1758–64) of the royal mine in Huacavelica, southeast of Lima, which supplied the Crown with the mercury necessary to mine silver (Navarro Abrines). A disastrous and short-lived governorship of Spanish Louisiana made him familiar with American Indians there and with eighteenth-century French accounts of them. His complementary roles as naval officer, government official, and scientist shine throughout *Noticias Americanas. Entretenimientos Físico-Históricos sobre la América Meridional y la Septentrional Oriental* (1772: *American News: Physical-Historical Diversions about South America and Eastern North America*), an ambitious history of the Earth's surface and organic life, especially Indians, in the American continent.<sup>1</sup>

Ulloa's demonstration of the geological time and formation of the New World supported his theory of the formation of human varieties, or races. His placing credence in monogenism, or the Adamic origins of all humankind, compelled him to confront the centuries-old problem of the populating of the Americas in a manner that respected both Scripture and scientific modernity. Up until now, Ulloa's racial thought has been summarized more than analyzed (Feros 2017, 209–211, 221), and his theory of racial differentiation in *Noticias Americanas* has been studied independently of his theory of the Earth. A more nuanced and interdisciplinary analysis reveals how he situated his racial evidence and his geological evidence within a narrative *Gabinete de Historia Natural*—a cabinet of natural history, or a cabinet

of curiosities—in which “one plainly sees the style of truth superseding that of wonder.” He opted to call each chapter a “diversion,” or *entretenimiento*, because it was customary to pique people’s curiosity while they were being taught the subjects of natural science and the history of peoples (Introducción n.p.).

*Noticias Americanas* exemplifies in many respects the Enlightenment scientific and historiographical genre known as *theories of the Earth*. Ulloa’s theory of the Earth was rooted in constant and cyclical change (Pelayo 1996, 233–234). He took for granted Newton’s physics and Copernicus’s heliocentric astronomy, although he couched his theory in terms of earthly activities: “No one can ignore that things make a continuous circle, decaying after having arrived at the highest point of their ascent, and coming to the worst of their ruin at the same acceleration with which they rose” (235). Ulloa’s dynamic theory therefore rested on geological time: “time [...] reduces the hardest and densest boulders to sand ...” (20). Geology empowered Ulloa to confront conundrums that had bedeviled natural philosophers and other authors since the Discovery (Huddleston 1967; Gliozzi 1977): Who were the emigrants to the American continent? How did they get there? How did they come to be so different, physically and culturally, from the other descendants of Noah’s sons?

He marshalled geological evidence that upended prevailing theories of the Earth: “although it is called the New World, attending to its discovery by Europeans, it is truly the Old, or more ancient, World, because it was the first to rise out of the waters after the Flood” (217–218; Pelayo 1996, 236). He punctuated the same claim later: Noah’s Ark came upon the Andes first, which were the highest part of the Earth’s surface immediately after the Universal Flood (334). Two statements found in his opening *Entretenimiento* foreshadowed this claim. The first altered the terms of comparison in order to emphasize that the European discovery, rather than the continent itself, constituted the newness, or modernity, of the Americas: “We should call those countries the *Modern World*, unlike the other parts that were known, within the span of human memory” (4). Ulloa was pointing out here that the geological age of the American continent and the age of its integration into European consciousness were epistemologically different.

Hence, this second statement:

Here is where the name that it was given later, *New World*, came from; since in one sense it was new to those who inhabited the other parts, and, in another, it was new because of the rarities it holds in all kinds of things, as is recognized in the shape and composition of the terrains; in the diverse productions that it has, depending on the nature of its propensities; in the various tempers, which are not similar to each other; in the land animals and the aerial ones.

(4)

Many prominent philosophers, naturalists, and other self-styled experts on the Americas did not observe this distinction; they plunged headlong into theorizing about the American continent without having been there. Such armchair travelers as Georges-Louis Leclerc, the count of Buffon, wrote the eighteenth-century chapter of the New World degeneration controversy (the so-called “dispute of the New World,” as Antonello Gerbi termed it in his classic study) by proclaiming that nature in the New World was immature, feeble, and manifestly inferior to nature in the Old World, largely due to climate. LeClerc’s *Théorie de la Terre* (1749; *Theory of the Earth*) confidently explained that the New World was younger than the Old, an assumption that underpinned his theorizing about New World degeneration. *Noticias Americanas* roundly rejected the count of Buffon’s model of the Earth’s formation and the purported degeneration of humans, brutes, vegetables, and minerals in the Americas.<sup>2</sup>

In 1748, Ulloa had celebrated the cabinets of curiosities (*gabinetes de curiosidades*) that he had visited in London and other scientific capitals (*Viaje* 4: bk. 3, ch. 10, 541–542) as nothing less than “all of Nature transplanted”: “a living, general and complete history” (541) of the Earth’s productions. Nearly thirty years later, in contrast, he put his erudite readers on notice that it was one thing to collect and display nature, and another to examine it up-close. Cabinets were merely “the archives of nature”: they preserved the effects, without explaining the causes, of nature (1792, 5–6). The only fount of scientific progress was observation (6), by means of which the collected curiosities could be rationally ordered and explained, as in his own *entretenimientos* on subjects of natural science and the history of peoples in the New World.

Like Thomas Jefferson, who effectively turned his plantation-estate into a living cabinet of natural history, Ulloa situated human animals within natural history and recognized the burgeoning development and significance of racial science in his epoch. The biological and cultural development of the world’s peoples fascinated Western Europe, “born of the fact that, in spite of their all having the same origins, the diversity that is plainly seen among them is so extraordinary that it seems difficult, at first, to reconcile the evidence of that beginning with the diversity of characteristics that is noticeable in many” (251). Ulloa was most interested in discussing the three races that most differed from each other “in color, features, and structure, and much more in customs, lifestyle, and habits” (251): whites, blacks, and reds.

Unequivocally favoring Baconian empiricism, Ulloa made clear that unnamed natural philosophers, or *físicos*, had built theoretical “systems” that were unable to divine “the hidden laws of nature” beneath biological differences such as build and skin color (6). Experience disproved even the most promising of racial theories, for “the only way to get to the truth is to be guided by experience and reason from the same” (6–7). Ulloa would have known a rich assortment of racial “systems,” ranging from maternal impression to various climate theories, all well known to authors in Spain and Spanish America who had read and critiqued such systems in forging their own.

The climate theory set down by Leclerc was foremost in the Spaniard’s mind, for his narration shifted quickly back to climate, and then to skin color. It was an indisputable axiom of geography and astronomy, he acknowledged, that the direction of the sun’s rays cutting through the Earth’s atmosphere determined the temperature of a given region. Nonetheless, firsthand observation of secondary, or accidental, causes challenged that systematic principle, for these produced a variety of climate zones that ranged from tropical to frigid in the Spanish Indies (7). The same applies, by analogy, to all living species of vegetables and minerals; to avoid errors in judgment, we must forego theoretical principles and rely only on observation (7–8).

A case in point: even the most gifted scientists in the world were shocked that one could live comfortably in a place where the air was roughly half the weight that air had over the entire surface of the Earth; that there were places in the Tropical Zone where persons could be of a whiteness and comeliness, of a color so exquisite, that they had no reason to envy the European and Asian locales renowned for their beauty-producing climate. Temperature, a secondary cause for the lesser whiteness of persons in other parts of the world, did not impact these New World beauties—a variation from the experts’ general rule (8–9). Although the Spanish Benedictine and cultural critic, Benito Feijoo y Montenegro, and, much later, the count of Buffon had signaled that something in the physical environment was responsible for skin color variation (Hill 2016), Ulloa dismissed this school of racial science outright. Far from solving the riddle of race, every explanation they offered was “imaginary”: environmental theory collapsed under the weight of scientific observation of the effects of heat and cold on human pigmentation. Besides, such systems failed to address differences in bodily structure and features (251–52).

A very different theory of racial variation had arisen around the middle of the eighteenth century, one which rested on Isaac Newton's *Opticks or A Treatise of the Reflections, Refractions, Inflections & Colours of Light*, and which the confirmed Newtonian Ulloa would have known from reading his member's copy of the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society of London.<sup>3</sup> Melding Newtonian physics and anatomical experiments, the Virginian physician John Mitchell theorized that the skin's structure had an integral role in color production. The thinner and less dense the skin, the whiter it appears, Dr. Mitchell explained, for where there are more and larger pores and minute particles, more rays of light are transmitted (123). "So that the Thickness and Density of the Skins of Negroes," he concluded, "seems to be the grand Cause of their Colour, in the same manner as it is of *Indians, Moors, &c*" (124). This piece of Mitchell's system did not contradict Ulloa's observation that Native Americans had a less porous, thicker skin and a rougher constitution than peoples in other parts of the world (Ulloa 1792, 314–315).

In addition, Mitchell's monogenism complemented Ulloa's: all peoples were "descended from the same Stock" (131). Primitive humankind was "dark swarthy" (146), "the Asiatics [...] with most of the Americans, retaining the primitive and original Complexion" (147). The skin color of modern Indians, Ulloa reported, tended to red, which the sun and the wind turned swarthy (252; *oscurecido*). Moreover, Ulloa was familiar with modern anatomy, perhaps even with the famed anatomist whom Mitchell quoted in 1744, William Cowper, as Ulloa's 1772 account attests in a passage describing the measurements of skulls removed from ancient graves (314). The modern Indians' comparatively thick skins and skulls were well suited to activities such as hunting, sleeping outdoors, and herding livestock (314).

Ulloa's readers were to logically conclude that famous *físicos* in the Old World who had never gone to the Americas, and those who had gone, like Dr. Mitchell, had created scientific "systems" that could not account for structural and color differences and other observable variations in humans. Members of the American degeneration school in particular had misjudged the climate of the Spanish Indies in whose production geological particularities intervened as secondary causes. Their degeneration scheme for the vegetable, mineral, and animal varieties of the American continent imploded once its base—their manifest error regarding New World climates—crumbled. *Noticias americanas*, unsurprisingly, was to become useful to figures who debunked New World degeneration theory (Winterer 2016, 94, 333), but its significance transcended the degeneration controversy.

Historians and other social scientists have credited Ulloa with founding the physiognomic identity of Native Americans that was to become an axiom of nineteenth-century scientific racism.<sup>4</sup> A legion of assertions alleging the physical sameness or quasi-sameness of American Indians fully justifies this dubious distinction. Beyond those concerning skin and skull, broader generalizations appear in *Noticias Americanas*, including: "Differences are less distinguished in the Indian race than in the others" (252), and "[o]nce you've seen an Indian from any region, it may be said that you have seen them all in terms of their color and bodily structure" (253). Ulloa's stereotyping of American Indians was the inevitable result of the natural causes that he assigned to their racial and cultural development.

In the opening pages of his account, he laid the groundwork for his understanding of the Earth and human migrations to the American continent, which permitted him to reconcile monogenism with the physical and cultural particularities of native peoples in the Americas. The following passage places in bold relief his theory of the Earth and his theory of race:

If there are peoples who still preserve part of the primitive state of men it must be the Indians; and the reason is, because once they remained in a situation that isolated them from contacting and dealing with the others, it is only natural that they would uphold some of

the things that the settlers took there, especially since they do not show the disposition or talents necessary to invent nor to achieve innovation in the things that are basic to everyday existence; and it may thus be inferred, from what is plainly seen in them—meaning in the ones who subsist in complete barbarism, how men must have been in the beginning, before they started to become civilized by their use of the natural sciences, by means of which they achieved the advancement of things of the Earth, of the stars, and, by the combination of all these things, the advancement of the Creator, of his infinite providences, of the order and coordination with which he ordained it all.

(Introducción, n.p.)

Race, for Ulloa, was a cluster of somatic and cultural characteristics produced by variation—the normal course of nature—over time. The Earth’s breaking up into continents during the Universal Flood did not prevent humans from the Old World from emigrating to the Americas,<sup>5</sup> but it did result in their geographical isolation, which, on Ulloa’s rendering, eventually yielded a different variety, or race, of humans. Their intellectual, moral, and physical development was stunted. Ultimately, geology explained why living Indians throughout the Americas all looked and acted alike—why they embodied the first times, or primitive past, of humankind. Like layers of rock, states of civilization corresponded to different ages. The Spaniard’s consignment of the “un-culture” (*la incultura*) of modern-day Indians to *los primeros tiempos* therefore veered from that of his French predecessor in the early eighteenth century, the Jesuit Joseph-François Lafitau. The latter had framed “American savages” (*sauvages américains*) in his present as representatives of the *premiers temps*, or first times, and worthy of European veneration (Sayre 2000, 132–133). Lafitau celebrated their “love of country,” “natural passion for glory,” and “grandeur of soul” in the face of misfortune and danger (“Épître” in 1: n.p.).<sup>6</sup>

The Jesuit’s *premiers temps* was a “willful anachronism,” a “backward-looking” counterpoint to “the Noble Savage, a forward-looking utopian image” (Sayre 2000, 129), which was to serve myriad ideologies in late eighteenth-century neoclassicism and early nineteenth-century Romanticism. In keeping with its birth in the Renaissance, in figures such as the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, the *mestizo* chronicler from Peru, or Marc Lescarbot, Lafitau’s early seventeenth-century predecessor, the first-times paradigm eschewed materiality (Sayre 2000, 131–132). On this score, the epistemological value that Ulloa assigned to “the remains of things” (Introducción, n.p.; *los vestigios de las cosas*)—antiquities ranging from *opas* and stone axes to temples and pyramids—distanced him even further from the *premiers temps* historian, who “did not refer to the empirical authority of artifacts” (Sayre 2000, 133). From the very first pages of *Noticias Americanas*, in fact, monuments authoritatively document the unwritten past: “without monuments, which are partly preserved notwithstanding the ruin of the ages, there would be no formal documents from which to infer the past” (Introducción, n.p.). He studied shards of clay pots, skulls, stone tools, fishing nets, graves, sacred and profane monuments, and residential architecture to devise a tripartite scheme of pre-Columbian history and civilization.

Works by Scottish and French philosopher-historians were widely disseminated in Enlightenment Spain and Spanish America. Ulloa could not have ignored a core concept of philosophical history and the sciences: stadialism. In Adam Ferguson’s *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767; See Kettler 1977), a four-tier model conjoined nature and economics: first, societies were comprised of hunters and collectors; second, of herders and shepherds; third, of farmers and planters; and, fourth, of merchants and distributors. Some societies progressed to the fourth state, or stage; others did not; and still others did, only to go backwards (Kettler 1977). Without expressly focusing on modes of subsistence like other stadialists, Ulloa nonetheless distinguished four stages of cultural development for aboriginal America: primitive, or primeval

(*los primeros tiempos*); ancient, or pre-Incan; Incan; and European, the stage characterized by capitalist commerce.

He contended that the first settlers arrived in the Americas by boat and by mistake, first imitating Noah's construction of the Ark and then being carried to the Americas by the same winds that carried maritime vessels from the Old World to the Americas in his day, as Ulloa knew from many decades of experience. Those Old World peoples lacked the compass and knowledge of navigation routes and maritime astronomy. They landed in the Isla de Barlovento, and went ashore in the first lands that they encountered. Thereafter they sailed in smaller vessels to *Tierra Firme*—Central and South America—over the years. Geology—what we today would call human geography—was to condition their future physical and cultural development:

some would become rustic and ferocious [and] others, more docile and sociable; the first would be, as is still seen today, those who inhabited the mountainous lands of forests where there is an abundance of wild beasts and harmful animals; the second [would be] those who settled down in places where there are no forests or trees, similar to the Peruvian lowlands, in what they call the Valleys, and to the highlands, where no thickets grow, either, nor do ferocious animals populate it.

(332)

Ulloa reasoned that the first settlers remained cut off from the rest of the world because of the headwinds that challenged navigators who travelled from the Americas (*Indias Occidentales*) to Asia (*Indias Orientales*) as well as those who travelled from the Americas to Europe. Because those people who drifted away from the Old World never returned home, the Old World did not know about the Americas, while the inhabitants of the Americas forgot that other lands existed (332–334). Postdiluvial peoples in Europe, Asia, and Africa had not been isolated from each other; they therefore progressed through (on their own or through colonial coercion) the developmental stages spanning from barbarism to modernity.

The original settlers would become the inhabitants and masters of a considerable part of the world, taking with them the customs and manners of the lands from which they hailed (332–333). Like many of his predecessors (Huddleston 1967; Gliozzi 1977), Ulloa linked those first settlers to Hebrews in the Bible, based on similarities between Quechua and Hebrew, and between alleged characteristics of modern Indians and Jews, such as cowardice and perfidy (323–326). Indeed, he argued that *quechua* must have been one of the first languages of humankind (325–326). He inferred that “the people from whom those first settlers descended, if they were not Hebrews outright, they were one of the nations who lived alongside them” (325). This chunk of circumstantial evidence should be considered alongside another piece offered earlier in his account: pyramids.

The height, magnitude, and hardness of the stone used in the pyramids in Paucara (Angaraes Province) brought to mind pyramids erected by the Egyptians. Moreover, in Quito, the *huacas*, or burial mounds, were similar to pyramids. If the Andean pyramids were manmade, he argued, their design travelled to the New World from wherever the Egyptians had gotten it. This made it somewhat easier to figure out the origins of the first Indians and the manner in which those lands were populated (249). Ulloa seemed to suggest that the original race of settlers were from southern Mesopotamia, where Noah's great-grandson Nimrod had the city and Tower of Babel built. After the destruction of Babel, these builders must have sailed away and shipwrecked in America, never to return to their homeland.

North American aborigines, Ulloa noticed, still preserved in their own languages some of the pronunciation and vocabulary of *quechua*, which proved that Indians throughout the Americas

were one and the same people (326). Cultural homogeneity characterized contemporary Indians, which lent even more credence to Ulloa's hypothesis that all American Indian nations had constituted a single race in the beginning: "What is true of their color is hardly less true of their habits, customs, character, nature, inclinations, and properties, with so much sameness being evident in certain things as if the territories furthest away from each other were one and the same" (253). Their propensity for leisure and shiftlessness was universal from the Indians in Canada and Louisiana to those in Central and South America (255). Indians in general had no notion of day, week, month, or year; their "barbarism and rusticity" caused them to have difficulty with basic concepts like their age (273).

That unassimilated native women in South America and North America all styled their hair in the same way proved that this custom originated with the primeval race (256). The propensity of unassimilated Indian males in the present to cut and stretch their ear lobes, as well as to pierce and insert spines into their nose, lips, and chin, demonstrated that they had preserved these practices since "the first settlers of that world, and that their antiquity comes from the most remote of ages" (275). The cultural uniformity of modern Indians throughout South and North America did not characterize Old World peoples. This was additional confirmation that their customs in the present corresponded to the epoch in which the Americas were first populated (275): *los primeros tiempos*, the first times.

Biological essentialism and cultural essentialism joust throughout Ulloa's geohistory of the New World; tensions between the universal and the particular, between sameness and diversity, are not resolved. The biologically essentialist mantra "All Indians look like" comes up against a cultural essentialism enfolding all peoples who do not live in a settled community, whether they belong to Old World races or New World races:

But if one looks at life from a completely rustic viewpoint, no knowledge is required other than that which corresponds to the instinct of irrationality; and so it is borne out by what happens not only with the Indians, who remain in the primitive stage, but also with different peoples, Europeans in the furthestmost North, and in some parts of Asia and Africa, who differ little from each other, the difference being that the peoples in the Indies were almost all barbarians up until the Spanish went in [...], and that in the other parts of the world there were learned nations and peoples who always distinguished themselves from those mired in the primitive stage, who lived in the rudest state; and still now there are quite a few in these civilized parts who live like animals because they don't know any better.

(Introducción, n.p.)

Outside of human society as a whole, Ulloa believed, there was the degenerate form of ignorance: "un-culture" (*la incultura*), or barbarism. This was true not just of Indians, but of all races.

Stadialism contributed to the georacial architecture of *Noticias Americanas* by accommodating the universal and the particular—homogeneity and diversity. All indigenous tribes in the Americas used the bow-and-arrow and pointed spear, just like the tribes who had populated Asia, Europe, and Africa in remote times; "one deduces that they must have been derived from the same source and that they were the very first weapons that [all peoples] used" (311). On Ulloa's rendering, Indians who remained in the wild only hunted, fished, and herded, just like the first race to inhabit the Americas had done; they did not engage in agriculture or commerce of any kind. Thus undomesticated Indians, or barbarians, remained in the first and second of Ferguson's two stages of human development.

Ulloa devoted considerable attention to antiquities and relics (Entretenimiento XX), claiming that "the records" (*las memorias*) of Indians were their towns, buildings and walls, *huacas* and graves,

as well as their tools and housewares (295). Among the antiquities found in Indian graves there were copper axes for the use of military leaders and rulers, and star-shaped weapons of various designs and materials. Similar pointed weapons had been found throughout South and North America, meaning that all Indians were descendants of one primitive race who had adopted this custom from some Old World people (312–314). Because this custom was unknown in Europe, it strengthened Ulloa's thesis that the primitive settlers of the Americas were a Semitic people or lived alongside the latter. Graves had yielded numerous clay jugs that resembled ancient Roman, Greek, and Egyptian ceramics, the figures on which were like hieroglyphics and Mosaic drawings (319). In the remote past, all races had adorned themselves with feathers, decorated their hunting bows and spears, donned animal skins with designs, and observed other customs preserved by Indians in the New World (321).

*Opas*, or disfigured dolls, which Indians in the Andes carried around and consulted as oracles, confirmed the cultural continuity between the New World present and the first times. "Because of these things," Ulloa stated, "their discernment and reason remains at the stage of infancy, even if they live to a very old age, since, similar to children, they amuse themselves with those figurines" (318). Ulloa made a veiled allusion to the count of Buffon as a warrant for his claim: "A certain sage of the first rank in Europe" was stunned by the existence of such an extensive group of people "who remained forever in a child-like state even when they were 80 years old" (319). Here again Ulloa's georacial conceptualization of *los primeros tiempos* razed the *premiers temps* model of French Jesuit Lafitau: modern Indians would never evolve into the Seven Sages of Greece; they had the mental age of children. This was not the result of modern colonial institutions, he asserted, but of postdiluvial geology, which had separated their ancestors from the cultural evolution of the Old World.

The second stage of cultural development was achieved by the "ancient Indians" who arrived in South America and the Caribbean by the same means as the first settlers. Histories and monuments revealed that those ancient Indians were far superior to the modern-day descendants of the first settlers "with regard to aptitude, discernment, and intellectual attainments" (306). The ancient Indians—not the Incas—conquered the primeval masses, coercing them to plant and farm, which constituted the third stage of cultural development. It was especially significant: the stadialist and economist Adam Smith had linked the superior development of Anglo-American colonies vis-à-vis Latin colonies to large-scale agriculture (Perdices de Blas and Ramos de Gorostiza).

Ancient Indians had a religion, worshipped idols, and committed sacrifices. They took their worship of Pachacamac to the Andean region, where the first race embraced it. That belief and its practical expression—building monuments—kept the primitive Indians occupied and more easily subjugated. The Incas were to continue that practice during the third stage of pre-Columbian civilization (307). Ulloa speculated that the Temple of Pachacamac and other monuments had been built before the Incas. In fact, it was probably the ruler Cuismanacu, who worshipped Pachacamac as the Supreme Creator, or even a predecessor, who had directed the masses of primitive Indians to build the famed Temple. Ulloa observed that the size and the layout of the Temple closely resembled those in Quito and Cuzco; therefore, the Incas had probably expanded and/or rebuilt the original Temple as well as other massive structures in the area (305–307).

Louisianan burial mounds, or *huacas*, were like those in Quito and Peru: oval-shaped mounds or tombs placed in valleys near houses, designed only for the most prominent elders (286). In Peru, however, in the lower valleys, there were also underground pantheons, or sepulchers, in the corner of a room in their homes. Typically, such sepulchers contained thirty or forty skulls and skeletons of children and adults. Ulloa judged these villages to be about 250 years old, which

coincided with Inca rule, confirming that these peoples formalized their villages and their burial practices during the Inca stage (288–289). The Inca conquest of the ancient Indians refined religion, agriculture, architecture, and many other aspects of human society, serving as a transition to the fourth stage, under Spanish dominion, of capitalism.

The key tensions seen earlier in Ulloa's georacial architecture are worth restating here. Postdiluvial geology and geographical isolation were responsible for the physical and cultural sameness that Ulloa identified in contemporary Indians, although their primitive state was not different from *los primeros tiempos* of other human races. He did not celebrate the resemblance between their present "un-culture" and the beginnings of Greco-Roman civilization, in contrast to Lafitau's ethnography in which the Iroquois resembled Old World peoples from *les premiers temps*. Furthermore, the posited backwardness of contemporary Indians was not unlike that of certain European, African, and Asian outliers: New and Old World barbarisms showed particularities, Ulloa contended, but these were differences of degree, not of kind. Such intricacies of identity and diversity would not be resolved in subsequent editions, translations, and appropriations of *Noticias Americanas*, which spanned languages and continents. In addition to a second Spanish edition from 1792, *Noticias Americanas* was twice translated into German with an added volume of annotations, which two volumes were thereafter translated into French with many additions and subtractions. The two-volume *Mémoires philosophiques, historiques, physiques* (1787) would achieve an enduring following among scientists, historians, and politicians in the nineteenth century.

A great admirer of Ulloa's many works, Alexander von Humboldt noted "the learned man" Ulloa's reflections on the skin color of Indians and other matters in *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Region of the New Continent* (213, 297–298, 498, 537–538). In *Views of the Cordilleras and Monuments of the Indigenous Peoples of the Americas*, first published in French (1810–1812), the German naturalist cited the second Spanish edition (*Views* 2015, 90, 218–220, 327, 436). Von Humboldt's influence on historians and scientists throughout the nineteenth century extended Ulloa's own, which coursed through various channels, many of them now forgotten.

In the early American republic, only the Bible was published more often than textbooks; atlases and geographies were among the most popular of these (Patton 1999). Jedidiah Morse, the founder of US geography in the late eighteenth century, borrowed from the 1787 French version for his college and high school textbooks. In *The History of America in Two Books* (1819), the numerous quotations and paraphrases included one spanning nine pages on the alleged homogeneity of the Indian race in the Americas—their shared customs, including indolence and insensitivity to pain, and the thickness of their skull and skin, which Morse rejected (28–37). Thomas Jefferson, who discussed Ulloa's theory of the Earth and other ideas in his own *Notes on the State of Virginia*, owned the second Spanish edition of *Noticias Americanas* as well as *Mémoires philosophiques, historiques, physiques*, along with many of Morse's works (Thomas Jefferson Foundation).

An acquaintance of Jefferson's, J. H. McCulloh was a physician and banker in Maryland, and an assiduous reader of *Mémoires philosophiques, historiques, physiques*. His *Researches Philosophical and Antiquarian Concerning the Aboriginal History of America* (1829), which acknowledges Ulloa's natural history throughout, quickly became an authoritative ethnographic account for Americanists and Hispanists alike. In *Crania Americana* (1839), a cornerstone of nineteenth-century scientific racism throughout Europe and the Americas, Dr. Samuel Morton repeatedly referred his readers to McCulloh's and Humboldt's works. The Philadelphia physician distinguished between ancient Peruvians (Morton 1839, 97–98) and modern Peruvians, or Incas (113–133), paraphrasing—to put it gently—Ulloa's work. Morton credited McCulloh, rather than Ulloa, with keen insights into the "demi-civilized" ancient Peruvians (Morton 1839, 91) before the Inca conquest.

*Noticias Americanas* anticipated several ideas and concepts afoot in nineteenth-century geology, archaeology, and paleontology. Ulloa's shadow loomed large over the former Argentine president (1868–1874) and Romantic historian, Domingo F. Sarmiento, who advanced the decades-long military campaign to exterminate or remove Indians and *mestizos* living in territories still resistant to governmental control in the 1860s. In *Conflicto y armonías de las razas en América* (written 1882–1883), Sarmiento's stated authority for speculating about the antiquity of the Indian tribes living in the Americas was *The Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man with Remarks on Theories of the Origin of Species by Variation* (1863), by the founder of modern geology and prehistoric archaeology, Charles Lyell. Modern-day Indians in Argentina continued to fish and hunt like their prehistoric ancestors wrote Sarmiento (1915, 75), explicitly availing himself of the nineteenth-century invention of *prehistory* rather than Ulloa's *los primeros tiempos*.

John Lubbock's *Pre-historic Times as Illustrated by Ancient Remains and the Manners and Customs of Modern Savages* (1865) also figured prominently and explicitly in Sarmiento's georacial history of the Americas. Shrouding Ulloa's 1772 account, the Argentinian bragged that Lubbock and other European authorities had not uncovered the whole truth: the Indians of the present were in fact the New World remnants of prehistoric men. Argentina's indigenous peoples were still making their flints, while Mexico's Indians were still using tools chipped and ground from obsidian, whose manufacture had allowed Lubbock to understand the abundant production and usage of flints during the European Stone Age (1915, 74). Moreover, under the influence of his compatriots Francisco Moreno and Florentino Ameghino, Sarmiento upheld Ulloa's idea—again without attribution—that the Americas were formed before the Old World. Pushing it further, Moreno and Ameghino contended that the origins of humankind were in the New World, not the Old (Sarmiento 1915, 68–73; Hill 2010 and 2013; Kerr 2017).

Finally, *Noticias Americanas* shaped a crucial swerve in Sarmiento's ideology. The elderly Sarmiento's optimism about the future of the African continent and Afrodescendants in the Americas, along with his genocidal pessimism toward Indians in the 1860s, marked a strident departure from his *Facundo* (1845). Although his continuous study of British, French, and German scientists contributed to this shift, Ulloa's contributions were paramount. That Sarmiento had read Ulloa's 1772 account is clear from the Argentinian's many quotations on the laziness of civilized and wild Indians from Louisiana to the River Plate; their devotion to hunting and fishing; and their lack of agriculture (1915, 84). Sarmiento stacked up elliptic quotation after quotation of Ulloa's racial proclamations concerning *mestizos*, *zambos* (mixed black and indigenous persons), and *mulatos* from Santo Domingo to the Andean coastal areas; the thickness of Indian skulls and skin; and the phenotypical and cultural homogeneity of Indians with respect to other races (1915, 86–87, 251).

This scattering of European, US, and Latin American references confirms that Ulloa's influence on the natural and social sciences, and on scientific racism, was considerable throughout the nineteenth century. The georacial architecture of *Noticias Americanas*, with its trans-Atlantic and trans-American engagements, no doubt explains the depth and the breadth of that influence, which transcended disciplinary and geographical boundaries.

## Notes

- 1 On *Noticias Americanas*, see Solano Pérez-Lila 1999, 259–262; Sellés García 1995, 64–77; Puig Samper 1995, 118–123; Pelayo 1996, 233–237. All of my quotations from *Noticias Americanas* follow the second edition (1792). Because the work has never appeared in English, all translations are my own.
- 2 In 1749, LeClerc argued that women in Caribbean New Granada gave birth to albino and piebald babies more than women anywhere else in the world, a degeneration caused by the heat and humidity in places like Darien and Cartagena de Indias (“Variétés”). Six years before the appearance of *Noticias*

*Americanas*, the count of Buffon published “De la dégénération des animaux,” which represented his thinking on generation and degeneration in the three kingdoms of nature. In fairness to LeClerc, however, it was Pierre Bouguer, a French member of the Geodesic Expedition, who had characterized the climate there as degenerative in his influential *La figure de la Terre* (The Shape of the Earth), published the very same year as the count’s *Théorie de la Terre* and “Variétés.” Bouguer’s account was an expanded version of a series of talks that he had given in 1744 at the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris, among Leclerc and other members. Thus, Ulloa’s intervention in the New World degeneration controversy faced off also with a fellow traveler, who, we now know, gifted *La figure de la Terre* and other works to Ulloa (Universidad de Sevilla, *Antonio de Ulloa: La biblioteca* 101–102, 126–7).

- 3 In 1739, according to Delbourgo (2012, 191), and in 1741, according to Caradonna (2009, 12), the Academy of Bordeaux announced “the Cause of the Color of Negroes” and the question of its degeneration as “one of their Prize-problems” (Mitchell 1744, 102–3). The announcement elicited the 1743 entry from Mitchell, which was discussed at several meetings of the Royal Academy during the following year (102).
- 4 See Stewart and Newman; Laguna and Hallowell 48–49; Weber 50, 192. More recently, Feros credits Ulloa with achieving “an epistemological shift in approaches to the Indian” that turns on their purported homogeneity and intellectual and moral inferiority (209).
- 5 Feros characterizes Ulloa’s diluvialist stance and monogeny as traditionalist. Sellés García, however, correctly observes that Ulloa’s theory of the Earth was “in keeping with his age,” at 77. A rich pageant of diluvialist theses issued from top-tier thinkers during the Enlightenment (Rousseau and Haycock 2000, 135–136). Newton, in particular, wrote volumes on religion, and at least one of his works—perhaps his most famous—had its place alongside four of his scientific works in Ulloa’s library (Universidad de Sevilla, *Antonio de Ulloa: La biblioteca* 117–122). Moreover, Ulloa’s diluvialism cannot be understood in isolation from his broader georacial modernity.
- 6 My translation.

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## A line of touch

### Liminality and environment in eighteenth-century Spanish Empire

Nuria Valverde Pérez

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During the eighteenth century, the practices deployed to grasp the world structure at a macroscopic level changed dramatically. The economic, legal, and strategic needs of the Spanish Empire demanded a new look on the flows that shaped it, and the possibilities of managing them in medical, geological, political, or commercial contexts (Valverde 2007; Valverde & Lafuente 2009). But flows unavoidably led to questions about their boundaries, discontinuities, stagnations, thresholds, and interstitial spaces of liminality and transition in each of these contexts. Questions that, otherwise, entailed discussions about the emergence of or control over specific environments. This chapter analyses three chosen cases—related to pathology, urbanism, and physiology, respectively—where environments (anatomical, architectonic, and industrial) were articulated around liminal spaces in different ways.

*Limen* refers to the notion of threshold, the transitional space that makes room for another space (Tally 2016, xii). The notion of *liminality* had been used initially by anthropologists to explore the transitions that take place in rites of passage but has now acquired a broader meaning (Downey, Kinane, and Parker 2016). The strength of the threshold lies in its ambiguity: Are we entering or exiting? We are in the in-between. But also, this ambiguous point is the occasion for new things to become; new connections, new objects, new occurrences that are not yet on either side of the border; they float in a pre-constitutional, unfixed state of existence. *Liminality*, then, refers to a state that can be emotional—expressed by uncanniness, unfamiliarity, indecision—; physical and material, being in “no clear position” of “in the middle of nowhere”; ontological, when it is doubtful if we are before something accomplished or undeveloped, something undetermined. Often the three dimensions are involved. But the space of the liminal is also the space of an environment that emerges in the presence “of adverse or conflicting possibilities” (Tally 2016, xii). The threshold is a spot where notions of continuity and discontinuity become uncertain, undecided, and so political and conceptual intervention is required to establish the criteria regarding what should be inside and what should be left out. It is not just a way of controlling or ordering the world, but a way of acknowledging meaning in places not entirely absorbed by ongoing narratives, orders, and spaces. Thresholds are also deeply material, they require some structure: “Doors are the passage-ways” (Thomassen 2014, 13).

This ambiguity, this chapter argues, is crucial to understand the forces that shaped the Enlightenment, and the way politics and knowledge developed in the Spanish Empire. Under

the pressure to establish clear-cut limits, unquestionable discontinuities associated with a notion of order, new continuities, affinities, threats, and entities did appear, fostering the production of new rules, new attitudes, new risks, and new spaces.

New graphic descriptions of landscapes and natural resources, such as quinine, coal, silver, or other natural riches, dominated by the idea of a stratigraphic order—that is, based on series of overlapping layers—stressed, on the one hand, the possibilities of new continuities that emerged from established discontinuities; but, on the other, they also gave place to concerns about what discontinuities meant. One of the most prominent examples of the first case is Francisco José de Caldas's (1768–1816) charts of botanical geography made in 1809. These maps were oriented to identify the distribution of areas where the most profitable plants grew in the mountains along the Andean range that goes along New Granada's (nowadays, Colombia, Ecuador and Panamá) Pacific coast, between Loja and Quito; but also to analyze the climatological conditions that allow their growth and to assess the chances of naturalizing them in foreign countries or artificial environments, or, on the contrary, to label them as an exclusive production, thus identifying different possible regulated markets and flows (Caldas 1810, Nieto Olarte and Díaz-Piedrahita 2006, Nieto Olarte 2007). Instead, the problems posed by discontinuity echoed in the Spanish geologist Carlos de Gimbernat y Grassot's (1768–1834) geological anguish about the presence of the same mineral, sienite, both at the peak of the Mont Blanc mountain range and at its base (see Gimbernat Grassot 1803, 18): Was it evidence of a dislocation or rupture in the strata or horizontal geological layers, or evidence against a homogeneous horizontal primeval geological order that supposedly had changed? It was difficult to determine when a dislocation was a dislocation; when continuity could be re-established smoothly and effortlessly, “naturally” or “in fancy,” as Adam Smith put it (1982, 66); and when there was not any rupture, just a gap—a minimal space where a new milieu emerged, an interstice. New spaces that had to be politically managed.

It was not the *notion* of liminality that became a matter of concern during this period, but there was an increased awareness that interstices, blurry (dis)continuities, and semi-permeability were crucial to cope both with the risks of stagnation and the risks of unrestricted flows. The presence or absence of transitional spaces led also to a broader reflection on how these could lead to new “atmospheres” or environments with particular dynamics. The aim of this chapter is precisely to explore how discussions about the nature and typology of continuities and discontinuities led to the development of political and police devices, how they articulated notions of security, comfort, or enmity that provided the basis for new ways of understanding and experiencing environments that would result in more precise notions of liminality.

The point of departure is the surgical controversy about sutures that began with Pibrac's influential “Memoire sur l'abus des sutures” (1757; Memorial on the Abuse of Sutures), which pointed to the problem of *solutio continui* or dissolution of continuity. The exploration of fiber directionality or the superposition of anatomical tissue layers became crucial to understand the world at stake in the decomposition of continuities. At the end of the century, notions of tissue regeneration, widely spread by wound-healing theories such as John Hunter's animal adhesion (see Young 1808) but already stated regarding the cornea in 1742 by Karl Ferdinand Bilger at the University of Tübingen, became a common matter of reflection about continuity and discontinuity. Not just adhesion but reaction, irritation, became a sign of unified paths and surfaces long before Xavier Bichat's (1771–1802) works (Rey 1995). Moreover, anatomical surgeons increasingly looked for intricate body spaces, places where multiple structures mingled in promiscuous proximity, whose unravelling was the occasion and result of new alleged continuities. As Charles Bell (1810) put it: “it is at such places as this in the groin that it [i.e., cellular membrane] becomes a great object in surgical anatomy” (111).

Membranes, laminar structures, and superpositions were often unveiled by the presence of abnormal, unexpected, pathological elements between them: encroached putrid matter or encysted lymph. This is why the history of the pathology of the eye, particularly of the cornea, is interesting in discussing notions of safe environments and interstitial ecologies. In Spain, notions about the inflammatory process and efforts to avoid the unnecessary use of the scalpel for eye diseases led Antonio de Gimbernat y Arbós (1736–1816)—father of the above-mentioned Carlos Gimbernat—to clarify, as we shall see in the first part of this chapter, the different ways enclosure or encroachments could take place in these tiny transitional spaces, as well as the subsequent interpretations and risks that could be derived from them.

Parallel to the views developed in the medical realm, the second part of this essay explores how a series of urban and architectural practices related to safety and firefighting began to care about smooth and controlled flows, temporal stagnations, sediments, structural continuities, and discontinuities. Potential destruction by fire discovered or stipulated paths—either for fire or for combustible agents—and produced places that must be confined in order to be controlled, questioned or acknowledged. Secured, enclosed spaces are often supposed to maintain a negative relationship with their “outside,” but the connections between outside and inside were often much more complex than that.

Normative and urban narratives about fire protection, and also the physiological discourse behind the idea of a protective membrane, were threatened in the early nineteenth century by the Incombustible Man, Faustino Chacón, to whom the third part of this study turns. Introduced as a phenomenon in fairs, salons, and academies, Chacón opened the door to new considerations about the minute space of touch between skin and red-hot objects. In a sense, as we shall see, he represented the consolidation of a way of looking at proximate objects that was finally able to see an entirely new world in the interstice.

## The blind spot: Synthesis, connections, milieu, organization

Xavier Bichat’s work on membranes represents the culmination of a sustained attempt—beginning in 1763 with A. Bonn—of describing, defining, and understanding the continuity of membranes and the nature of tissues (Elaut 1969; Rey 1995), in a project that would eventually entail the decomposition of organs in a set of tissues (Foucault 2003, 155). But organs would not be the only folds produced by tissues. With them, cysts and similar structures embedded in organs also made their appearance, producing some ambiguities in the discourses about health and comfort. The history of ophthalmology is particularly enlightening in this respect.

Antonio Gimbernat was one of the most prominent professors in the Royal School of Surgery in Barcelona (1760), later director of the Royal School of Surgery San Carlos (1787) in Madrid. He crucially influenced the organization of medical knowledge at the time (see Mestres Ventura 2016; Pérez-Pérez 2007, 2010; Aréchaga 1977). He opposed the misuse of *cruenta*, or bloody sutures; hence, he defended the idea that surgery should avoid unnecessary incisions and unnecessary sutures. This concern was connected to vitalist and regenerative approaches that challenged surgeons’ traditional perceptions.

The repeatedly edited *Curso theorico-practico de operaciones de cirugía* (Theoretical-Practical Course on Operations in Surgery) by the surgeons Diego Velasco and Francisco Villaverde (1763) and used as a handbook at both Royal Schools of Surgery in Barcelona and in Cádiz, classified surgical operations into four types following Georges de Lafaye’s *Principles de chirurgie* (1746; Principles of Surgery): unions (synthesis), divisions (diaeresis), extractions (exaeresis), and additions (prothesis). Gimbernat was more clearly concerned about synthesis. This concrete activity covered two types of practices: reductions and sutures. Reductions re-established

the continuity of bones and set dislocated limbs and hernias in their proper place; that is, they restored parts of a system to its former organization. That is why these kinds of operations were called “synthesis by contiguity” (Lafaye 1746, 178; Velasco and Villaverde 1763, 2). Sutures restored the continuity of a tissue, producing “synthesis by continuity,” although the previous degree of smoothness was never achieved. Gimbernat’s most important works, his *Nuevo método de operar en la hernia crural* (1793; translated to English in 1795, *A New Method of Operating for the Femoral Hernia*) and *Disertación sobre las úlceras de los ojos que interesan a la córnea transparente* (1802; *Dissertation on Ulcers of the Eye of Interest to the Transparent Cornea*), deal with each of these kinds of synthesis and shed light on how continuity was conceived and related to healing.

The first work explains a new method for reducing a femoral hernia, practiced by Gimbernat for the first time in 1772 and demonstrated before John Hunter (1728–1793) by Gimbernat himself in April 25, 1777 (Gimbernat Gassot 1828, 27). It provides the most accurate description of the crural arch and the consequent discovery of what today is still known as “Gimbernat’s ligament,” and both the description and the dissection earned him the fame of being one of the most skilled surgeons at the time.

Although not as widely known as the *Nuevo método*, Gimbernat’s dissertation on corneal ulcers was important because of the method used for distinguishing between walleyes or clouds (i.e., leukomas) and ulcers, and healing the latter. Even eye surgeons as experienced as Jacques (or Jakob) de Wenzel (1755–1810) and Antoine-Pierre Demours (1762–1836) apparently had trouble telling the difference. Both were the children of two famous eye surgeons—Pierre Demours (1702–1795) and Michel-Jean-Baptiste Wenzel (1724–1790)—who contributed to the emergence of ophthalmology as a medical and surgical specialty in different ways, so they represented a reputed tradition—slightly contested, in the case of the elder Wenzel (Wyman 1991)—which made such an inability much more troubling. Especially when the patient was Gimbernat’s son, Carlos Gimbernat, whom both Demours and Wenzel diagnosed in 1798 as having a leukoma, a deposit of lymph between the layers of the cornea that highly hindered vision. Wenzel recommended immediate extraction. When asked for advice, the elder Gimbernat turned out to be vehemently against it.

Gimbernat was quite familiar with the works of Wenzel and Demours senior as well as with the state of the art of European ophthalmology. He and Mariano Rivas (1730–1800) had started in 1774, by royal order, a study tour that took them to the most important surgical centers in Europe. In France, they attended the courses of Antoine Louis (1723–1792) and probably also met Pierre Joseph Dessault (1738–1795) and Antoine Petit (1722–1794) (Sala Pedrós and Boutros 2016, 45). After three years, they moved to London, where they studied with John Hunter, attended a pharmacology course with William Saunders (1743–1817)—part of which was devoted to inflammatory processes (Gimbernat Grassot 1828, 24–29, 59)—and took part in the later clinics of Percival Pott (1714–1788) at St. Bartholomew’s as well as those at St. Thomas’ and Guy’s. Gimbernat also had a chance to discuss retinal ossification cases with Samuel Sharp (1700?–1778).

Despite the enormous improvements in the understanding of eye anatomy during the second half of the century, there were repeated controversies about how well surgical practices adjusted to normal anatomical organization. In part, this was due to the quite influential presence of surgeons with little or no training in anatomy during the discipline’s emergence. Gimbernat stressed the importance of establishing a comparison with normal anatomy or the normal disposition of the part upon which an operation takes place (1793, 41). But disposition to him did not mean just the relative position regarding the surrounding organs—the synthesis of contiguity—but also the internal disposition of each part of the organ—its morphology and textures, which also were linked to physiological analysis and could be affected by pathological agents or surgical and pharmacological intervention, as they often were in cataract operation.

In Gimbernat's view, Wenzel and Demours's diagnosis was wrong because they were unable to differentiate between corneal putrid or sordid ulcers and leukoma. Both diseases take place between the layers of the cornea and have similar appearances, but there are signs to distinguish between them unmistakably. First, the surface of the cornea loses its natural smoothness and luster if there are ulcers, which does not happen in the case of leukoma. Second, if the ulcer is sordid or putrid and not superficial, then its shape from a profile view would be convex, not flat like with leukoma, due to the loss of corneal substance. Third, contrary to leukoma, which is quite painless, deep sordid ulcers are very painful. This meant that Wenzel and Demours were disregarding the dissolutive effects of an inflammatory process between the layers of the cornea. Moreover, their methods also disregarded many functional, morphological, and pathological aspects that, under a theoretical framework other than the usual one of just trying to restore vision, should be taken into account for distinguishing between a vulnerable spot, a potential risk, and a *reversible* state of dissolution. By linking anatomical changes in the surface of the cornea's external layer with the evolution of an inflammatory process between its lamellae, Gimbernat not only became a representative of the new anatomo-clinical and anti-systemic medicine (López Piñero 1974, 18, 23) but also redefined a set of gradients between pain and risk. If it was more relevant to revert a process to its initial organization than simply to restore a function, this gradient was crucial to deploy a narrative of excess, dissolution, and extinction, and pointing out the threshold beyond which recovery became impossible.

While it was certainly well known that leukoma is produced by ophthalmia, it was often overlooked that leukoma can evolve into an ulcer if it does not become encysted. Ulcers were *solutiones continui* (Vidal 1785, 104; separation of continuity), not just of the longitudinal tissue but also in depth, dissolving the successive layers of tissues. But they also grew: they started up a process at the core of the corneal structure, manifesting in this way that the cornea had become an appropriate environment for a substance to develop independently from the whole eye economy—even the whole body, when connections between eye diseases and other kinds of diseases were claimed. In this sense, Gimbernat moves, unsurprisingly, into the theoretical framework of vitalists—who held that life is not the result of mechanical organization, but of vital forces, mainly sensibility—such as Théophile de Bordeu (1722–1776) and Henri Fouquet (1727–1806), a member of the Royal Academy of Medicine of Catalonia since 1800 (Corbellá and Domènech 2010). Thus, it was necessary to limit leukoma's growth. If the process was not stopped—and from a vitalist perspective, processes are not stopped but reverted (Rey 1995)—, the result would be the infection of the whole eyeball or corneal staphyloma, both of which had a gloomy prognosis (Vidal 1785, 154).

Gimbernat (1802) agreed with the claims that there was no inflammation without pain, and that pain, in a recursive process, fed irritation and inflammation (36–37). Pain was caused by “forced extension of the nerves” and it “causes in capillary fibers a tonic movement that stops the circulation of fluids” (Velasco and Villaverde 1763, 6). Thus, blocking of flows or stagnation was accompanied by an increase in sensitivity, signaling an imbalance that started a dissolutive process. The first step of his therapy to trigger regeneration was to minimize pain by comforting the area (which he did by applying gum arabic); then dissolve the dissolvent putrid matter (with Gimbernat's famous eye drops, whose active ingredient was potassium carbonate); and finally allow the regeneration process to take place.

Cysts, on the contrary, required a different action. They did not produce the same kind of discontinuity, nor did they alter organization in the same way, so they were not reversible but extirpable. Leukoma could be part of an early stage of a natural history of putrefaction, and hence they could be dissolved before producing pain. Stagnation, when protected by a transition membrane such as a cystic membrane, creates an “atmosphère particulière” that suspends

communication between systems and protects against surrounding diseases (Bichat 1812, 22–28). However, it is not an inviolable shell—it is also a path of transmission, which is why encysted leukoma was the only case, in Gimbernat’s view, that was necessary to remove (Gimbernat 1802, 15–16). Neither was it an emergency, as far as it can be endured with a reasonable degree of comfort. As a matter of fact, cysts represented a space of potential pain and neutralization of pain, a menace comfortably kept under temporary control in its “atmosphère particulière” within another “atmosphère particulière” that already maintained communications with it and other worlds along axes of continuity and contiguity. The place of cystic structures in the general synthesis of the body was somewhat ambiguous—they developed “in places where one is not accustomed to meet them” (Gelez 1845, 158)—but elemental: they contained, protected, articulated, and were the site of parallel forms of organization. They were even considered as new organs, as they formed in the same way as normal organs allegedly did ([Bricheteau?1818] 1826), in contrast to merely dissolutive, painful processes. Perhaps nothing bears more clearly the centrality of this type of structure for exposing phenomena of stagnation and emergent organization during this period as Édouard Gelez’s criticism regarding the many improper uses of the term (1844, 156–57), and his discovery of a new type of cyst.

### *Unrestrained flow: Comfort, walls, and safe environment*

During the last third of the eighteenth century, first-aid practices began to appear, and time-critical treatments for life preservation developed according to an economy of suffering (Nurok 2003, 574), along with regulations and punishment for denial of help (Vidal 1783a, 22) and regulations about building safety, the use of dangerous substances, and its appropriate storage. Fires were a particular concern for the Spanish Crown. The increasing population and the subsequent increase of the size of towns, jointly with a sense of lack of control over the construction practices of the masonry guilds, made fire one of the government’s main fears. Several catastrophic events helped to reinforce such a feeling. The fires that ravaged the plaza and market of the *Volador* in Mexico City in 1774 and 1793, the theater of Zaragoza in 1778, or the Plaza Mayor of Madrid in 1790 accelerated the production of measures according to new “epistemological alignments” (Nurok 2003) in relation to dangerous environments and risk prevention.

The authorities dealt with these catastrophic events differently in each case. In Zaragoza, local authorities took a radical solution: they refused to rebuild the theater and requested that theatrical performances be prohibited, to which the King agreed. From then on, no public performances would be allowed without royal license (Sebastián y Latre 1779, 65–66). Extirpation of the source of danger or infection, which Gimbernat also called “curación radical,” was then one of the options for preventing disasters and creating a safe environment. This solution, which was rarely requested, implied a notion of preserving a static, immovable order maintained at the cost of pleasure and physical comfort.

The measures taken in the Mexican case were far more elaborate. The Plaza del Volador was a small square of approximately 510 square meters on one side of the Viceregal Palace—nowadays the National Palace—and close to the university that according to Juan de Viera (fl. 1777) hosted a lively, noisy, and crowded street market with sellers of fruit, eggs, earthenware, liquors, seeds, furniture and shelves, Indian barbers, etc. (Victoria 1991, 71–72). There were several attempts to organize this space between the first and second fires. But the first fire resulted in safety measures that were not directly related to the square. Designed by the *visitador* José de Gálvez (1720–1787), the measures established the most suitable sites for gunpowder factories and storehouses, the maximum amounts that could be stored, the quantities that could be acquired, and the size and

amounts of gunpowder that each piece of rocketry could carry. Of course, they also established bookkeeping rules and fixed prices. Published in 1777, the ordinances for the manufacture of gunpowder, saltpeter, and sulphur as well as for rocketry and fireworks artisans, attached safety to accountability in shaping a “good environment.” These ordinances saw protection against fraud and smuggling as crucial in preventing accidents, and bookkeeping, when inserted into a finely tuned network of accounting, as essential to fire prevention.

Immediately after the same fire, Viceroy Antonio María de Bucareli (1717–1779) commissioned Francisco Leandro de Viana, count of Tera, to draft a fire regulation. Like Gálvez’s ordinances, Viana’s proposal was markedly cameralist, favoring a strong governmental control over population and resources as a source of social well-being. Its starting points were the Royal Ordinances of April 2, 1727 by Friedrich Wilhelm I, Jacob Friedrich Bielfeld’s *Institutions Politiques* (Political Institutions), and Nicolas de La Mare’s *Traité de la Police* (Essay on Police). Hence, rewards and fines were commonly used to force people to act in case of fire. The regulation proposed the obligation to purchase and store anti-fire equipment, and a series of measures emphasized the obligation of peons, masons, *alarifes* (master builders), and architects to go first to the site of a fire.

Viana thought that Mexico City’s urban plan offered many guarantees to stop a fire, including great avenues, many canals, wells and irrigation channels, and groundwater close to the surface, as well as the appropriate mixture of sand used in walls and ceilings (Viana 1782, 31–32). Consequently, his sole architectural recommendation was to forbid wooden ceilings in establishments located at the corners of street crossings, such as *pulperías*, which stored liquor, tallow, or oil but could not, without losing their function, be displaced to the periphery.

Instead, his rules insisted on monitoring and hierarchy: no master builder would be allowed to work without passing an official test, *alarifes* were made to take a deontological oath, architectural plans and projects required approval before building, and every finished construction should pass inspection. He even proposed the creation of a whistle-blowing police corps that would patrol the city at night and organize the firefighting response in small units of two blocks, involving the city’s inhabitants into a system of monitoring, reporting, and assistance. The proposed rules of Viana were published in 1781, along with the many corrections to his proposal made in the Royal Decree of July 29, 1777.

When the new Viceroy Vicente de Güemes Pacheco de Padilla, Count of Revillagigedo, took office in October 1789, fire regulation took a slightly different strategy. Gunpowder and/or rocketry factories, warehouses, and stores would be located in the suburbs of the city, as well as stores of firewood, tallow, or other fuel, but they had to be isolated houses “with ceilings, doors and windows lined with leather” (Revillagigedo 1790, 2). In the same way, it was ordered that all shops and workshops had to keep combustible materials covered and located at some prudential distance from each other and that they should also have windows, doors, and ceilings lined with leather (3). In places where there was an oven and/or a forge, firewood and charcoal had to be in separate rooms. Additionally, highly combustible materials, such as *zacates* (thatch fabric used to wrap charcoal) would have to leave the city the same day they entered. The measure of encapsulating—wrapping objects in leather to protect them from combustion—extended to the stalls of the newly covered market that was inaugurated in 1792 (Victoria 1991), and this specific norm lasted until 1836.

These politics of enclosing a particular atmosphere are connected to the perception of risk but also of the city as chaotic and dysfunctional. Despite its beautiful buildings and wide avenues, the city had a problem maintaining order because the public spaces were mixed. Even the viceregal palace had no clear boundaries: inside were rooms used by stallholders from the Plaza, groceries, wine shops, a bakery, a lunch counter where “pulque was sold publicly and

secretly,” cards and bowling games, and piles of garbage; the walls of the upper corridors, the location of the prosecutors’ and chamber offices, were covered in graffiti or offensive material, and some people spent the night on the corners (Sedano [1800] 1880, 64–66). Revillagigedo undertook an urban reform similar to the hygienist and police criteria implemented by Carlos III (González Polo 1983). In both cases, actions focused on clearing and making visible the major flow channels (avenues, irrigation ditches, sewerage) and in creating the necessary enclosures—as in putting fenced cemeteries outside of city walls, bricking up ruined houses, fencing abandoned lots, and the examples already mentioned—justified by the alleged risks they represented to the bodies around them (Vázquez 2009, 164). The opening of large channels went hand in hand with blocking many spaces, separating desired from undesired flows, safe and risky environments.

The fire that started on August 16, 1790, at 11:00 p.m. and, during the course of several days, ravaged the Plaza Mayor of Madrid, was an occasion to embed such notions of prevention in architectural practices, transforming ideas about continuous flows and safe and comfortable spaces. Francisco Sabatini and Juan de Villanueva, prestigious architects and two of the brains behind Madrid’s urban reform, directed the highly expensive fire extinguishing works (Larriba 2007, 221). People reacted immediately to the emergency bell. They came too many, too fast, in Villanueva’s opinion. In his view, the reaction would be adjusted to the needs that the concrete threat—in this case, the fire—generated on a specific type of materials and structures (see Larriba 2007, 244–245). Fire by itself did not pose an unbounded risk.

Villanueva took a prominent role in the creation of the subsequent regulations and was commissioned to rebuild the Plaza, which offered the occasion to give a new definition of housing and the city. The reforms of eighteenth-century Madrid led by Sabatini had a formal, decorative, and rhetorical dimension that disfigured (or completely erased) the link between habitability and urbanism (Sambricio 2002). Moreover, the economic interests of the aristocracy favored vertical and disorderly urban growth, even overcrowding in some neighborhoods. In the case of the Plaza Mayor, most buildings lacked brick or stone walls between each other: only a wood lattice filled with scarce material separated one building from another.

Architects like Villanueva or Ventura Rodríguez tried to produce a more organic version of the city, in which streets, until then the product of an accumulation of houses not aligned around an axis, would gain unity in aesthetic and functional terms. At the same time, each home—and each of its functional divisions or elements, such as stairs—was thought of both as a space of comfort and as part of an antifire strategy. As a result, the 1791 rebuilding of the Plaza Mayor entailed its enclosure, but not its insulation; that is, the unity of the square was not interrupted by the streets, and the new entrance arches both gave continuity to the façades and allowed more control over flow. Besides, building materials were strictly supervised (Sambricio 2002, 111). The difference between the properties of the materials produced a selective exclusion of the elements most vulnerable to fire.

If previous regulations sought accountability, coordinated and hierarchical discipline, or enclosures justified by the protection of sources of profit, as well as energy, decorum, health, and traceable responsibility, Villanueva’s solutions considered the architectural space, the habitat, taking into account possible catastrophic flows. The path of fire became part of the design, as well as the reaction of each element. The small, convoluted, invisible folds of the city and of the buildings became susceptible to being easily and quickly emptied or filled. Permeable but selective, they incorporated the characteristics of their destructive agents in order to manage them. In the same vein, the uniform façades connected the surroundings of the Plaza and created continuity that articulated more function in the transitions that unified and separated the inner and outer spaces.

## Painlessness: Fringes of safety and liminality

Fire was everywhere. The development of the naval industry, urban growth, and the extensive use of charcoal led to forest protection regulations and fed the establishment of forges and smith-shops to produce nails, fences, bars, balconies, locks, and tools. Thus, the danger of severe burning was common and widespread. Like ulcers, burns were classified according to their degree of penetration in the successive layers that enveloped the human body. At its most serious degree, Domingo Vidal considered that a damaged area loses its sensibility and has to be treated as gangrenous: necrosed tissue should be cleared and sensibility in the area stimulated (1783b, 61).

Under the influence of the neo-Hippocratic ideas and the spreading ideas on vitalism, Josep Severo López (1754–1808) put pain at the center of medical interests. Severo was a royal doctor and a collaborator at the Royal Botanical Garden, as well as a professor at the Royal School of Practical Medicine (1795) in the General Hospital of Madrid, when he was appointed to accompany the King of Etruria, Luis de Borbón-Parma (1773–1803), whose health was rather weak, on a journey to Italy in 1801. However, due to the recently signed Treaty of Aranjuez, Luis had to be crowned by Napoleon before his investiture in Etruria. As a consequence, Severo had the opportunity to meet Cabanis, Thouret, and Dubois in Paris, the main forces of hospital reform during the Terror in the aftermath of the French Revolution. His stay in Florence gave him a chance to also meet Mascagni and Fontana (García Suelto 1808, 36–37).

Once in Madrid, he resumed his teaching. His unpublished lessons on nervous diseases, written by his students and based in many respects on François Boissier de Sauvage's *Nosologie méthodique* (1772; Methodical Nosology) and influenced by Pinel and Cullen, reflect his own physiological conception and the way in which the many disciplinary interests of the Empire found a place in his anatomical approach. In the first place, Severo classified nervous diseases according to six orders: spasms, anhelations (respiratory problems, which he considered convulsions of the respiratory organs), weakness, anepithymies (lack of appetite), dysesthesia (loss of senses), and pains. With respect to Sauvage's system, Severo changed two classes, spasms and weakness, into orders, and thus the orders of anepithymia and dysesthesia became independent of weakness and the order of anhelations from spasms. This rearrangement displayed the sequence between two poles: excess of motility and lack of sensitivity (epilepsy) and excess of sensitivity and lack of motility (arthritis). The different pathological varieties and species were identified as the changes of organic sensitivity to animal sensitivity that differed in degree and effect due to the different reactive power of membranes, ligaments, and cartilage—that is, tissues. Pain was the result of the exacerbation of both animal and organic sensibility in one tissue (Severo, mss, vol.1, fol. 125). The number of pages of the manuscript devoted to pain reflects Severo's concern with the topic. Any natural stimulus—light, air, sound—that by its intensity and time of exposure to it became preternatural was a cause of pain. However, pain can also arise without external stimulus, as in the case of phantom limbs (127v). Therefore, pain was in many ways unavoidable. Moreover, Severo claimed that it was not possible to eliminate pain. We can only diminish our sensibility by narcotics, such as opiates (132r). Substances that, by the way, he was accused of consuming generously.

This approach strengthened interest in Bichat's contributions and increased the visibility of some popular spectacles and work-related illness. Thus, Tomás García Suelto (1778–1816), Severo's disciple, who by then was Medical Doctor for Foreigners in the General Hospital of Madrid and a notable theater critic proficient in some languages (as his position required), published his translation of Bichat's *Recherches physiologiques sur la vie et la mort* (Physiological

Research on Life and Death) in 1806. The next year Ramón Trujillo's translation of *Anatomie générale appliquée à la physiologie et à la médecine* (General Anatomy Applied to the Physiology of Medicine) appeared. García Suelto also authored a report in 1816, *Mémoire contre la prétendue incombustibilité du charlatan Mariano Chacón* (Hurtado de Mendoza 1816, 12; Memorial Against the Alleged Incombustibility of the Charlatan Mariano Chacón); the paper refers to Faustino Chacón, the Incombustible Man, a phenomenon that took place in 1803, which during several decades remained a source of amusement, censure, and scientific interest.

Chacón began his tour as a scientific object in June 1803, when Robinson appeared with him in Francisco de Zea's home in Madrid and explained to him the extraordinary abilities of the young man (*Mercurio de España*, July 1803, 274). In August, both of them were in Paris, and Faustino performed for the illustrious professors of the École de Médecine. He walked on red-hot iron, washed his hands and feet in boiling oil, touched a red-hot iron bar with his tongue, washed out his mouth with several acids, and rested for several minutes within an industrial oven at 78 degrees Celcius. Among the members who judged the nature of the phenomenon was Jean-Nöel Hallé (1754–1822), Louis-Bernard Guyton de Morveau (1737–1816), Jean Baptiste Huzard (1755–1838), François Chaussier (1746–1828), Nicholas Deyeux (1744–1827), Philippe Pinel (1745–1826), and Raphaël Benvenue Sabatier (1732–1811). They were chemists, veterinarians, pharmacists, and medical doctors.

After the first bout of enthusiasm, the newspapers began to publish information and criticism. There was great expectation—particularly about Pinel's opinion—about the report that the French authorities should issue. However, the only report published by one of the French scientists who witnessed Chacón's performance at the École seems to have been that of Alphonse Louis Vincent Leroy (1742–1816). An excerpt published in the French press was translated in the *Correo de Sevilla* (November 12 and 16), and in it, Leroy argued that desensitization could only take place due to three reasons: (a) the hardening of the skin, which was already “organic matter but without life” (*Correo de Sevilla*, November 16, 1803, n. 14, p. 105); (b) some nervous disease that affects sensitivity, such as paralysis; or (c) the use of chemical insulation. His reasons for believing that Chacón used insulators were that after each performance for the professors, his pulse—which they monitored—dropped down, then he showed sensitivity. Leroy looked for normalization of the phenomenon, so he alleged that normal bodies could oscillate within a quite wide range between extraordinary sensitivity—for example, blind people who could tell the color of a card or a fabric by touch—and extraordinary insensitivity—for example, touching boiling oil or white-hot iron. Examples of the latter were forgers, founders, smelters, and glass workers.

Subsequent papers were published when Chacón returned to Spain in 1806 and began a tour of several cities, and even in those who were more favorable to the chemical coating thesis, ended up reminding people that workers in metallurgic industries and similar trades usually could handle white-hot materials with their naked hands (*Correo de Sevilla*, June 14 and 18, 1806). The same criticisms were repeated to Luigi Sementini upon the translation into English of his “Memoir on the Incombustible Man” in 1809. Particularly, Alexander Tilloch even offered the testimony of a plumber who gave the following crucial information: metal must be red hot and the skin very dry to avoid burning and pain (*The Philosophical Magazine* 32, 157–158). So, this class of workers became an object of justified interest.

Despite the subsequent literature of incombustibility and chemical and physic insulators, explanations were lacking for how people exposed to preternatural amounts of heat could avoid pain and how a tiny shell such as the skin could offer such a protection. Not until 1842, when Pierre-Hippolyte Boutigny (1798–1884) published his *Études sur les corps à l'état sphéroïdal*

(Experiments on the Spheroidal State of Bodies) would a satisfactory explanation be found: a suspension of contact provided by the evaporation of the humidity of the skin that reflected, by its molecular structure, heat radiation.

Chacón posed a series of problems related to the continuities and discontinuities unveiled by the suppression of pain. Insensitivity implied a break of the internal and external continuities supposed by the tissular anatomical model. This break could not be explained or re-established by the increase or the reinforcement of external natural stimuli and environmental adjustments—a position defended in the Spanish colonies by Hipólito Unanue (1755–1833) and Caldas, particularly when referring to the miners working in the Peruvian highlands or in other extreme work environments (Unanue 1794). Nonetheless, the interstitial breaks of continuities became dependent on the particular environments where activity was deployed, bringing unexpected possibilities of interaction and even protection.

### **Coda: Unhindered continuities and unhinged liminality**

Throughout the second half of the Spanish eighteenth century, the effort to give a better account of the world while appropriating common surroundings to make them safer, more comfortable, and more familiar somehow lost its grandiloquent scale and shrunk into minute universes. This was a path of new connections that sprang forth in search of the limits of continuities. It is not just that a single strategy for understanding how global continuities should be articulated did not prevent other kinds of understanding of continuities, but this path made it logically impossible to avoid the gap between one scale and the other. In some respects, these dynamics made it impossible to establish robust comparisons between what was going on in different geographic spaces—with the exception of perhaps urban spaces—because both the landscapes and their folds emerged under different shapes.

Nonetheless, all the processes described constituted the environment by devising precise modes of grasping clinical, structural, or physical dispositions and exploring, by taking the human body as point of departure, its limits. Thus, in the Spanish Empire and mainly under vitalist considerations, *solutiones continui* ceased to be merely an arbitrary act of fracture and became an essential part of the dynamics of relationships and assimilations between environments. Additionally, they unveiled the strategies of transforming the notions of environment into something essentially discontinuous, which agrees with Fresnoz's (2012) thesis about the intermittence of environmental concerns as a result of a modernity conceived as the sum of normalized exceptions. In a way, Canguilhem's much quoted reflection on tissues—"Tissue offers the image of continuity in which any interruption is arbitrary, and it is the product of an activity always open to continuation" (2008, 43)—should be reconsidered at least for the long eighteenth century. Tissues, and similar forms of continuity, were in the Enlightenment more like a canvas upon which intervention and discontinuity were permanently expected. As Thomassen noted, these breaks, little spaces for alternative and transitional orders, are the condition of dwelling (2014, 222). Interstices are places to live in, not just for human beings, but for other beings or entities in general. However, continuities also split. Environments became mainly "artificial," spaces of work and intervention where interactions became sedimented and offered occasion to new interstitial alterations or organizations with their inherent dose of uncertainty. Thus uncertainty and indetermination became a much more common experience. Certainly, nowadays, under the impulse of globalization, flows dematerialize, become more speculative, spreading boundless uncertainty and blurring the boundaries that give meaning and interest to liminality (Thomassen 2014, 216). In this sense, the Enlightenment's concern

about boundaries and transitional spaces runs against this globalizing drive. This is particularly certain for the Spanish Empire, where political intervention was always understood in a concrete and material, almost banal fashion. It was this stick-to-earth-and-local-interests approach that eventually allowed a limit to general and speculative orders with an “to obey but not to comply,” appropriately written in the margins of official letters and decrees. As much as liminality, continuities had to be controlled and justified as suitable, even in or precisely in these interstices.

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## School or battlefield? Capmany's modernity\*

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Nationalism is a phenomenon that is difficult to explain. It is typically considered an ideology, but upon deeper analysis it reveals more in common with irrational sentiments of belonging to a community (such as family or religious ties) than with political projects based on a particular program. So it is understandable, when nationalist behavior is interpreted through an ideological lens, that errors of judgment may result. Take, for example, the case of Antonio de Capmany. Upon examining his work, some critics have asserted that he is one of the most renowned representatives of eighteenth-century Enlightenment thinking. Others, in contrast, have considered him a rabid defender of reactionary attitudes.<sup>1</sup> How do we explain this apparent contradiction? Or are we witnessing an internal evolution dividing his work into two different periods?

If we want to appropriately judge a figure of Capmany's complexity, we must understand that we are dealing with a vehement nationalist who was forced to adapt his ideas to the changes taking place during his lifetime. His visceral defense of all things Spanish influenced his discourse. In this chapter, I will analyze the evolution in his thinking on a topic that holds an important place in his writings: the relation between the concepts of modernity and value. I attempt not only to explain the factors that justify his change in perspective in that regard, but also to contribute to a better understanding of the origins of Spanish Romanticism.

Over his lifetime, Capmany found himself immersed in three very different historical moments that conditioned his attitude towards modernity: the optimism of Carlos III's Spain, the problems of Carlos IV's reign, and the trauma of Napoleon's invasion. Each of these moments decisively influenced his writing, causing substantial changes in his way of thinking.<sup>2</sup> The radical change he experiences regarding the idea of progress, from initial optimism to later ambivalence, and later still, to outright hostility, is motivated in each historical moment by what he considers to be a better defense of Spanish interests.

In his early writings, Capmany reflects the optimism of Carlos III's era, when it seemed possible to modernize the country from above and raise it up to the same level as the most advanced countries in Europe. A good example of that initial enthusiasm is his *Comentario sobre el Doctor Festivo y Maestro de los Eruditos a la Violeta, para desengaño de los españoles que leen poco y malo* (Commentary on the Merry Doctor and Master of Pseudo-Intellectuals, for the Correction of Spaniards Who Read Little and Poorly),<sup>3</sup> a text that appeared in 1773. From his words "To

the Reader” on, Capmany insists on declaring his patriotism, while adding that this does not imply indiscriminately praising all things Spanish. The good patriot, he notes, is not the one who conceals the ills of the country, but rather, the one who denounces them and tries to resolve them. What his essay proposes must be understood within the framework of Carlos III’s modernizing efforts. According to him, his enlightened politics were putting the country on the right track to be able to enjoy a new “golden age” (1963, 213).

The text proposes a series of notions typical of the Enlightenment. In the first place, it expresses limitless enthusiasm for the eighteenth century, that privileged age when all humans were entering the final stage of their development. Knowledge is perfected, he tells us: new light is shed on all manner of subjects, a philosophical spirit is spreading all across Europe, “the geometric spirit, which calculates and arranges everything; the experimental spirit, which analyzes everything; the critical spirit, which examines and judges everything; good taste, which beautifies and selects everything” become widespread (1963, 200). Even religion begins to experience the beneficial influence of the new era, since the greatness of the Supreme Being becomes ever more evident upon contemplating the infinite wisdom with which the universe is organized. Does not the comprehension of such a complex construction, wonders Capmany, “elevate our spirit, and the idea of the Divine Architect?” (1963, 201). The positive consideration of the enlightened spirit, as we can see in these paragraphs, is complete and touches all fields.

On the other hand, also in that distinctly optimistic vein, Capmany considers that the new spirit will help humans put an end to all those scourges that have been an intrinsic part of their turbulent history. Wars, for example. Rational analysis is making nations understand that they form part of a single family, which means it makes no sense to hold onto destructive attitudes that can only be justified by ignorance. In the past, peoples fought because of ambition or fanaticism, but now “nations make up a general brotherhood,” demonstrating that true philosophy is beginning to reign in the world (1963, 188). Before, kings challenged one another and competed to expand their domains, but now they treat each other as brothers and offer their example to those who depend on them. Kingdoms collaborate with each other, sharing their scientific and philosophical advances, “and I hope that soon men will give each other a hand” (1963, 206).<sup>4</sup>

All nations should be actively involved in the construction of that future ideal, since the benefits will be shared; but the fact is that up until now, some have been more active than others. Spaniards, for example, must acknowledge that “we are among those who have contributed the least to making Europe modern, so superior to the old [Europe]” (1963, 201–202). Nevertheless, he warns, the proof of that bitter truth should not inspire praise of tradition (as happened with the apologists), but rather stimulate us to adopt the necessary measures to end it. The idealization of former national glories can only be explained via a compensatory phenomenon, since anyone who “can’t find some other means of requiting his inferiority” becomes an apologist of the past: “Scorning anything one doesn’t have is a necessary effect of some people’s pride” (1963, 204). But if Spaniards insist on denying the problem, the only thing they will gain is to make it fester.

The solution lies in moving from recognizing the backwardness to acting to remedy it. If the Spanish people aim to place their country on a par with the most cultured in Europe, they must make the effort to follow the other countries’ example. Achieving that goal is easy, since “today it takes less time, and less work, to improve and enlighten yourself, because we have models to imitate; because others open the way and make the path for us; because all Europe is a general school of civilization” (1963, 202). Progress is perceived as a single route that everyone must follow; modernity, as a school within everyone’s reach.<sup>5</sup> Those who march in the vanguard do an enormous favor for everyone else, since through their generous effort, they are forging a path

that all will be able to use. In that common endeavor, in which all societies participate (or should participate), those who lag behind merely need to be willing to learn. By imitating the model of more modern countries, they will easily be able to bring themselves up to that higher level.

This idealized vision of modernity, which implies the shared advancement of a great “family of nations” with common interests, reflects the enlightened utopianism of Capmany’s first period. It transmits the belief that there is a rational (and therefore objective) criterion of value in the relations between countries, which reaches everyone and which everyone must accept. It extends to technical and scientific advances, but also to ideas and to “good taste” in literature. The desire for perfectibility at all levels is an inherent characteristic of human beings, and “is the collection of nations anything more than a big man represented by many?” (1963, 214). Those who refuse to accept the superiority of the modern world, as the apologists do, show that they are carried away by passion and resentment.

But Capmany’s reasoning, at first glance so coherent, reveals the existence of internal tensions. At the end of the essay, he adds a comment that projects the concepts of science and progress into more conflictive territory than that of supposed universal brotherhood. He advises that the Spanish people not defend themselves “with the shields and trophies of our ancestors, because they are obsolete weapons, since we fight under new rules,” and reminds them that the country has “changed the fortification of plazas, the construction of ships, weapons, and the technique of the troops, to put ourselves on an equal footing with the other powers” (1963, 216–217), and therefore it makes no sense to defend ideas that have proven to be obsolete in other areas. The shifting of his argument to a military register is significant, since it allows us to glimpse reality from a warlike perspective that does not align with his previous utopian vision. A few lines earlier, he had mentioned the Turks as a negative example of a people who, because they idealized their past, had refused to adopt “from the other nations, the means of defeating them” (1963, 217). Modernity is a school, yes, but one that serves as preparation for the battlefield. The goal of progress, as these paragraphs hint, is not the universal happiness of all people, but the domination of some societies by others. The less developed countries must imitate the modern ones precisely to be able to compete with them.

The same general ideas about modernity that appear in this early document of Capmany’s will be repeated for more than a decade. They are found in his acceptance speeches for induction into both the Academy of History in 1775 (*Discurso de ingreso*) and the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres of Barcelona in 1782 (*Discurso pronunciado*), two texts that reproduce entire paragraphs of his *Commentary*. They are also repeated in what is considered to be one of the most relevant writings of his first period: the first version of his *Filosofía de la elocuencia* (*Philosophy of Eloquence*), which appeared in 1777. In the Prologue to this work, Capmany talks about this century’s achievements in glowing terms, exhorting “the glory of an enlightened age, which will mold perhaps the most memorable era in the annals of human knowledge” (1777, v). Further on, he criticizes those who remain slaves to tradition, asserting that the “author who does not want to appear ridiculous” (1777, xviii) must adopt the style of his century—a style that is not exclusive to any one group, since all Europe has “universalized the same ideas in the sphere of *belles lettres*, the same taste, and therefore a single means of expression” (1777, xix). And then, again shifting his argument to a military vein, he adds that in Europe only the Turks “preserve the language of their fierce Othman in testimony to his barbarism, and the discipline of Selim, to the discredit of his weapons” (1777, xix). Mentioning the arts of war in a treatise on eloquence is surprising—not to mention paradoxical, if we consider that he was just preaching the advances of the age as a common enterprise in which all nations participate as brothers. Again, the battlefield is insinuated behind the pleasant pedagogical imagery.<sup>6</sup>

The consideration of modernity as an effective tool of power, which, as we have just seen, is kept in the background in his early writings, becomes one of the central axes of his arguments starting with his *Teatro histórico-crítico de la elocuencia española* (1787; *Historico-Critical Theater of Spanish Eloquence*). The conceptual shift (or rather, the change of emphasis) implies questioning whether scientific advances are indeed a product of an altruistic, disinterested impulse. The objective that all nations pursue is to become stronger and ensure a hegemonic position on a political stage of struggles and rivalries. Assuming the consequences of this fact obliges Capmany to completely revise his ideas on modernity and value.<sup>7</sup> If progress is not a common enterprise in which all human beings participate altruistically, but a competition in which the most advanced acquire the strength necessary to dominate their rivals, the aesthetic values associated with the modern world are necessarily contaminated. They do not reflect an evolution towards more rational positions, but the exercise of hegemony. Defending those values, therefore, means accepting that power dynamic and contributing to reinforcing it.<sup>8</sup>

The reproaches that Capmany previously directed at the Spanish people for discounting modernity due to a poorly understood patriotism now begin to be directed against modern foreigners who judge Spanish ways of life through a distorted lens. And not only against foreigners: in his “Preliminary Speech” (*Discurso preliminar*), he notes that he wrote the book to “disabuse concerned foreigners, and many Spaniards who are more concerned than they are, and not give them any excuse whatsoever to apologize for not having studied the delicacies of our language due to a lack of models of pure, noble elocution” (1848, ii). His biases, as we can see, have changed sides. Where before they were associated with the purists who refused to recognize the superiority of the modern world, now they characterize those other Spaniards who, fascinated by the glitter of a foreign modernity, condemn *en masse* their culture without knowing it. Where before he was concerned with the antimodern prejudices of Spanish writers, now he worries over the anti-Spanish prejudices of modern writers. Thus, to his attacks against the damage caused to the Spanish language by the seventeenth-century Baroque, he now adds condemnation of the corruption caused “in this century with deplorable translations of French books” (1848, iv). We begin to see in Capmany’s discourse an obvious antagonism towards a value system considered to be modern, but which, at the same time, he thinks serves the interests of France. Likewise, his animosity extends (perhaps even more virulently), to “Frenchified” Spaniards.

The association between modernity and hegemony does not mean that Capmany now stops defending the universalism of “good taste.” His argumentation proves that he is still convinced that there exists an aesthetic value based on reason, and is, therefore, objective. In his “Preliminary Speech” he states that he proposes to apply “the rules of reason and fairness” (1848, xvii) and to defend the scale of values that are thereby obtained. He insists several times that the worth of the Spanish writers he is going to include “must be real and intrinsic” (1848, xvi). What concerns him is that those rules are not applied equally to everyone, due to the ignorance and biases of certain foreign authors, as well as the near idolatry of Francophile Spaniards who accept as an incontestable decision everything that comes from the other side of the Pyrenees. He condemns the imposition of a discourse that claims to be rational and objective but is actually a consequence of the power relations between countries. Based on the greater prestige of French society at that time, France’s writers and those who imitate them hope to pass off as objective opinions that, at heart, favor France’s national interests.

One of those opinions affects the Spanish literary tradition. To refute the discourse that condemns wholesale the supposed poor taste of its writers, Capmany offers a series of texts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that prove just the opposite. However, he acknowledges that the selection process cost him a great deal of time and effort, as most of Spanish literature, in his opinion, suffers from serious defects. The great treasures it contains are hidden under a sea

of vulgarity and trivialities. If he had wanted to include “the bad, the useless, the superfluous; the book would have grown much larger, and my job would have been much easier” (1848, xii). This clarification proves that Capmany still accepts the existence of a scale of objective values, regardless of the fact that the standard on which it is based relegates Spanish literature to a secondary position. According to him, since “the early years of the glorious reign of Louis the Great, we must confess that [the French] hold recognized advantages over the other European nations in all genres of writing” (1848, li). Questioning French preeminence in literary matters, which is what he proposes to do, will force him to resort to a change of focus in that same work.

From the first paragraphs of the *Teatro histórico-crítico*, as I just indicated, Capmany makes clear that he proposes to vindicate the value of Spanish literature against the biases of all those who condemn it without knowing it. The texts he chooses offer a view that more nearly reflects reality, but everything seems to indicate that that argument was not enough for him.<sup>9</sup> In comparing his writers with the French, Capmany is forced to admit that, since at least the seventeenth century, no matter how many excellent paragraphs exist in Spanish literature, they cannot compete with the French. This realization obliges him to introduce into his discourse a new concept of value divorced from modernity and, in his opinion, more intrinsic and true. Thus, he asserts, regardless of whether Spanish books supply enough “weapons” to claim that Spanish eloquence is superior to French, gathering a collection “of the great, sublime, and amusing things that our people, our sombre and merry masses, spill and have spilled throughout time, which, disgracefully, neither writing nor tradition has preserved” (1848, lxxiv) should be enough to demonstrate it. The uncontaminated nature of the common people is, therefore, the most appropriate element to serve as the basis for comparison between the two countries.<sup>10</sup>

Capmany offers several reasons to justify his change of perspective. If what we want is to “measure the intelligence” between two societies, he feels it is not enough to compare their writers and scientists. The advantages or disadvantages observed this way “have their moments, just as those of the weapons that have their days: they depend on incidental, ephemeral causes” (1848, lxxxi). Again, we can see in Capmany an attempt to dissociate the concept of “intelligence” from that of “scientific advances,” and to link the latter with the power of weapons, which leads him to maintain that the concepts of “reason” and “science” are not similar. The former moves in the province of essences, while the latter has to do with historical realities.<sup>11</sup> Shortly before, he had insisted on that same distinction when he stated that the “science of a nation will be able to be found in its writers, its teachers, in those who govern and rule it; but the original nature of its talent must be sought in its people, because only in them are reason and traditions constant, uniform, and shared” (1848, lxxx–lxxxi). Therefore, when we compare the eloquence of two different countries, we must not concentrate on their written production, but on the speech of the common people. In their creativity and in their words is where the true character of a nation is reflected.

By applying that criterion, Spain has no reason to envy any other nation, since, if the native talents of nations “are as different as their diverse climates,” the Spanish have been shaped by a nature that seems created “for the great and sublime in deeds and words” (1848, lxxxii, lxxvi). They have a prolific inventiveness, a vast, ardent imagination, fervent emotions, promptness and warmth in the performance [of their duties] [...] The sons of a country with such a favorable climate, who have received as a gift of nature “such an excellent complexion, temperament, and organization; they could not, let us confess it, addle their wits except by tormenting it with a poor education” (1848, lxxvii). The low quality of Spanish literature in the seventeenth century can only be explained as a result of a misguided education that popularized in that era infantile displays of wit and gaudy decorations. Otherwise, it would have been impossible for a people of such extraordinary innate qualities to have produced so much nonsense. And indeed, if we set

aside written literature and concentrate on the lower classes, we find a very different reality. It is not the Spanish people but those of other European countries who should be considered “truly barbarous, since they live discouraged; who in many places are almost stupid; in others, they are the animal that most resembles man” (1848, lxxxii).<sup>12</sup>

While in his early writings Capmany associated the concept of value with those of progress and reason, feeling obligated to acknowledge that Spaniards were very backward relative to other European countries, the proposal that the value of a people resides in its nature allows him to claim that his countrymen are at the forefront of Europe. The relationship is inverted. The problem is that at that level, there is no objective scale of valuation. The superiority of the modern world is demonstrable in practice. It is sufficient to establish, as Capmany did previously (although now he judges it as secondary), that progress implies growing stronger. In this sense, it is no accident that modern countries occupy a hegemonic position and that the other nations imitate them, since strength and power possess an indubitable prestige. Conversely, the “natural” superiority of the Spanish is nothing more than an emotional venting similar to what Capmany criticized some years before in the apologists. It could be said, paraphrasing his words in *Comentario* (*Commentary*), that like them, he can find no other way to “avenge” the obvious inferiority of Spain in his lifetime (1963, 204).

The new system of values proposed by Capmany is explained, as noted earlier, by conclusion that modernity implies the exercise of hegemony. He confirms that the values defined as modern are not the result of a rational process, nor do they have a universal validity; rather, they reflect a particular idiosyncrasy of the society that imposes them. French ideas, the French language, literature, theater, French customs, their fashions ...; everything that pertains to the neighboring country crosses the Pyrenees with an overwhelming force and expands quickly on the other side of the border. The French dictate is accepted by the Spanish as an irrevocable sentence.<sup>13</sup> In his “Observaciones críticas sobre la excelencia de la lengua castellana” (Critical Observations on the Excellence of the Spanish Language), also included in the opening sections of the *Teatro histórico-crítico*, Capmany argues that the invasion of French books has had certain positive effects, since it has served to communicate to the Spanish people “the knowledge of the cultured nations” and their advances in “the arts, the *belles lettres*, and natural sciences” (1848, cxiii), but it has likewise caused many to despise everything about their own things without distinguishing the good from the bad (1848, cxiv). That attitude, which reflects an irrational subordination, profoundly irritates him.<sup>14</sup>

Beginning with *Teatro histórico-crítico*, Capmany’s writing contains ever more references to the aggression that Spain suffers at the hands of their powerful neighbor. The blame for that state of affairs does not belong to the French, who ultimately are defending their interests, but to the Spanish, who seem to have substituted a shameful submission to a foreign power for the healthy patriotism that had characterized them for centuries. In his *Nuevo diccionario francés-español* (*New French-Spanish Dictionary*), published in 1805, Capmany rails against the “humiliating foreign yoke” and the “ignominious guardianship” (1817, ii) to which Spaniards of the era are subjected by the French. And a few pages later, he condemns the “servile imitation” observed in their writings in all types of matters. He asserts that they take from their neighbor ideas and even specific words, changing the relation between the two cultures into “a kind of literary vassalage” (1817, xx). The terminology used by Capmany (yoke, custody, servile, vassalage) allows us to glimpse the existence of a power relation that he considers shameful and intolerable.<sup>15</sup>

The French invasion of 1808 simply reinforces that conviction. Napoleon justified his decision by saying he wanted to help the Spanish modernize their country, so it should be no surprise that concepts like “civilize” and “regenerate” now hold a negative meaning for Capmany. In *Centinela contra franceses* (*Sentinel against the French*), the most important book of his final period,

the Spanish nation's defense against everything that endangers its identity becomes the central focus of his arguments. Ideas are good or bad to the extent that they contribute—or not—to that objective. Thus, the word *civilize* acquires a meaning different from the normal one when it is proven that Napoleon can use it to gain the support of many Spaniards. Capmany reveals that what Napoleon actually proposes is “to civilize nations in his own way, until they lose their former character and the memory of their liberty. To equalize everything, make it uniform, simplify it, organize it, are very pleasant words for theorists, and even more so for tyrants.” Aware that he confronts a dangerous strategy by the enemy, Capmany declares that civilization “sometimes kills nations” (1988, 123, 127).

Sentences like this have caused some critics to assert that the Capmany of *Centinela* displays a furiously reactionary nature. And indeed, this would seem to be the obvious deduction when, at different points in the text, he declares himself in favor of the primitivism and barbarism of the common people, of preserving irrational prejudices, and of keeping the lower classes ignorant. But to understand the full meaning of his assertions, they must be viewed in the context in which they were produced. *Centinela* is born as a strong reaction against Napoleon's invasion, with a clearly combative intent. Capmany says it from the start: confronted with the reality of war, just as others fight the enemy with swords, he does it with his pen (1988, 81). It is obvious that his intention is not to offer cold reason, but to contribute to defeating the tyrant. His entire discourse must be understood in this vein. Hence, everything that he thinks will help strengthen the enemy receives his fiercest condemnation. Likewise, everything that, in his opinion, contributes to strengthening the Spanish cause must be applauded and supported.

His negative references to modernity should not be understood as an attack on what that concept represents. We know that Capmany had enlightened ideas and that he held them until the end of his life, as his interventions on behalf of the new Constitution in the Courts of Cádiz clearly prove. His invective against modernity can only be explained by his opinion that this concept was being used by the French to consolidate their power in Spain. It is not the concept per se that arouses his suspicions, but the use to which the aggressors put it, and the negative effects that resulted from that use. If Napoleon had managed to gain the support of a significant number of the Spanish elite by promising them that he intended to modernize the country, then the concept of modernity weakened the Spanish national cause and should be denounced.

In fact, Napoleon's strategy confirmed the suspicions that Capmany had expressed in *Teatro histórico-crítico*. The continual importation of French books throughout the eighteenth century, especially the second half, had helped prepare for the present military invasion. The supposedly rational, superior ideas and customs of the neighboring country had succeeded in distancing a segment of the Spanish elite from their own culture and traditions. As a consequence of that first invasion, quite a number of Spaniards at the turn of the nineteenth century identified more with French values than with their own. They had been born in Spain, but “their heart was in France” (1988, 89). It was perfectly reasonable, then, that once the aggression began, they would decide to collaborate with the tyrant, since the conquest of minds had paved the way for a military conquest. Those who, deep down, looked down on their homeland were incapable of defending it. Capmany heaped his scorn on those traitors who repudiated their Spanish identity. The illness they suffered (inoculation with French ideas) made them useless in the sacred enterprise that was underway. Their collaborationism, said Capmany, confirmed that the nation “that lives enamored of another is already half beaten” (1988, 117).

The only ones who had known enough to resist the French, as the war already underway so ably proved, were those who, because of their ignorance, had avoided the contagion. Here Capmany mentions all those peoples that, against all logic, had managed to humiliate Napoleon's army: “a greybeard from San Juan de Acre, who looked more like a monk than a soldier, [...]

the barbaric, undisciplined Mamelukes; the boorish, brutal Cossacks; and the timid, lazy, superstitious Spaniards, whom the French, in their confidence and audacity, believed to be asleep at the gate” (1988, 104). Brutality, barbarism, and superstition in these paragraphs take on a positive connotation, since these attributes, unanimously condemned by enlightened men, now served to inspire a patriotic fervor that impelled them to resist the invasion. Where the educated Spaniards had been lukewarm in their defense of their homeland, the lower classes, following only the dictates of their hearts, became the hard core of the resistance. Their heroism seemed directly proportional to their lack of education, which was why ignorance became, for Capmany, a positive quality; again I stress, this was not because he was in favor of ignorance as such, but because education, in his opinion, had acted as a kind of Trojan horse to facilitate the occupation.

Capmany’s visceral opposition to the invaders leads him to propose the need to create a Spanish identity diametrically opposed to the French.<sup>16</sup> Given that the fascination with French ideas was one of the key factors responsible for the aggression, the solution could be found in inverting that tendency and rescuing traditional Spanish customs: the plays known as *comedias*, the poetic style of *romances* (ballads), the satiric *jácaras* or comic ballads, bullfights, traditional clothing ... Capmany advises his countrymen to dress “the opposite of the French, whatever style that seems to you to be opposite, even if it be Moorish, Turkish or Persian” (1988, 137). The objective is to stay as far away from France as possible to avoid their influence. By rescuing their traditions, the Spanish people would regain the old energy that they had lately lost, they would again “be Spaniards of old despite the foolish dandyism; that is, we will again be courageous, formal, and serious ... We will have our own customs, those that made us invulnerable to foreign weapons and politics” (1988, 89–90). Significantly, if in his early writings Capmany believed that the strength of a country was directly proportional to its degree of modernization, he now denies that concept because he thinks it serves French interests, and he asserts that Spain will only be able to become stronger by recovering its previous character. Rejection of all things French leads him to propose tradition itself as a model. When modernity is considered a threat, “what is ours” becomes an obsession. The problems that could be considered spatial (defense of a national identity) push those that are more temporal (modernizing the country) out of the limelight.<sup>17</sup>

In this same vein, Capmany claims that only by again becoming “Spaniards of sound judgment and traditional values” can they prevent “the French from coming to whip us like schoolchildren” (1988, 134–135). The scholastic imagery he used in his early writings to portray the spirit of fraternity and collaboration that, as he then believed, characterized the project of enlightenment, here takes on a very different meaning. The defense of traditional Spanish customs is justified, considering that the concept of modernity, monopolized as it is by the French, represents in their hands a humiliating instrument of indoctrination and guardianship.

The recommendation to do everything the opposite of the French also applies to the production of a kind of literature that is radically opposed to that country. In Part Two of *Centinela*, Capmany claims that the war against Napoleon has fostered the recovery of traditional Spanish speech, “and even of eloquence, as can be seen in some of the patriotic writings of this time of freedom, because, with more or less decoration and gallantry, all are productions of our own muse and not translations or imitations of French” (1988, 138).<sup>18</sup> His writing of *Centinela* was inscribed within this patriotic project, since it would be difficult to find a text further from the characteristics associated with French literature—not just because of its ideas, but also because of its style. Its opposition to the reigning ideas of the Enlightenment is complemented by its visceral, inflammatory style, far from any sense of order or structure. Its reasoning is circular, gaining intensity with each new cycle, throwing insults at Napoleon and his followers, encouraging the Spanish people to fight against the tyrant. It is a combative text, and as such, rash and fiery. Capmany writes a little “off the top of his head,” as Unamuno would say of his own writing

a hundred years later, with no order or outline, unless the passion that permeates everything he writes could be considered as such. The lack of a plan at times leaves him feeling lost, without really knowing “where to begin to go with my fantasy” (1988, 139). It is a work in which the author is emotionally involved in what he writes, producing a text that seems to be an extension of his soul, so much so that at a certain point, he feels obliged to end the speech “so I don’t die before my time” (1988, 158).

Both because of the ideas he expresses and the way he expresses them, *Centinela contra franceses* marks the high point of Capmany’s progressive shift away from the sensibility of the eighteenth century. His opinion that modernity represents a threat for Spain because it is an instrument of French hegemony, as well as his visceral reaction in defense of what is specifically Spanish, puts him on the same level as the German *Sturm und Drang* writers. In them also can be seen a similar process of initial imitation of the French and later (re)turn to the components of their own identity.<sup>19</sup>

In the Spanish cultural sphere, *Centinela contra franceses* reproduces an attitude and sensibility similar to that of Goya’s *Fusilamientos del 3 de mayo* (*Executions of May 3*). Both works are articulated around the opposition between French invaders and Spanish patriots. The former are associated with the Enlightenment and progress, uniformity and order, but also with brutal aggression against a people that refuse to be dominated. The light of reason is useless in these works for guiding people towards future happiness; rather, it only illuminates the killing of a group of innocent people. Progress is not interpreted as a rational enterprise in which all human beings participate, but a process that allows some societies to subjugate others. At the other extreme, the population that appears as protagonist in both works is the same one that enlightened men despised as ignorant, primitive, disorganized, dominated by the clergy, and associated with religion, but that now fights for a just and noble cause. And that ennobles them. This is how their idealization is explained in both works. But that does not mean that Goya and Capmany display a reactionary nature. Nationalism must not be confused with conservatism. The defense of the ignorant masses is tied to the resistance against an act of aggression that was made in the name of modernity. Only in this context can his anti-Enlightenment message make sense. In both works one can see a sensibility that is clearly associated with Romanticism.

## Notes

★ Translated by Linda Grabner, University of Pennsylvania

- 1 For Fernández de la Cigoña and Cantero Núñez, Capmany was always an enlightened man, although “we do not find him to represent the extremes of the Enlightenment” (1993, 409). Others, like Herrero (1973, 249–51) and Carnero (1978, 253–54), by contrast, include him among the most prominent representatives of reactionary thinking. Juretschke thinks Capmany’s attitude remained consistent throughout his entire production, showing a determination to combine reformism with tradition (1969, 220–21). According to him, although many specialists “speak of two Capmanys, the progressive and the conservative, the pro-French and the anti-Gallic,” this division involves “the serious risk of completely misunderstanding the Catalan. His evolution was much less [extreme] than what is generally believed” (1969, 230).
- 2 Giralt proposes that the changes in Capmany’s thinking are conditioned by his context: for having lived through “two such different times—the fullness of enlightened despotism and the crisis of the absolutist monarchy—and for wanting to openly proclaim his reasoning with respect to both of them, Capmany appears to be a contradictory thinker” (1991, 120).
- 3 The text was published under a pseudonym, but Glendinning and Juretschke proved conclusively that Capmany is the author.
- 4 Compare this with the future of the Enlightenment of Humanity predicted by Jovellanos in his “Speech Given in the Asturian Institute on the Study of Natural Sciences”: “This is also how all the people who live there are joined, how they share their knowledge, their arts, their wealth and their virtues, and how

- that long-hoped-for day is prepared—a day when reason and nature having been perfected, and the great human family united in a spirit of peace and holy friendship—when the empire of innocence will be established and the august goals of creation will be fulfilled” (1880, 201–02).
- 5 It is to this process that Astigarraga refers when he asserts, “the Enlightenment was essentially a process of circulating, adapting and applying these new concepts” (2015, 1). But the process was more complex than a mere work of adaptation, as will be seen in this chapter.
  - 6 In the second edition of the *Philosophy* (*Filosofía*), published in 1812, an important change is made in regard to the examples given: the quotations from Spanish authors exceed those from authors of other nationalities. For more on this, see Alcalá Galiano (1955, 84) and Checa Beltrán (1989, 149).
  - 7 Cortijo Ocaña also observes that Capmany’s admiration for the French language and culture “dims when he sees the French in terms of an overwhelming imperialist power, whether in linguistic or political fields” (2014, 25).
  - 8 The reasons for this change are no doubt numerous, although it particularly bothered him to be on the receiving end of French condescension. After the publication of *Philosophy of Eloquence*, he sent a copy to D’Alembert, and the indifference shown by the French writer wounded his pride (Étienvre 2001, 165). On the other hand, Masson’s well-known article on Spain, which was widely distributed, appeared in 1782, and in 1784 the Berlin Academy awarded a prize to Rivarol’s speech on “the universality of the French language.” Such manifestations of arrogance and scorn could never sit well with someone of Capmany’s temperament.
  - 9 Checa asserts that “Capmany found himself with the problem of not having reasons for defending the Spanish of his time, so he turned his eyes to our Golden Age, and thus, also, he praised our language for its ‘natural dispositions’” (1989, 137).
  - 10 The meaning of the word *pueblo* in Capmany, according to Baker, is similar to the meaning employed by the Romantics (2003, 319). For more on Capmany’s connections to Romanticism, see Juretschke (1969, 203), Baquero Goyanes (1960, 182), and Berbel Rodríguez (2002, 24).
  - 11 It is significant that, in a similar context of opposition to French hegemony a century later, Unamuno makes a similar distinction between “science” and “wisdom” (1968, 926–27).
  - 12 In the Prologue to *Spanish Theatre* (*Theatro Hespáñol*), García de la Huerta also made literary wit dependent on the climate, asserting that Spaniards had a better “natural disposition” for dramatic literature than the French (LII). And in reference to the latter, he adds that it is not easy for the divine fire of enthusiasm “to accompany the spirits of a people raised in poor, marshy soils, lacking sulphur, salts and substance, and so little blessed by the heat of Phoebus [i.e., Apollo] that their fruits and harvests would barely ripen if industry did not raise them up off the ground” (1786, LIII). This type of argument caused considerable amusement among writers of a neoclassical bent. See, for example, the *Continuation of Critical Memoirs by Cosme Damian* (*Continuación de las memorias críticas por Cosme Damián*) (5). For similarities between Huerta’s evolution and Capmany’s, see Checa Beltrán (2015, 26).
  - 13 The denunciation of “French modernity”, considering that it is not a result of a rational process but the exercise of hegemony, will be the main argument used by Böhl de Faber in the controversy over Calderón. In “Truth Unmasked” (*La verdad sin máscara*), he asserts that the French are annoyed because they know that the Germans “are undermining the throne of their literary despotism” (*Pasatiempo crítico* 68).
  - 14 Berlin claims that the sensation of being scorned by the French, imbued with “national and cultural superiority, created a sense of collective humiliation, later to turn into indignation and hostility, that sprang from wounded pride. The German reaction at first is to imitate French models, then to turn against them” (1992, 218–19). Therein lies the origin of the *Sturm und Drang* movement (219). For the connections between Romanticism and nationalism, also see Hazard (1963, 460–65), Flitter (1992, 14), and Boime (1990, 362–63).
  - 15 For the application of the concept of colonization to the relations between Spain and France, see Torrecilla 1996b (chapter 1) and 1996a (chapter 5). Also see Raillard (38–39).
  - 16 A similar reaction in the eighteenth century had caused the formation of a new identity that is opposed point by point to that of the French. Ortega y Gasset studies the phenomenon in “Goya and the popular” (*Goya y lo popular*). For a more detailed analysis, see Torrecilla 2004. Greenfeld observes that “since the creative process resulting from *ressentiment* is by definition a reaction to the values of others and not to one’s own condition regardless of others, the new system of values that emerges is necessarily influenced by the one to which it is a reaction” (16). Therefore, it is not about Spaniards recasting as *castizo* or pureblooded the “Romantic myth” constructed about them by other European countries (Andreu Miralles 2016, 197–98). The new identity takes shape in a context of visceral opposition to the French.

- 17 Analyzing the cases of Martí and Unamuno, Fernández Retamar considers that this double movement of imitating modern societies and then retreating towards “what is ours” is characteristic of the writers of marginal countries (1970, 347–51).
- 18 Several critics have observed that Capmany saw linguistic matters in patriotic terms. Alcalá Galiano recalls that in the Courts of Cádiz, they had assigned him the post of censor of speeches, and sometimes “he would jump up indignantly in the middle of a session, foaming at the mouth and casting fiery patriotic looks, to denounce some phrase or word that to him seemed to be high literary treason” (1969, 46–47). Also see Aymes (2003, 70).
- 19 Thus, for example, Berlin says of Hamann that “he began as a disciple of the Enlightenment, but, after a profound spiritual crisis, turned against it, and published a series of polemical attacks written in a highly idiosyncratic, perversely allusive, contorted, deliberately obscure style, as remote as he could make it from the, to him, detestable elegance, clarity, and smooth superficiality of the bland and arrogant French dictators of taste and thought” (1979, 7).

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# Contesting the grounds for feminism in the Hispanic eighteenth century

## The Enlightenment and its legacy

*Catherine M. Jaffe*

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The defense of women's nature, rights, and role in society in eighteenth-century Spain and Latin America invoked Enlightenment ideals of reason, equality, social utility, and individual improvement through education. These ideas were widely diffused throughout Europe and the Americas via translations and the periodical press and were promoted by the rise in literacy that accelerated somewhat unevenly throughout the century. Although the modern understanding of feminism as a set of ideas and a political movement (Offen 2000, 20) cannot be applied to the early modern world, arguments in defense of women based on Enlightenment premises might be considered "feminist," according to historian Mónica Bolufer, if we take feminism to mean

a critical assessment of women's position and education, an egalitarian (or, at least, more balanced) view of women's and men's intellectual and moral capacities, and a strong emphasis on education as responsible for shaping gendered abilities, inclinations and subjectivities, and therefore as the key to improving not only women's participation in social and cultural life but also their own self-esteem and perception of their potential.

(2018, 38–39)

As Bolufer shows, gender discourse in eighteenth-century Spain and elsewhere introduced new ideas about women's role and education, but it also continued previous intellectual debates such as the "woman question" (*querelle des femmes*) that had been carried on since the beginning of the fifteenth century, and the discourse of seventeenth-century rationalism, which argued against the assumption of women's natural moral and intellectual inferiority to men (2005a; 2018, 40–42).

Seventeenth-century defenders of women affirmed their rational equality with men and continued a public discourse regarding gender that dated back to the fifteenth century. By "deconstructing" traditional notions of a divinely-ordered hierarchy, Siep Stuurman argues, they laid the grounds for Enlightenment discourse on gender as a social construct rather than a category ordained by nature, and thus were central to the development of Enlightenment thought (Stuurman 2005, 371, 385). In the eighteenth century these early feminist ideas informed assertions of rational equality between men and women and led to new debates and new avenues for social and political participation for women, discourses

that were characterized by continuities rather than ruptures, as Bolufer has argued (1998, 29–59; 2005a, 389–390; 2005b, 479–484; 2018, 38–42). While these discourses circulated widely throughout the Atlantic world, the Hispanic Enlightenment was necessarily Catholic and in the case of Hispanic America was further nuanced by creole, mestizo, and indigenous experience (Mo Romero and Rodríguez García 2005; Pérez Cantó and de la Nogal 2005; Stolley 2013, 114–144, 175–178). For Hispanic America, an important example of the continuity of earlier discourses defending women is the frequent invocation throughout the eighteenth century of the famous Mexican creole nun, Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1648–1695), and her eloquent vindication of women’s right to an intellectual life. Georgina Sabat claims that Sor Juana’s “protofeminism” is marked by her assertion of a woman’s rationality and her sense of solidarity with other women (Sabat 2005, 712–714).

Two crucial texts published in Spain and the polemics they provoked highlight the rational equality debate carried out at the heart of the Spanish empire. Benedictine friar Benito Jerónimo Feijoo’s *Defensa de las mujeres* (1726; *Defense of Women*) asserted women’s rational equality with men and defended their intellectual capacity. He found no basis in nature or science for women’s subordination to men, but deferred to the unknowable divine Providence as the cause of social hierarchies (Bolufer 2005a, 392–400). Feijoo’s popular works played a crucial role in diffusing Enlightenment ideas in Spain and beyond its borders. His essay provoked a series of publications and retorts protesting his subversion of gender norms, for the concept of rational equality between the sexes potentially disrupted all kinds of social hierarchies (Bolufer 1998, 34–59; 2005a). And in 1786, the erudite writer Josefa Amar y Borbón published her eloquent “Discurso en defensa del talento de las mujeres, y de su aptitud para el gobierno, y otros cargos en que se emplean los hombres” (Defense of Women’s Talent and of their Aptitude for Governing and Other Positions in which Men are Employed). Amar stoutly defended women’s right to join the Royal Madrid Economic Society and thus to participate practically and symbolically in the public sphere. The controversy produced many heated publications in favor of and against women’s membership, and the matter would only be settled by the king’s establishment of a *Junta de Damas* (Women’s Council) separate from and subordinate to the Madrid Economic Society (Kitts, 1995; Bolufer 1998, 341–388; Bolufer 2005b, 502–506; Lewis, 2004, 26–38; López-Cordón 2005a; Smith 2006, 71–107).

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the ideology of complementary gender roles, aligning itself with a culture of sensibility that attributed greater sensitivity and feeling to women and that was influentially articulated by Jean-Jacques Rousseau, nuanced the feminist discourse of rational equality by conceding that while there may be no natural hierarchy, women had a unique role as mothers within the private sphere of the family. The differing gender models of, on the one hand, rational if not legal equality between the sexes, and on the other, of their essential difference and complementarity, existed side by side and were often not mutually exclusive (Bolufer 1998, 62–77; 2018, 42–49).

As the Enlightenment helped to bring an end to the old regime and ushered in liberal revolutions in Europe and independence movements in America, it brought women to what Bolufer has called the “crossroads” of Enlightenment (1998, 389–401; 2018, 49) and what Karen O’Brien has called its “paradoxical legacy” for feminism (621). That is, the acknowledgement of women’s rational equality and of their importance to their children’s formation as citizens accorded women a socially significant role and authorized their education, even though the extent of that education remained undefined. But it also was invoked to justify, at times, the curtailment of women’s sphere of action and influence to the home and family.

In 1790, Josefa Amar y Borbon published her book about women’s education, *Discurso sobre la educación física y moral de las mujeres* (López-Cordón 1994; *Discourse on the Physical and Moral*

*Education of Women*). Amar's book takes the form of a scholarly treatise on women's physical health, childbearing, and breast feeding, as well as domestic economy, dealing with servants, and choosing a spouse. Amar also discusses women's education in religion, morals, dancing, music, mathematics, geography, history, literature, and classical and modern languages. Amar cites texts about education both in translation and in the original modern and classical languages. She includes the scholarly apparatus of footnotes and in her final chapter provides an extensive annotated bibliography of works about education throughout history, commenting on whether they dealt with women. Amar's is a pragmatic and unabashedly scholarly book written for those who will provide education for girls, rather than a book directly addressed to them, "a show of erudition with the pretext of talking about education" (López-Cordón 1994, 44). She takes as a matter of fact women's primary domestic responsibilities and treats them seriously. Amar also coolly asserts that if some young women should desire to pursue an advanced education similar to men's, there is no reason that they should not do so. Josefa Amar's book on women's education, which assumes women's rational equality with men, is the most important example of late-Enlightenment feminist thinking in Spain (Sullivan; López-Cordón 1994, 44–49, 2005a; Bolufer 1998, 117–151; Lewis 2004, 38–56).

As a way to reflect on the legacy of Enlightenment feminism expressed so forcefully by Feijoo and Amar, this chapter will examine two books about women's education published just after the turn of the eighteenth century, both addressed to women in formats intended to appeal to young readers. The first, female-authored, is couched as letters addressed directly to a young woman and the second, male-authored, is a didactic novel with many scenes in dialogue form. Both genres had a long popular tradition of reaching out to young, female readers, thereby seeking to influence and mold conduct. These two books will serve as examples of how the Enlightenment ideals and paradoxes discussed above circulated throughout the Atlantic world and informed the debate about women at the beginning of the liberal era. In Madrid around 1800, Rita Caveda y Solares quietly published her only known work, a book of letters addressed to her niece, in which she encouraged a modest course of education and reading and emphasized the advantages of domestic economy and learning to control her temper. In 1818–1819, the *Mexican Thinker* (*Pensador Mexicano*), José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi, began to publish installments of a novel about women's education in which he invoked some Enlightenment theories but also affirmed women's susceptibility to corruption and their subordinate status.

### Rita Caveda translates bluestocking feminism

In Madrid towards the end of 1800, Rita de Caveda Solares published *Cartas selectas de una señora. A una sobrina suya, Entresacadas de una obra inglesa, Impresa en Filadelfia, y Traducidas al Español...* (*Selected Letters from a Lady to her Niece, Taken from an English Work Published in Philadelphia, and Translated to Spanish...*), a conduct manual for young women (Urzainqui 2006a, xc–cix, 165–245). Caveda presents her book to her women readers:

To the Fair Sex: Ladies. I present to you this little book, which for its beautiful morals and solid maxims of education belongs rightly to our sex. Fortunate am I if one of you takes advantage of such precious documents, which is the recompense I desire, and the only purpose for which I write. (Rita de Caveda Solares 1800, iii–iv)

Al Bello Sexo: Señoras. Presento a V. esta obrita, que por su bella moral, y sólidas máximas de educación, pertenece propiamente a nuestro sexo. Dichosa yo si consigo que alguna se aproveche de tan preciosos documentos, que es la recompensa que deseo, y el único fin que me propongo.<sup>1</sup>

Caveda explains the provenance of the book in her brief introduction:

A happy coincidence brought into my hands a little Anglo-American book that has a select collection of letters about various opportune and interesting matters. It was published in Philadelphia, and I think there must be very little notice among us of such a worthy work. (v)

Una feliz casualidad ha traído a mis manos un librito Anglo-Americano, que contiene una colección de cartas escogidas sobre varias materias oportunas e interesantes. Se ha publicado en Filadelfia, y creo habrá entre nosotros pocas noticias de una obra tan apreciable.

Little notice seems to have been taken, however, of Caveda's brief, seventy-five-page book, and it was not reviewed in the Madrid newspapers. Inmaculada Urzainqui claims that the slim volume stood out from other such publications for women published in late-Enlightenment Spain precisely because of its purported Anglo-American origin (2006b, 19–20).<sup>2</sup>

Like many women writers, Caveda adduces modesty and utility in her prologue to defend her decision to publish the book. She mentions that she hesitated to do so because of the “concern, perhaps still ingrained in many, that woman's talent is as weak as her spirit, so she should not dare to play a role as an erudite writer” (vi–vii; preocupación, tal vez aun arriagada entre muchos, de que el talento de la mujer participa de la debilidad de su espíritu, para que se atreva a hacer papel entre los escritores eruditos). She concludes her prologue by claiming that if her book is “daring” (vii; atrevimiento), her good intentions will excuse it. Finally, she hints that if she meets with success, she may publish further letters, a promise that was never realized.

Caveda, like many translators of the period, did not reveal the original author of her book. Urzainqui points out that a translation from English would be linguistically remarkable given that the norm in eighteenth-century Spain was to translate English texts from intermediate French translations, and she presciently notes a Protestant flavor in the work's religious teachings (2006b, 19–20, 24). Caveda's work, it turns out, is a translation of the 1786 Philadelphia edition of Hester Mulso Chapone's hugely popular *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind Addressed to a Young Lady*, first published in London in 1773. The earliest French translation of Chapone's work was published much later, in 1823. Caveda's translation, therefore, introduces into the Spanish context one of the most influential conduct books for women ever written. The blue-stocking Hester Chapone's most famous work was reprinted fifty-seven times between 1773 and 1851 and it “disseminated the bluestocking ideal more comprehensively than any other single production of the era” (Clarke 2005, 468–469). Considering translation as a “cultural transfer” that takes into account “the complexity, processuality, and reciprocity of intercultural exchange relations” (Stockhorst 2010, 20), Caveda's translation is evidence of the process of the exchange and circulation of ideas, texts, and people in the late Enlightenment Atlantic world. As a conduct manual that seeks to both educate women for a domestic role and to control their behavior while offering a model of reflective reading, Caveda's book is an example of the adaptation of Enlightenment theories about women's rational equality and gender roles to a popular audience.

As is the case with many eighteenth-century Spanish women writers, we have relatively little information about Rita Caveda's life. Like Josefa Amar, Caveda's literary talents were clearly enabled and nurtured by a cultured and intellectually dynamic family. Urzainqui writes that Caveda was born in the northern town of Villaviciosa, Asturias, in 1760. Her older brother, Francisco de Paula, was a learned man, a bibliophile interested in the history and language of Asturias, an author and translator, and a friend of Asturian statesman and writer Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Rita Caveda married in 1791 and moved to Madrid with her husband around 1795. She had one son in 1792 and her date of death is unknown (Urzainqui 2006b, 22–23). She is called “a woman of wide learning, well-versed in humanities and languages” by a biographer

of Asturian writers (Suárez, quoted Urzainqui 2006b, 23). She taught Latin and French to her nephew, José Caveda y Nava, who became an erudite Asturian scholar. Rita Caveda's family was closely connected to Jovellanos, who knew English, loved books, and who mentions Caveda's husband, but not Rita herself, in his letters (Urzainqui 2006b, 24).

Despite these family connections and interests, it is still surprising to learn that Rita Caveda translated Chapone's work directly from English, although such translations were not completely unknown. Inés Joyes y Blake, a mature widow from an Irish-Spanish commercial family, had published in 1798 *El príncipe de Abisinia*, a translation of Samuel Johnson's 1759 *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia*, along with an original essay, "Apología de las mujeres" (Defense of Women), also, like Caveda's later work, in the form of a letter to her daughters (Bolufer 2008). Rita Caveda specifically highlights the Anglo-American and Philadelphia origin of her translation. At that time, Philadelphia was the most politically and culturally important city in the United States, the site of revolutionary events and of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and the seat of the federal government from 1790–1800 (Urzainqui 2006b, 19–20). There was a significant Spanish-speaking public in Philadelphia around the turn of the century and publishers catered to their interests. Spanish Golden Age plays were performed in Philadelphia in the 1790s, and sometimes books were misleadingly labeled as printed in Philadelphia, for the Pennsylvania city "as a true but also fictitious attribution, was notorious in Europe for its liberal printing" (Vogelely 2011, 43–44).

This American connection reflects North Americans' great interest in the Hispanic world early in the 1780's due to the alliance between Spain, the United States, and France (Almeida 2012, 398). Both Benjamin Franklin and John Jay were subscribers to the *Espíritu de los mejores diarios* (*Spirit of the Best Newspapers*), a periodical that often carried news about the United States and Philadelphia and that Caveda's family could have read (Urzainqui 2006b, 24). Thomas Jefferson advised his nephew in 1787 to learn Spanish because of political relations and for access to important scholarship on Spanish America (Almeida 2012, 399). At some point, between the publication of the 1786 edition of Hester Chapone's book in Philadelphia and 1800, it made its way into Rita Caveda's hands in Madrid. We can only speculate about the networks of family and friends that enabled this acquisition, that she calls "a happy coincidence" (*una feliz casualidad*).

Caveda's translation of Chapone allows us to reconsider the circulation of feminist ideas into and out of the Hispanic world through the reciprocal, transcultural process of translation and via networks of women writers (Johns 2014, 14–16). Hester Chapone was born to the landed gentry in 1727. Her four brothers received the formal education that was denied her; she struggled to educate herself by reading widely and especially studying John Locke. She initially earned fame as an author because of her correspondence with Samuel Richardson debating the issue of filial duty in his 1748 novel *Clarissa*. Twenty years old when she first wrote to Richardson, Hester objected to the famous novelist's contradictory view of women (Eaton 2012, 51). She cites Locke's discussion of filial and paternal duties and obligations in his 1689 *Second Treatise of Government* to argue that Richardson's protagonist Clarissa did not have to obey her parents when they tried to coerce her into marrying a suitor to whom she objected (Eaton 2012, 52). Richardson had read Feijoo's essay in defense of women (Eaton 2012, 58–59), and after reading Richardson's novel *Sir Charles Grandison* that reflected Feijoo's influence, Hester wrote to her friend, the writer Elizabeth Carter, asking her to send her some translated passages of Feijoo's work "in which he speaks so honourably of our sex," continuing, "I am a little surprised that a Spaniard should think so favourably of women. One would imagine by their manner of treating them, that they had as mean opinion of them as the Turks" (quoted in Eaton 2012, 61–62). Around the time she entered Richardson's circle, Chapone became associated with the Bluestockings, an enlightened intellectual movement that included men such as Samuel Johnson, Edmund Burke, and David

Garrick, as well as women writers such as Elizabeth Montagu, Elizabeth Carter, Hester Thrale, Hannah More, and Frances Burney (Eaton 2012, 81; Clarke 2005).

In 1773, Chapone published *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind* based on correspondence that she had destined for a beloved niece. The book became a best seller, with sixteen editions before her death in 1801 and more throughout the nineteenth century. Chapone's intimate, affectionate tone and the rational, sensible education she proposed for girls made her book easily accessible. She recommends "virtue, modesty, and obedience" but also sets out a "rigorous programme of structured study of key subjects with an emphasis on encouraging a capacity for rational thought, something which previous books in the genre had neglected," according to her biographer Barbara Eaton. She borrowed the title from an earlier book by Isaac Watts to "stress the importance of rational thought" (Eaton 2012, 143). Norma Clarke argues that Chapone and other bluestocking writers relied upon the practice of devotional reading in Puritan England to configure their intended readers, who should be docile and obedient (2005, 471), while Kathryn Steele claims that Chapone "quietly subver[ted]" gender ideology and provided a "limited interpretive authority" for her readers "within a supervisory, woman-centered community of readers" (2012, 475). The bluestocking ideal "was of self-realisation through intellectual cultivation" and the bluestockings promoted the reform of women's manners (Clarke 2005, 463). Clarke emphasizes that the bluestockings did not challenge social hierarchies, the "biblically ordained subordination of women," nor the authority of church or state, but rather they asserted the "exceptionality" of superior women who were able to guide and advise other women (464–5). Chapone dedicated her book to her bluestocking friend, Elizabeth Montagu, a "thoroughly Establishment figure" (Clarke 2005, 470).

Chapone's book became a cultural reference for later writers. Mary Wollstonecraft mentions Chapone's book approvingly in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (Eaton 2012, 174), and it was read and admired by Queen Charlotte, wife of King George III (Eaton 2012, 187–189; Steele 2012, 474). In Richard Brinsley Sheridan's 1775 play *The Rivals*, the romantic Lydia Languish hides the novels she is reading under a copy of Mrs. Chapone's *Letters*. In 1802, a rebellious daughter rejects conduct books in Fanny Burney's comic play *The Woman Hater*, crying "Decamp, Mrs. Chapone!" (Eaton 2012, 245–246). And as late as 1847, in the first pages of his novel *Vanity Fair*, William Thackeray ironically cites Dr. Johnson and Mrs. Chapone as models for Becky Sharp's early nineteenth-century school for girls, just before Becky contemptuously throws Johnson's dictionary out of the window of her carriage (Eaton 2012, 13–15). A more admiring, although indirect, reference came from Jane Austen. In *Pride and Prejudice* (1813), Mr. Darcy comments on the list of the common accomplishments that an esteemed woman should have, such as singing, dancing, modern languages, and drawing: "'All this she must possess,' added Darcy, 'and to all this she must yet add something more substantial, in the improvement of her mind by extensive reading'" (quoted in Ford 2013, 1). The emphasis on improvement through reading is a predominant theme for Chapone and Caveda.

When she took up the little Anglo-American book to translate, then, Rita Caveda was introducing into Spain ideas on women's education and intellectual abilities that had influenced important women writers such as Wollstonecraft and Austen and that were based on the theories of Enlightenment thinkers such as John Locke and novelists such as Samuel Richardson. She also echoes many of Josefa Amar's precepts, such as the importance of domestic economy, obedience and respect for parents, and reading and instruction to prepare a woman to better fulfill her domestic role as well as for self-satisfaction and reflection.

Caveda's translation is fluent and remarkably faithful to the original text. Rather than altering Chapone's message or adding her own inflection to it, she appropriates the text through the translation strategies of suppression and reorganization (Urzainqui 1991, 626–629;

2003, 481–491; Bolufer, 2014, 297–298; Smith 2006, 178–196; García Garrosa and Lafarga 2004; López-Cordón, 1996; 2005b, 208–211). Perhaps anticipating her local audience's shorter attention span in reading due to the generally lower literacy levels in Spain than in England (Jaffe 2010, 71–77), Caveda rearranged Chapone's work, producing twelve letters out of the original ten and also significantly reducing the letters' length by almost half. Caveda's letters are between four and nine pages long, whereas Chapone's range from eleven to twenty-three pages. Not surprisingly in a Catholic country where a complete translation of the Bible was only published in 1790–1793 (Urzainqui 2006b, 28–29), although Caveda does advocate reading the Bible, she suppresses two chapters of Chapone's detailed instructions on how best to read the sacred texts. Caveda translates instead selections of the pragmatic chapters on household economy and dealing with servants.

In general, Caveda omits most negative and concrete examples cited by Chapone in areas of conduct and reading, perhaps because examples of vice such as those offered in novels were considered dangerously suggestive. She instead favors positive if somewhat abstract guidelines for behavior. Condensing several chapters dealing with reading scripture, history, and geography, into a single, five-page chapter, "VI. On the qualities that women should have" (*Sobre las cualidades que deben tener las mujeres*), Caveda recommends the reading of history, geography, chronology, poetry, natural philosophy, and moral philosophy. However, she omits Chapone's detailed reading lists, textual exegesis, and explanations. Her recommendations remain abstract, perhaps reflecting the lack of consensus regarding appropriate instruction and curriculum for women, a problem not limited to Spain at the time. But she distills the essence of Chapone's message.

Caveda's chapters VII and VIII correspond to the second of Chapone's two chapters (IV and V) on the subject, "On the Regulation of the Heart and Affections" (*Sobre las disposiciones del corazón*). Caveda exalts the importance of friendship to a young woman: "The first attachment of young hearts is *friendship*—the noblest and happiest of affections, when real and built on a solid foundation" (Chapone 1786, 50; *La primera disposición del corazón de una joven, es la amistad, la más noble y la más feliz de las inclinaciones, cuando está fundada verdadera y sólidamente*; Caveda 1800, 34). She recommends developing a close friendship with a somewhat older woman who can advise her young friend based on her own experience. This friendship with a more mature, virtuous, and wiser female friend obviously resembles the projected relationship between the author and her intended readers. In chapter V, Chapone discusses how to keep a such a friend. Discerning the young girl's appropriate male suitor is then presented by both Chapone and Caveda as an aspect of friendship:

Whatever romantic notions you may hear, or read of, depend upon it, those matches are the happiest which are made on rational grounds—on suitableness of character, degree, and fortune—on mutual esteem, and the prospect of a real and permanent friendship.

(Chapone 1786, 70)

Cualesquiera que sean la [sic] relaciones romancescas que puedas oír o leer, son los más felices aquellos matrimonios, que se apoyan sobre fundamentos racionales, sobre la igualdad de carácter, clase y fortuna, y sobre la mutua estimación, y el prospecto de una verdadera y permanente amistad.

(Caveda 1800, 44)

Both women writers recommend heeding the advice of the girl's older friend and her parents in order to make the correct choice in marriage.

Caveda's final four chapters, "On the Government of Temper" (Sobre vencer el genio) are an almost literal translation of Chapone's chapter VI. As the only chapter Caveda translates almost completely and that she places in a prominent place at the end of her book, it reveals her keen interest in the control of women's behavior and her mistrust of the passions. She stresses that it is women's religious as well as social obligation to work to have a good disposition, and that this leads to the happiness of a woman's family as well as to her own satisfaction:

Reflect, for a moment, how much the happiness of her husband, children, and servants, must depend on her temper, and you will see that the greatest good, or evil, which she may have in her power to do, may arise from her correcting or indulging its infirmities.

(Chapone 1786, 75)

Reflexiona por un momento cuánto dependerá de su genio la felicidad de su marido, de sus hijos y de sus criados; y verás que el mayor bien o el mayor mal que puede hacer, se origina de corregir o disimular sus enfermedades.

(Caveda 1800, 47–48)

Both writers recommend reading, reflection, rational conversation, and prayer as practices to avoid self-absorption and to cultivate a happy, contented life. A woman's self-control, her selfless efforts to make others happy, are essential to pursue virtue and happiness. While these might seem like conventional moral strictures, Caveda's interest in translating Chapone's meditations on women's temporal happiness and on the importance of educating both mind and spirit reflect her Enlightened appreciation of the value of women in the family and in society. They are also evidence that Caveda, like Chapone and Amar, recognized that playing the role of docile and obedient daughter and wife would not always be easy, nor come naturally to women. It is not necessarily in women's nature to be obedient, gracious, and winning. Chapone and Caveda acknowledge however, that this in itself is not vice or a moral failing. They stress that virtue, practiced as the willing control of the passions and desires, leads to happiness within a society. Women's successful performance of this gendered social role is vital for stability and felicity in human relations.

Like Josefa Amar and Inés Joyes, Caveda distrusts the influence of extreme sensibility and passionate love on women, and advocates instead governing the passions and cultivating reasonable affections (Bolufer 2015, 54–55; 2016). Caveda's translation of Chapone's eloquent meditations on friendship and on how to discern compatible values among female friends as well as in possible husbands, represents a real contribution to the development of moral sensibility and feminist thought in Spain (Urzainqui 2006b, 34–35). So also does her emphasis on the rational process that girls should employ to gain knowledge, to question and ascertain values, and to cultivate the life of the mind. Caveda captures the intimate, sympathetic tone, what Ana Rueda has called her "gentle correction" (2001, 87; *corrección suave*) that made Chapone's original so effective. Although, conspicuously, Caveda does not employ Chapone's title, "The Improvement of the Mind," her book's reliance on the rational process, rather than on prescriptive moralizing, and its acknowledged identity as an Anglo-American product, are evidence of the reciprocity of feminist ideas in the turn-of-the-century Atlantic world.

## Fernández de Lizardi and women's education

José Joaquín Fernández de Lizardi (1776–1827), author of the first Latin American novel, *El periquillo sarniento* (1816; *The Mangy Parrot*), also wrote a novel on women's education, *La Quijotita y su prima: Historia muy cierta con apariencias de novela* (*Little Miss Quixote and Her Cousin*).

*A Very True Story with the Appearance of a Novel*) published in installments in 1818 and 1819, and in a complete edition in 1831 after the author's death (Sommer 1991, 11–12; Ruiz Castañeda, 1979, x–xi). Often reprinted but never translated, by the fourth edition in 1842 Lizardi's novel had acquired the additional title *La educación de las mujeres, o la Quijotita y su prima* (*The Education of Women, or Little Miss Quixote and Her Cousin*), a sign that the editors wanted to foreground its didactic intent.

Lizardi presents the novel's lessons as conversations between a virtuous father, the colonel Don Rodrigo, his wife, Doña Matilde, and his daughter, Pudenciana, related by a first-person witness, a disciple of the colonel. Opposing the example of rational and virtuous education advocated by Don Rodrigo are his wife's sister and her husband, Doña Eufrosina and Don Dionisio, and their daughter, Pomposa, all of whose names symbolically evoke their characters (Rodrigo and Matilde, ancient Castilian heritage; Pudencia, prudence; Dionisio, sensuality; Eufrosina, mirth; Pomposa, pompous or inflated). These intertwined families collectively enact both the positive effects of a virtuous and practical education and the evil results of a poor education based on frivolity, vanity, and superstition. Lizardi starkly presents two opposing sets of values—hard work, religious and filial piety, modesty, and thrift, versus self-indulgence, disrespect for authority, and extravagance—as two possible roads for the Mexican republic under construction. Unlike Chapone and Caveda, Lizardi was “scandalously imaginative” (Sommer 1991, 12) and did not shrink from representing vice. After devoting the first part of the novel to his didactic lessons, Lizardi tells the story of Pomposa, the little Quixote, who spurns several suitors, has an abortion, is jilted and ruined financially by a Spanish imposter claiming an aristocratic title, is prostituted by her mother, and finally dies of syphilis. *The Mexican Thinker* lays the blame for Pomposa's sad fate squarely on her parents' neglect of their daughter's education, on her father's effeminate weakness, and on perverted values derived from Spanish culture. He shows that an insidious threat to virtue is the contamination of the colonial body through the feminine susceptibility to the mixing of races and to the decadent imperial values of Spain (Vogeley 2001, 188; Jaffe 2017).

In his prologue, Lizardi presents a letter from a supposed female reader of *El periquillo sarniento* asking him to please write such a book for women. While some of Lizardi's intended readers may indeed have been young girls, his most direct addressees seem to be the parents of his colonial society, those most responsible for the formation of future citizens (Vogeley 2001, 188–189; Sommer 1991, 11–12). Nancy Vogeley claims that through the dialogues, questions, and answers in his novel, Lizardi intended to oppose the practice of reading the catechism that accepted authority without question (2001, 202–203).

Through the teachings of Don Rodrigo, Lizardi advocates a Rousseauian appreciation of the role of the wife as a helpmate for her spouse and as a mother in forming virtuous citizens. In addition to Rousseau's *Émile* (1762), Lizardi draws on François Fénelon's *Treatise on the Education of Girls* (1687), Jean-Baptiste Blanchard's *The School of Manners* (1772), and Antoine Léonard Thomas's *Essay on the Character, Manners, and Wit of Women Across the Centuries* (1772), among other writers. Lizardi's most direct Mexican source is Juan Wenceslao Sánchez de la Barquera, one of Mexico's first theorists of education (Ruiz Castañeda 1979, xiii–xviii; Vogeley 2001, 190). Besides preaching obedience and advocating a modest amount of learning for his daughter to make her a better wife in the future, the colonel teaches his daughter a trade, repairing watches, that would allow her to support herself better than she could as a mere seamstress. Although Lizardi shows the influence of Feijoo's works (Ruiz Castañeda 1979, xiv), he does not mention Feijoo's defense of women nor Josefa Amar's work in *La Quijotita*. As Vogeley observes, Mexicans were well aware of the European discussion of women's education and understood that it was an index of modernization, although within the Mexican context, where women were closely identified with the indigenous because of miscengenation (*mestizaje*) and with resistance to

change because of Church control, women's education could be seen as either "liberating" or "colonizing" (Vogeley 2001, 188, 191–192; Jaffe 2017).

Lizardi reaffirms in the lessons the colonel gives to his wife and daughter that, despite women's new public role in mixed society and the European culture of gallantry, women are inferior to men: "By natural, civil, and divine law, woman, commonly speaking, is always inferior to man" (Lizardi 1979, 27; *Por la ley natural, por la civil, y por la divina, la mujer, hablando en lo común, siempre es inferior al hombre*). He later tries to clarify his paradoxical explanations to his wife:

...woman is inferior to man in terms of her body, but completely equal to him in spirit. [...] a civilized man who knows the laws of humanity and honor will never abuse her weakness to offend her [...] if men have kept them from waging war and from managing public affairs, it is not because of contempt but rather out of respect for their weak constitution, and to reserve them for those objects for which nature has especially destined them.

(Lizardi 1979, 37)

...la mujer es inferior al hombre en cuanto al cuerpo, pero igual en todo a él en el espíritu. [...] el hombre civilizado y que conoce las leyes de la humanidad y del honor, jamás abusa de su debilidad para ultrajarlas [...] si los hombres las han separado de la guerra y del manejo de los negocios públicos, no es esto un efecto de desprecio, sino de respeto a su débil constitución, y para reservarlas para aquellos objetos a cuya conservación la naturaleza privativamente las destina.

Although his wife acquiesces, throughout these conversations Lizardi's reasoning, as voiced through the colonel, betrays a logical inconsistency as he tries to both assert women's equality and to justify their subordination.

Lizardi explains women's dependence because of their ignorance, and like other Enlightenment writers he attributes their ignorance to men's failure to provide women an education (Vogeley 2001, 198–199). The colonel tells his wife, "When I criticize [women's] defects, it is not with the perverse desire to satirize them, but rather with the admirable intent that they correct [their defects], at least you, who understand me" (Lizardi 1979, 29; *Cuando critico sus defectos, no es con el perverso destino de satirizarlas, sino con el loable fin de que los corrijan, a lo menos tú que me entiendes*). Furthermore, the colonel points out, men themselves are responsible for women's defects:

Men, said the colonel; men who gave them their first moral education as children and who either strengthen or pervert it in their youth. These are the ones guilty for the pride and disordered way of thinking that can be seen in women, especially in beautiful young women; just as men are commendable when women whom nature or matrimony have placed in their care think with sound judgement.

(Lizardi 1979, 29)

Los hombres, dijo el coronel; los hombres que les dan la primera educación moral en su niñez y los que se la robustecen o pervierten en su juventud. Estos son los culpables del orgullo y desordenado modo de pensar que se advierte en las mujeres, especialmente en las jóvenes hermosas; así como son recomendables cuando piensan con juicio y solidez las mujeres que ha puesto a su cuidado la naturaleza o el matrimonio.

The colonel even invokes “a nun of the San Jerónimo convent in this city” (Lizardi 1979, 66; sor Juana Inés de la Cruz, *monja del convento de San Jerónimo de esta capital*) as a native authority who blamed men for women’s vices.

Like other Enlightenment writers, Lizardi views women’s vices as the result of education; ascertaining the proper social role of women was thus a crucial aspect of imagining his society’s identity in his novels and constructing his reading public (Arrom 1985, 1–13; Sommer 1991, 12, 40). As Vogeley argues, Lizardi’s “reflections on women’s dependency, inferiority, carnality, and ignorance” reveal his anxiety about colonial dependence and the colonial subject’s cultural inferiority (2001, 208–211). Lizardi’s book about women’s education shows that the crossroads to which Enlightenment thinking brought women was further complicated by race, class, and colonialism in its transatlantic circulation.

## Conclusion: Educate to control

As these examples of early-nineteenth-century books about women’s education show, the Enlightenment provided the intellectual rationale and the practical means for some women to make themselves known and heard as thinking and active subjects. Its theorists and actors necessarily worked within their political and social contexts and their thinking continued earlier debates about women’s inferiority, equality, capacity for rational thought and the transformative power of education. The idea of gender as a societal construct rather than a divinely ordained category was subversive of all established notions of nature, rights, and hierarchies. By the turn of the century, because of the Enlightenment’s inner contradictions, the extent and character of women’s education had become a public but unresolved topic of debate for societies aware of the need to modernize (Bolufer 1998, 113–167; Jagoe 1998; Arrom 1985, 14–26). As in the rest of Europe and the Atlantic world, the ambivalent legacy of Hispanic Enlightenment feminism was the paradox that in the new liberal or independent state, although women were no longer necessarily considered inferior to men by nature and were deemed essential to the progress of civilization and modernization, they would be subordinated to dependent status as political subjects while integrated as the moral foundation of the new liberal society (Burguera 2012; Bolufer and Burguera 2010, 15–23; Bolufer 2018, 48–49; Mo Romero and Rodríguez García 2005; Pérez Cantó and de la Nogal 2005).

Caveda’s and Lizardi’s books show that control of women, of their ambitions to join the public sphere but especially of their passions and sexuality, were crucial areas of concern at the end of the Enlightenment. Caveda, translating Chapone, presented control of the passions and of the temper as fundamental for women’s happiness; self-control was part of the gendered role women would learn to perform. Lizardi advocated a practical education for women but reaffirmed their hierarchical inferiority in society and their domestic role; he had suspicions about the permeability of the feminine, like colonial society. These writers’ preoccupation with controlling women must be seen as reflecting broader anxieties about shifting power relations in the modern world, changes that were inspired by the extension of literacy, wealth, cultural authority, and political agency to more classes of society. The grounds for feminism debated during the Enlightenment—whether men and women are the same, or different but equal; the appropriate masculine and feminine roles in society; the extent and purpose of education—and their relation to power and authority in society, are arguably still with us today.

## Notes

- 1 Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own and all texts have been modernized for spelling and diacritical marks.

- 2 Urzainqui's fundamental and insightful studies on Caveda (2006a and 2006b) were written before the discovery of the origin of Caveda's translation. I thank her for her helpful comments on this chapter.

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## Doubting the lettered city

Simón Rodríguez, Antonio José de Irisarri,  
and the literary skepticism of Rousseau<sup>1</sup>

Ronald Briggs

### Two figures on the margins of the mainstream

Antonio José de Irisarri (1786–1868) and Simón Rodríguez (1769–1854) inhabit a corner of Spanish American literary history somewhere between obscurity and fame. Contemporaries of the Liberator, Simón Bolívar (1784–1830), they were born in slaveholding colonial cities (Guatemala; Caracas) and they died far away (Brooklyn, USA; Amotape, Peru) decades after their native cities had become the capitals of independent republics. Irisarri was born into the creole elite and inherited his father's commercial empire (Torres Caicedo 1863–1868, 212). He traveled the Americas in his youth and took an active role in the independence struggle, first as a writer and military leader in Chile, and later as a pro-independence diplomat and publicist in London.

Born an abandoned *hijo expósito*, Rodríguez became a schoolteacher in his native Caracas, where his pupils included the young Bolívar. He left in 1797 and spent the years of the Wars of Independence traveling in Europe, working as a tutor, school director, and lab assistant. Rodríguez accompanied Bolívar on his trip across the Alps from France to Italy in 1804. There they witnessed Napoleon's coronation and, on a hill outside Rome, Bolívar swore his allegiance to the cause of Spanish American independence, with Rodríguez in attendance (Lynch 2006, 17, 25; Lasheras 1994, 83).

By 1825, Rodríguez would be back in Spanish America, ready to begin his appointment as education minister of the newly created republic of Bolivia under the presidency of Antonio José de Sucre, another Venezuela native and Bolívar's most brilliant protégé. Rodríguez's appointment was a failure, and his resignation preceded the disintegration of Sucre's government and Sucre's assassination. He published a pamphlet-length essay, *Sociedades Americanas en 1828*, and took up the mantle of educational reform, arguing that a new form of government demanded a newly imagined system of universal education. Irisarri returned in time to participate in the losing side of the war that dissolved the Central American Federation and found himself, as Kirsten Silva Gruesz has put it, "a stateless person from everywhere and nowhere in America," traveling to Colombia, Venezuela, and Curaçao, until finally landing in Brooklyn, New York, where he represented Guatemala and, for a time, El Salvador, shuttling back and forth between his Brooklyn home and Washington, DC (Silva Gruesz 2016, 31).

Both men were writers all of their lives. Even before he left Caracas, Rodríguez had penned a proposal to the municipal government arguing for increased public support for primary schools and the professionalization of the teachers. He would go on to publish a number of iterations of *American Societies* along with other essays that argued for education as the key to political stability and defended the legacy of Bolívar. He employed a distinctive style in which sentences and paragraphs, while syntactically conventional, would appear as blocks of text in varying patterns of design on the page. Rodríguez intended his style to be a more readable presentation of prose, particularly to readers who were more accustomed to listening than to reading.<sup>2</sup> Irisarri participated in the newspaper press as editor, publisher, and contributor wherever his travels took him, and he also wrote two novels in a picaresque style, *El cristiano errante* (1846) and *Historia del perínclito Epaminondas del Cauca* (1863),<sup>3</sup> along with a collection of poems and a non-fictional account of the assassination of Sucre.

Where Rodríguez is remembered as a radical, Irisarri's legacy is shaped by a turn from youthful support of independence to disillusionment with the fruits of independence and nostalgia for the colonial era. The result makes him a complicated figure, a "man without principles" (Donoso 1966, 14; Silva Gruesz 2016, 42n9; Torres Caicedo 1863–1868, 222). A liberal when it came to free trade, he would come to doubt the Spanish American public's capacity for democratic citizenship and to lament the conflicts between republics that made travel and trade more difficult after independence than before. As a self-proclaimed opponent of abolitionists, Irisarri would worry about the rights of property owners, slaveholders included, while trumpeting general approval for the racial hierarchies inherited from the colonial era, hierarchies that Rodríguez would denounce. It might be said that the two revolutionaries ended their careers as diametrical opposites of one another, at least in terms of political orientation. This essay proposes to analyze how a general intellectual tendency that both shared, a skepticism toward the Spanish American educated elite, drove them to opposite conclusions regarding the prospects for democracy in Spanish America.

Fidel J. Tavarez has cited Jaime E. Rodríguez O. as part of a generation of historians who have focused less on burgeoning national identity as an immediate cause for the independence movement and more on "the crisis of legitimacy that followed Napoleon's invasion of the [Iberian] peninsula" (2015, 539). Tavarez argues that in the case of Rodríguez O. this reconsideration has allowed space to conceive of the movement as a series of "utopian republican projects" (2015, 504). James E. Sanders has gone so far as to characterize nineteenth-century Spanish America as a political vanguard decades ahead of Europe. Sanders points out that "it is in the Americas where the idea of Enlightenment survived, thrived, and evolved" as well as "where both popular and elite groups succeeded in infusing individual liberalism with more powerful senses of liberty, equality, and fraternity (that is, community)" (2014, 8). For Rodríguez and Irisarri, as for the nineteenth-century thinkers analyzed by Sanders, the American republics were central to the debate on conflicting Enlightenment ideals, representing as they did a contested space in which republican governments grappled with theory and its political consequences. Their pronouncements and proposed solutions often issued forth from the same capital cities where Spanish Viceroy's once reigned.

Ángel Rama's study *The Lettered City*, originally published in Spanish in 1984, employed the term to refer to the concentration of power and authority of that elite in important colonial cities that lingered into the era of independence. Rama argued that it was not the capital cities themselves (Santo Domingo, Mexico, Lima; later Bogotá, Havana, Buenos Aires, Caracas) that gave meaning to the colonial project but rather "the dreams of architects," a legacy that extended backwards to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century utopians in Western Europe (1996, 9). What emerged, in Rama's reading, was an "order of signs" more important than any structure made of brick or stone: "born of the circumstances specific to the age, the influence of these urbanistic designs far outlasted it" (1996, 9). While Rama's argument depended on a reading

of the mindset of those who planned and directed the opening phases of Spanish colonialism, his focus was on the cultural production of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Spanish America, where he traced the survival of an old idea of city-centered order as a metaphor for truth and reason. Language and writing maintained a hegemonic power imparted from colonial notaries (Rama 1996, 33) and so every attempt to rearticulate liberty or emancipation traveled directly and consciously through the written word: “facilitating access to writing was a central purpose, but so was creating a system that functioned consistently according to the most rational possible norms” (43).

Rama cites the prevalence of spelling reform proposals and literacy campaigns in the nineteenth century among reformers who sought to transform the Spanish American public into what they believed would be a more deliberative and “republican” version of itself (1996, 43). If writing would forever perform a hegemonic function, then it only made sense that the democratization of writing would become an absolute condition for democratizing political and cultural power (1996, 51).

On one level, Rodríguez and Irisarri are perfect embodiments of the tendency toward the privileging of written expression that plays such an important part in Rama’s study. Both think of themselves as writers and publishers and both addressed the question of spelling reform. Rodríguez himself appears in Rama’s study as the exception that proves the norm, and Rama argues that the Venezuelan was able to predict that “the self-aggrandizing success of the lettered city would hobble the true reformers” (1996, 46). Irisarri, who does not appear in Rama’s account, would seem to be an even less complicated product of the lettered city, given his literal nostalgia for the colonial era when it had the authority of viceroys and appointed governments behind it. And just as Rodríguez’s suspicion of the lettered elite led him to attack the credentialing and status preservation he saw as the real objectives of traditional educational institutions, so Irisarri would repeatedly blame Gutenberg and the diluted prestige of authorship for the social disorder he saw as rampant in the nineteenth-century Americas.

Both thinkers show the marks of an engagement with the French enlightenment thinker Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whose early works, especially the *First Discourse* (1750); *Émile, or, On Education* (1762); and *The Social Contract* (1762), questioned whether the wider availability of printed texts and formal education translated into moral and political progress. These works, which circulated widely in the Spanish-speaking world, suggested a gap between intellectual and moral advancement that called into question the promise that democracy would be served by making the resources and mores of the lettered city more widely available. Rousseau insisted on a distinction between information learned by one’s own observations and information learned on the authority of others, and Rodríguez’s and Irisarri’s attacks on the lettered city both acknowledged a similar distinction, even though they approached the question from opposing political angles. Rodríguez believed reading could be taught in a way that would make it more experiential and less passive, while Irisarri stressed the negative social effects of books. On the political front, Irisarri worried that European theories, particularly those of socialists, threatened a social order built on property rights, while Rodríguez believed that the rights-based legality of the colonial mindset did not do enough to foster a shared sense of social obligation. One last factor united the two thinkers—both saw themselves as pedagogues and the printed word, paradoxically, as their vehicle for teaching the public to be better republicans. Here, too, they echoed Rousseau.

## Spanish America reads Rousseau

J.R. Spell’s research on the impact of Rousseau in the Spanish-speaking world focused both on the relative availability of early texts, those published before a 1764 ban on the author (1935, 260),

and his particular influence on Bolívar. Spell argued that the *First Discourse* and *Second Discourse* were particularly important, serving as “the basis of Bolívar’s vocabulary to such an extent that in reading Bolívar one is led at times to believe he is reading a translation of Rousseau” (1938, 255). Spell notes that Bolívar himself possessed “the copy of the *Social Contract* which had shared the exile of Napoleon at St. Helena” (1938, 255–256), and he points out a number of textual threads on Rousseau in the Spanish-language press, including an article in Blanco White’s London-based periodical *El Español* (“Carácter” 1813). His conclusion is that “it is probably no exaggeration to say that Rousseau, for a century after his death, wielded more influence in shaping the thought of Spanish America than did any other writer” (1935, 266). And as far as the scope of this influence was concerned, he saw it as “three-fold—political, educational, and literary” and notes that “these threads were sometimes strangely and inexplicably interwoven” (1935, 266).

But what does the phrase “the ideas of Rousseau” mean, both in Spell’s context and in our own? Here it is also important to point out that in the nine decades or so since Spell’s work was first published, the historiography of Spanish American independence has shifted away from Rousseau as a central influence. Rodríguez O. has argued that “lesser-known” proponents of natural rights exercised greater influence than “the more famous Jean-Jacques Rousseau” in the formation of late eighteenth-century intellectuals in Spanish America (2017, 150), and John Lynch has noted the lack of engagement with “colonial peoples” in Rousseau’s work (1994, 32). Lynch’s 1994 collection of essays on Latin American independence also included Charles Griffin’s advice “to eschew any attempt to carry forward the debate as to the relative importance of ideas and of other factors as ‘causes’ of the independence movement” (1994, 250) and Peggy Liss’s observation that “a creole tradition, basically scholastic, to cite eminent authorities right and left” makes it extremely difficult for literary scholars and historians to authoritatively assign degrees of “influence” to discreet Enlightenment thinkers (1994, 264–265). By contrast, everyone can agree on the presence of Rousseau as a frequently-cited author, and Rafael Rojas has traced his role as a symbol of Jacobin radicalism cited in a cautionary way by Spanish American liberals such as José María Luis Mora (2014, 107–108). Here the goal is not to argue for the breadth of Rousseau’s influence or to take a position between Spell and, say, Rodríguez O., on the question of which Enlightenment thinkers mattered most in Latin America, but rather to focus on how skepticism toward the written word as articulated by Rousseau’s early published texts became in at least one sense a point of convergence for Irisarri and Rodríguez, two thinkers who disagreed on most other points.

Susan Dunn breaks the insights of these early texts down into paradoxes. In the *First Discourse*, Rousseau argues that all forms of progress did not necessarily harmonize with one another—“he was convinced that only cultural and material regression could accompany the movement of society toward morality” (Dunn 2002, 1)—while the *Social Contract* considered the contradictory nature of freedom “not as the province of the autonomous individual but rather as that of a self-sacrificing citizen” (2002, 11). These two contradictions were widely applicable to the period of post-independence crisis that Rodríguez and Irisarri attempted to parse. From the idea that conventional forms of political and technological progress tended to corrupt rather than refine public morality, they could explain how the great leap towards independence had produced violence and chaos rather than harmony. They could also argue, against the grain of much of nineteenth-century Spanish American political discourse, that the imitation of more economically and politically “modern” nations such as the United States and Great Britain would not necessarily translate into a freer or more republican body politic. The opposition between scientific and moral progress had a linguistic dimension too. If mainstream nineteenth-century progressives looked to the expansion of the lettered city as a recipe for democratization—“to recognize the incontestable dominion of writing and to facilitate access to liberty by new social

groups” (Rama 1996, 51)—Rousseauian skepticism would take a less sanguine view of the ability of books and book learning to effect positive social change.

For the Rousseau of the *First Discourse*, an expansion of the formal trappings of education carried a hidden cost. Because it would do little to change the beliefs and values of those who received it, it would create false and confusing labels: “How delightful it would be for those who live among us if our external appearance were always a true mirror of our hearts, if good manners were also virtue, if the maxims we spent were truly the rules of our conduct, if true philosophy were inseparable from the title of philosopher!” (2002, 49). The distinction mirrors the division between study and practice, and Rousseau alludes to ancient Rome: “*since scholars have begun to appear among us, their own philosophers used to say, good people have been eclipsed*” (2002, 54). The problem as Rousseau sees it is that “until then, the Romans had been happy to cultivate virtue; all was lost when they began to study it” (2002, 54). He manages to boil this paradox down into an aphorism: “men are perverse; but they would be far worse if they had the misfortune to be born learned” (2002, 55). Rousseau even turns the reverence for libraries as repositories for cultural memory on its head by telling an anecdote about the Gothic invasion of Greece. In Rousseau’s recounting the Goths decide to leave Greek libraries intact, reasoning “that it would be wise to leave for their enemies a few things standing so as to distract them from military training and keep them diverted with indolent and sedentary hobbies” (2002, 60).

This suspicion of reading takes on an epistemological meaning in *Émile*, a novel/educational treatise in which Rousseau narrates the idealized education of the protagonist by an enlightened tutor. Early on the narrator stipulates that Émile’s learning should be based on firsthand encounters with the world—observations and experiments—rather than on the reading of books, which he defines as second-hand accounts accepted on the basis of authority rather than observation: “I hate books. They only teach one to talk about what one does not know” (1979, 184). One of the few books the narrator will allow Émile to read is Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*, a novel in which a shipwrecked protagonist learns to produce objects he had before only purchased. Rodríguez would adopt the pseudonym Samuel Robinson during his European travels, and Bolívar used “mi Róbinson” as a form of address in letters to his former teacher. *Émile* and the *First Discourse* fit together as individual and large-scale arguments for what Rousseau defines as an epistemology based on things rather than words. Together they invite the sort of scaling up that would make Émile a metaphor for the education of a generation and the sort of scaling down that would make an Émile the embodiment of an education modeled on the ideas of the *First Discourse*.

Along with defining true knowledge as based on experience and observation rather than reading or schooling, Rousseau defined individual freedom as inseparable from a collective ethics of citizenship. Boleslao Lewin cites Ernst Cassirer’s recognition of this collective dimension to Rousseau’s approach (Lewin 1980, 8), and describes Rousseau’s definition of citizenship as “immanent of the human being considered as a member of a collective” (12). Lewin’s work, like Spell’s, focuses on the Genevan’s appeal in the Spanish-speaking world, particularly Argentina, and he stresses Rousseau’s status as an Enlightenment thinker unusually well-disposed to organized religion (16–17). Raul Cardiel Reyes takes a similar approach, finding Rousseau’s insistence on custom and community as shapers of human destiny as particularly suited to the community—rather than land-based structure of Spanish colonialism: “when the people in favor of Spanish American independence found justification for their projects in the ideas of Rousseau, they were doing nothing but finding themselves again” (1964, 122).

In the *Social Contract*, Rousseau addressed one of the pressing challenges for the independence movement, and he argued that the foundational moment of a republic represented a difficult crux in which “it would be necessary that the effect should become the cause; that the social spirit,

which should be the product of the institution, should preside over the institution itself, and that men should be, prior to the laws, what they ought to become by means of them” (2002, 182). Under these circumstances the legislature must bring about a kind of magic trick, performing instantly a transformation that in theory should take generations, and this task, in Rousseau’s mind, requires particular eloquence: “he must have recourse to an authority of a different order, which can compel without violence and persuade without convincing” (2002, 182).

While this power to shape custom by fiat might seem magical, Rousseau cites some historical examples to prove that it can be conjured. His examples are “the Jewish law, which still endures, and that of the child of Ishmael, which for ten centuries ruled half the world” (2002, 183). Here it’s worth pointing out that while Rousseau ascribes fundamental importance to the powers of persuasion that can be mustered by the inspired writing of laws, he holds the belief that habit and custom constitute “a law which creates the real constitution of the State, which acquires new strength daily” (191–192). His preferred terms are “manners,” “customs,” and “opinion,” and they support what he calls “a province unknown to our politicians, but one on which the success of all the rest depends” (191–192). If written laws “are merely the sides of the arch” then “customs and morals, slower to develop, ultimately form the immovable keystone” (191–192).

### **Irisarri: Reading through the lens of property and authority**

Irisarri’s invectives against Gutenberg in particular and print culture in general ring out in his prose and verse, particularly in the decades after independence. Early on in his career the outlook had been different. In his *Carta al Observador*, first published in London in 1818, he took an acerbic and unabashedly pro-independence perspective, excoriating the *Observador*’s editors for gross factual errors that he argued robbed them of any authority to argue against the wisdom of independence. He cited the military success of the insurgents as proof that their struggle indeed represented the popular will (1819, 24). As far as Spanish authority was concerned, he asked how the distant metropolis could consider itself fit to govern the vast expanses of land it controlled in the Americas when the expertise of a foreigner, Alexander von Humboldt, had been needed to properly explore it (1819, 37). In this accusation he echoed Thomas Paine and Pablo Vizcardo y Guzmán, who had criticized British and Spanish colonialism as violations of natural law since they purported to make a small metropolis the center around which a much larger territory would revolve. In London he became part of a discourse that sought to counter the European stereotype of the inferiority of American nature (Chen Sham 2003, 67), and he also became part of a cosmopolitan circle of revolutionaries and reformers at “the crossroads at which all the various Spanish American dissident elements collided” (Racine 1996, 30).

Born into a wealthy family and owing his fortune to international commerce, Irisarri remained throughout his career a champion of free trade and internationalism in general. Biographers have cited the growing nationalism of the nineteenth-century Spanish American republics as a reason for his colonial nostalgia. Humboldt himself had noted that the independence struggle had tended to restrict rather than liberate the movement of people and goods (Humboldt 1815, xxxi–xxxii), and for Irisarri the colonial era came to symbolize “an authentic Eden of tranquility and abundance” (Browning 1970, 613). The post-independence era, by contrast, seemed to Irisarri to be characterized by factors that became the focal points of his critique: “intolerance, promoter of tyranny” and “the confusion of ideas” (Donoso 1966, 210). If the pro-independence Irisarri had framed an opposition between European pretensions and American realities, the post-independence Irisarri saw a similar gap separating the political rhetoric of the republics from the material reality experienced by its people. This concern over authenticity—words versus the things they represent—ties his thoughts to the ethos of Rousseau’s *First Discourse*.

For example, in 1839 Irisarri founded a newspaper in Bogotá with the provocative title *La verdad desnuda: Periódico político y literario* (The Naked Truth: Political and Literary Newspaper). Writing in the aftermath of the civil war that had broken up Gran Colombia, he asks a rhetorical question: “Is it those who don’t know how to read and write who have placed us in this position? Absolutely not: it’s those who know how to read and write very well” (1839b, 3; ¿Son acaso los que no saben leer ni escribir los que nos han puesto en esta situación? No por cierto: son los que saben leer i escribir muy bien). Having identified print culture as closer to the problem than the solution for getting out of “this position,” Irisarri counts himself among the skeptics about the prospects for improved political conditions as a result of expanded access to primary education: “and will the primary schools now serve for any purpose other to make the number of seducers larger?” (1839b, 3; ¿Y servirán ahora las escuelas de primeras letras para otra cosa que para dar mayor número de seductores?). Ever attuned to the market condition surrounding literature, Irisarri is focusing on the fact that increased literature, which will create more readers, will also create more writers, thus increasing the number of the “seducers” as well as the seduced.

Later on, in the same issue he shifts to verse and makes his view of the reader-writer relationship clear:

In the dim era of my grandfather  
 The people who wrote were few  
 And they studied with great devotion  
 The things they proposed to explain:  
 Now anyone can write their own folio  
 While barely knowing the alphabet  
 (1839c, 20)

En los tiempos oscuros de mi abuelo  
 Eran pocos los hombres que escribían,  
 Y aquellos estudiaban con desuelo  
 Las cosas que tratar se proponían:  
 Hoy escribe cualquiera su folleto  
 Cuando apenas conoce el alfabeto

In these verses the expansion of print culture creates a double form of cultural decadence. On the one hand, the old habit of studying “with great diligence” before writing has fallen by the wayside, and, on the other hand, a new cadre of less enlightened writers has come to occupy center stage.

Irisarri’s approach takes direct opposition to the need for an expansion of literacy that Rama identifies with a diverse group of Spanish American and U.S. reformers of the era who had equated access to print culture with an accelerating narrative of technological and social progress. By boring in on the idea that this expansion would create more writers, Irisarri shifts the axis of discussion from access to authority. Expanded literacy and print circulation thus becomes a devaluation of literary authority. Irisarri also worries the presence of more voices would tend to drown out those most worth hearing.

To Irisarri these anxieties about representation are impossible to separate from a broader sense of disillusionment. He believes that diffused authority, one result of the democratization of culture, will create more opportunities for abuse. He focuses on historians, and wonders if the dishonesty of his own era will not also be reproduced in its historical record: “Have you managed

to figure out that one day those who should always present themselves as evildoers will appear to be the heroes?” (1839a, 33; ¿Han podido figurarse, que algún día aparecerán como héroes los que siempre deben presentarse como malvados?). For Irisarri the consequences of a crisis of representation in the present will linger and shape how it is remembered. Like Rodríguez, he constantly has the historiography of the French Revolution in mind as an analogy for Spanish America. In the long prologue to his history of Sucre’s assassination he remembers Theirs’s commentary on the French Revolution—“in its shocking delirium it cast suspicion on talent, virtue, and valor” (1846, 33–34; en su espantoso delirio hacen sospechosos al talento, á la virtud, y al valor)—and he implies that these lines might well describe Spanish America.

Irisarri’s last novel, *La historia del perínclito Epaminondas del Cauca*, which he published in New York City in 1863, takes this sense of crisis to a logical breaking point. While the story mostly takes place in Colombia and Ecuador, the novel contains numerous references to the US Civil War, which had begun in 1861 and was still raging in 1863. The novel’s narrator expresses support for the cause of the Confederacy, comparing its dispute with the Union to that between the Poles and the Russians, with the Union playing the role of the imperial aggressors and the slaveholding Confederacy framed as fighting for its freedom (1951, 12). In the context of the US struggle, Irisarri’s narrator ridicules the abolitionists (1951, 153), making clear his preference for slavery over the disorder that he believes will necessarily result from emancipation.

The protagonist of his novel is an enslaved man named Epaminondas whose mention is almost always accompanied by the adjective “el zambo” a racial slur used to emphasize his mixed indigenous and African ancestry. Serving in the household of an owner named Don Prudencio who offers to have him apprenticed to learn a trade on the promise of future freedom, Epaminondas refuses this offer and instead escapes. On the way to his escape he rapes a woman who has insulted him, and then leads other enslaved people in revolt. This characterization offers a clear enough picture of the racist nature of Irisarri’s lens—he seems to be constructed to embody every white supremacist fear about the dangers of emancipation—and the voice of don Prudencio puts a patina of respectability on the novel’s view of natural racial hierarchies. He imagines the differences between human beings to be greater than those separating species of animals (1951, 31), and he asks “what similarities are there between the black and the white, the Chinese and Chereches, the European and the American Indigenous? (1951, 32; ¿qué semejanza hay entre el negro y el blanco, entre el chino y el ciresiando, entre el europeo y el indígena de américa?).

Irisarri’s narrator takes care to frame the novel around the idea of bad reading. Epaminondas’s desire to escape is traced back to his reading of Enlightenment philosophy, and he is cast as the sort of reader unequipped to deal with the sophisticated tricks employed by the French writers he encounters in don Prudencio’s library: “he did not know what sophisms were and found in Rousseau’s *Social Contract* truths that were more evident to him than those he found in the Bible” (1951, 29; no sabía lo que eran sofismos y hallaba en el *Contrato Social* de Rousseau verdades para él más evidentes que las que encontraba en la Biblia). Just as Rousseau himself feared Émile would find his own ideas encumbered by too early an encounter with books, Irisarri’s narrator emphasizes that Epaminondas’s incapacity as a reader makes the political identity he assumes as a disciple of Rousseau and Proudhon merely “the opinion of another which he had made his own” (1951, 34; la opinión ajena que había hecho suya).

The novel’s narrator constantly shifts back and forth between the particular events of the plot, which mostly take place in Colombia and Ecuador, and their broader significance for Spanish America. When Epaminondas falls in with a murderous caudillo who identifies as liberal, Irisarri’s narrator resorts to etymology to explain the gap between signifier and signified: “*If liberal is one who gives*, according to the art of Nebrija, the truth is that those who give death aren’t

giving a mere bagatelle, but something of great importance” (1951, 163–164; *Si liberal es el que da*, según el arte de Nebrija, en verdad que los que dan muerte no dan una bagatela, sino cosa de gran importancia). The phrase famously attributed to Proudhon, “all property is theft,” receives similar treatment in the novel as the narrator notes how the ten commandments would have to be reordered if Proudhon’s approach were adopted: “nor should it be condemned to covet another person’s possessions, because there is nothing that does not already belong to all of those who covet” (1951, 207; ni debe condenarse el codiciar las cosas ajenas, porque no hay cosa que no pertenezca a todos los codiciosos).

Epaminondas finally comes to serve as an extreme example of what Irisarri sees as the confusion of the times, and his racialized depiction of the character’s inadequacies as a reader come to symbolize a larger phenomenon. We should not be surprised, the narrator argues, to find these errors in “a zambo, who had not received a good education” (un zambo, que no había recibido una buena educación) when “writers who are held to be very enlightened, and who write to enlighten the public” (escritores que se precian de muy ilustrados, y que escriben para ilustrar a los pueblos) are guilty of the same sort of confusion, of “calling things with the names that should be used for their opposites” (1951, 339; llamarse a las cosas con los nombres que debía llamar las contrarias). This last formulation calls into question both the public’s capacity to receive instruction from books and the capacity of authors to provide it. Here, as elsewhere in Irisarri’s writing, the critique of a reader’s bad reading eventually leads to a condemnation of deceptive writing. The narrator’s efforts to frame the disorder Epaminondas encourages as symptomatic rather than idiosyncratic has led Nydia Jeffers to include the novel in the pantheon of nineteenth-century *antislavery* literature. She interprets the narrator’s frequent condemnation of Epaminondas’s disregard for property rights as an implicit critique of the violation of rights inherent in the practice of slavery (2013, 39, 121), while also pointing out that the active role Epaminondas takes in securing his own freedom and that of others represents an unusual degree of agency for an enslaved character in Spanish American fiction (2013, 6–7). By Jeffers’s analysis, Epaminondas is couched as the product of a social system founded on deception and bad faith. In the universe of the novel, slavery takes on an ambiguous morality, sustained by the narrator’s conviction that the benefits of abolition would not justify the disorder and violence necessary to bring it about (2013, 91).

While prizing social order above emancipation, Irisarri was also eager to argue for a kind of moral authenticity in labor, an authenticity that would maintain and reproduce all of the hierarchies of race and class that he felt independence had too quickly overturned. Since “it isn’t possible for a nation to be completely composed of the learned” (No es posible que una nación se componga toda entera por sabios), social reformers should seek something more modest, “the majority of the people in a town should seek to make themselves industrious and to have morality in their customs” (1839a, 19; La mayoría de los habitantes de un pueblo debe procurarse que sea laboriosa y que tenga moral en sus costumbres). Like Rousseau, he would separate being good from being learned, and, confined to the lens of his own race and class, he would define this ideal as a kind of absolute limit on the positive social impact of independence. To go further, he believed, was to invite disorder.

## Rodríguez and the reader-driven writer

Simón Rodríguez is an almost perfect foil for a vision of social reform focused on the perceived limits of the public’s capacity to learn. The public schools he theorized and, in Bolivia, directed, sought to mix scholarship and the manual arts and with them the class identities that had ossified in Spanish colonial society. The critique of the Spanish educational model as too predicated on

the class distinction between workers and scholars goes back at least to Campomanes in the eighteenth century and forward to Che Guevara in the twentieth. Believing that citizenship in a republic required greater breadth and agility than had been necessary in a monarchy, he posited exposure to work and knowledge across racial and class divides as an essential element of primary education, and one that should be universal (García Sánchez 2010, 145; Fernández 2013, 56). Where Irisarri had been deeply affected by Sucre's assassination, Rodríguez was likewise shaped by the lonely death of his pupil, Simón Bolívar, who seemed to take the dream of a unified Spanish America with him to the grave. His *Defense of Bolívar* makes its own accounting of the historiography of the French Revolution, but where Irisarri cited Thiers on its blindness and excesses, Rodríguez prefers Mignet's assessment: "its action occasioned many passing excesses; but produced many durable benefits" (1988, vol. 1, 318; su acción dió lugar a muchos excesos pasajeros; pero produjo muchos bienes durables). Rodríguez makes an appearance in Irisarri's *Historia del perínclito Epaminondas del Cauca*, and his character offers this appraisal of the post-Bolívar situation in Spanish America: "the great men to whom Spanish America is indebted for its emancipation and greater benefits, were condemned to die or to be betrayed by the most useless and decadent of their benefactors" (Irisarri 1951, 224; los grandes hombres a quienes la América Española era deudora de su emancipación y de los mayores beneficios, estaban condenados a morir o a ser ultrajados por los más ruines e inútiles de los beneficiados). The reverence toward these "grandes hombres" could well belong to the real Rodríguez, but the pessimism bordering on despair more closely reflected the feelings of Irisarri.

In Rodríguez's imaginary the years between the first iteration of *Sociedades Americanas en 1828* and his death in 1854 represented a great opportunity. To the degree that the independence struggle has left a power vacuum, it would allow the new republics to fill that vacuum with new social structures: "Look at Europe, how it INVENTS / and at America, how it IMITATES" (1988, vol. 1, 321; Vea la Europa cómo INVENTA / i... la América cómo IMITA). The post-independence moment is urgent for Rodríguez because not enough rather than too much has been changed. Reforms are needed and quickly for a public that has sacrificed everything for independence and "have become less free than before" (1988, vol. 1, 226; han venido a ser menos libres que antes). The question was not one of absolute failure but of the continuation of a struggle that only appeared to be over to those who took the most superficial view, and so Rodríguez described a region marked not by the completed project of independence but rather by "an *Armistice* in the War that will decide it" (1988, vol. 1, 272; un *Armisticio* en la Guerra que ha de decidirla). Convinced that the republican project depended upon what Jossiana Arroyo has called "the model of the ideal citizen, a model in which any 'difference' could be overcome by virtue of education" (2010, 37), Rodríguez insistently framed American progress as an independent and creative act rather than an attempt to catch up with Europe (Streck and Moretti 2013, 41).

In describing the alchemy necessary at the founding moment of a new society, Rousseau had alluded to the difficulty inherent to language itself. The public will have a hard time understanding the learned interlocutor who wishes to explain political theory. Transcendent genius must be present in order to overcome this structural problem of "a thousand kinds of ideas which it is impossible to translate into the language of the people" (2002, 182). Rodríguez sees a language problem, too, and he describes a foundational process in which "the people make the sacred work of its Constitution with prosthetic hands, and with its own hands rips it up" (1988, vol. 1, 273; el pueblo, con manos postizas *hace* la obra sagrada de su Constitución, y con sus propias manos la rasga). He even compares governmental reform to spelling reform, arguing that a government accurately reflecting the popular will is akin to a written language accurately capturing the sounds that make up the spoken (1988, vol. 1, 265–68), while echoing Rousseau

and Irisarri in his concerns that a desire for social prestige rather than learning drives educational institutions (1988, vol. 1, 274).

Unlike Irisarri, Rodríguez sees the public as inherently educable, and in this way arrives at opposite conclusions. As early as 1793 he had argued that primary education was necessary for artisans as well as scholars (1988, vol. 1, 200), and when he chose to cite Tomás de Iriarte (the eighteenth-century Spanish poet who was also a favorite of Irisarri's), he included verses that ridiculed the pretensions of those who ignore new ideas in their desire to appear to already know them (1988, vol. 1, 263). Rodríguez believed that social life necessarily included interdependence—"THERE ARE NO INDEPENDENT *faculties*" (1988, vol. 2, 116; NO HAI *facultades* INDEPENDIENTES)—so he conceptualized education not as an expansion of an existing nucleus of culture or learning but rather as a creative act that would acknowledge the social connections that race and class prejudice sought to deny. In his vision "education was a mechanism by which the republics could manage to consolidate themselves" rather than a luxury that could wait until after everything else had been completed (García Sánchez 2010, 143). He counsels that "among the MASSES are many people of GOOD JUDGMENT" (1988, vol. 2, 7; en la MASA, hay muchas personas de JUICIO) and regards indigenous students as "THE COUNTRY'S OWNERS" (DUEÑOS DEL PAIS) (1988, vol. 2, 6). Decades before Martí argued that indigenous civilizations should be regarded as more important than Ancient Greece and Rome by American scholars, Rodríguez had boiled the idea down to an aphorism: "it's more important for us to understand AN INDIAN than OVID" (1988, vol. 2, 35; Mas cuenta nos tiene, entender a UN INDIO que a OVIDIO). Elsewhere Rodríguez promised that a student under his tutelage would emerge able to speak Spanish and Quechua (1988, vol. 2, 516), and, in the *Defense of Bolívar*, he taunted critics who had employed the epithet "zambo" to describe the Liberator: "Bolívar and his defender are ZAMBOS; but neither one of them is a FOOL" (1988, vol. 2, 290; Bolívar y su defensor son ZAMBOS; pero ninguno de los dos es NECIO).

Rodríguez feared bad reading as much as Irisarri did, but he framed it as a question of competence rather than racial or social inheritance. Reading, he argues, was an essentially creative act—"what can a person read who has no ideas" (1988, vol. 1, 403; ¿Qué leerá el que no tiene ideas?)—that required imagination and, as in Rousseau's formulation of the legislator's challenge, a certain degree of magic:

READING is RESUSCITATING IDEAS, ENTOMBED in PAPER:

Every word is an EPITAPH  
and that, to do this kind of MIRACLE! it's necessary  
to know the SPIRITS of the deceased  
or to have EQUIVALENT SPIRITS to subjugate them  
(1988, vol. 2, 29)

LEER es RESUCITAR IDEAS, SEPULTADAS en el PAPEL:

Cada palabra es un EPITAFIO  
i que, para hacer esa especie de MILAGRO! es menester  
conocer los ESPIRITUS de las difuntas  
o tener ESPIRITUS EQUIVALENTES qué subrogarles

Here the way to avoid being seduced by the written page is to come to the written page with well-developed ideas and to view the act of reading as a form of education rather than submission. Again, the suspension of social norms that so troubles Irisarri by opening French books to

Epaminondas and opportunities for authorship to hordes of charlatans is for Rodríguez a great opportunity. And what ideas should a republican reader bring to the table? For Rodríguez the essential element is a shared sentiment, “a *common feeling* of what is good for all” (1988, vol. 1, 365; *un comun sentir* de lo que conviene a todos). This sentiment rather than respect for property guides his vision for republican life as something more than an expanded lettered city. For Rodríguez “interdependence” was inseparable from “knowing oneself as a public person” (Ortega 2011, 42), and the bonds uniting citizens could base themselves both on a “shared path” and a consciousness of “rights and obligations” (Ocampo López 2007, 20).

Just as Batres Jáuregui had tied Irisarri’s poetry to the eighteenth century for its lack of emotions and images, Jorge Chen Sham has noted that the openly educational nature of his novels, their “pedagogical function,” linked them to the century in which he was born (Batres Jáuregui 1896, 284; Chen Sham 2004, 62). Rousseau’s *Émile* would certainly qualify as an example of deliberately pedagogical literature, along with the works of eighteenth-century writers like the Peruvian Pablo de Olavide. At the same time, the French writer and critic Germaine de Staël (1766–1817) and the Central American jurist José Cecilio del Valle (1780–1834) had argued for a broader notion of the social utility of literary works. Staël’s work would be particularly influential, appearing in translation in Spanish America in the 1820s and influencing a group of women writers centered in Lima in the last decades of the nineteenth century (Briggs 2017, 32–33, 97–98). In 1788 she published her own reflections on Rousseau and argued that “in republics, it is necessary men should preserve even their defects: their austerity and roughness fortify in them the passion for liberty” (1789, 14). Against this argument for the naturally republican nature of a natural education lies what Maldonado García sees as a paradox: to the degree that artisans participate in a world of things and professors in a world of words, the preference for artisans will align with the notion of technological progress. Rousseau’s roughness is “technological” in a way that conventional refinement could not be, and all the more so because it presented itself as a new formula for imagining the modern subject (Maldonado García 2010, 169). This was the project that provoked Irisarri’s exhaustion. The Americas as he saw them in the last decades of his life were becoming less and less fertile places for the development of stable, rational citizens. His prejudices fed this narrative and the narrative fed his prejudices. For Rodríguez the problem is at once simpler and more complex. As the idea of shared faculties conflicts with the notion of political or literary heroes, the magic that would allow republican sensibilities to grow would come from readers rather than writers.

## Notes

- 1 The ideas in this chapter were presented at Conservative Sensibilities of the Nineteenth Century, A Workshop, in October 2017 in Gothenburg and Varberg. I am grateful to the other participants, to the organizers, Andrea Castro and Kari Soriano Salkjelsvik, and to the University of Gothenburg.
- 2 See Rotker 1996 and Briggs 2010 for more on Rodríguez’s style.
- 3 See Silva Gruesz 2016 for more on Irisarri’s engagement with the themes of travel and migration.

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## Part II

# Reforming the public and private

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# Connecting with European political economy in Spain

## An institutional approach

*Jesús Astigarraga*

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### Introduction<sup>1</sup>

Nowadays, there is no question that political economy constituted one of the major sciences of the European Enlightenment. The gradual consolidation experienced by this new field of knowledge during the eighteenth century in many European countries was manifested in a range of different ways in the sphere of ideas and in reforms and institutions. Therefore, as the century progressed and enlightened culture spread, the then-called political, civil or public economy, or also commerce or political arithmetic, or simply economics or *oikonomia*, played a key role in a range of institutional expressions. An example of this is the exponential growth of economic treatises and translations; the emergence of a new style of economic texts aimed at a new readership, such as educational manuals, “economic novels” or dictionaries on “commerce” and on “political economy”; the first specialized economic journals; the constitution of the first public official statistics agencies; the creation of the new language of political economy; or, finally, the founding of the first university chairs for the teaching of this science. All of these developments reflected the new cultural and social acknowledgement of political economy as an increasingly autonomous scientific body, specifically with respect to moral philosophy and politics. It had maintained a secular alliance with both of these disciplines, especially in Great Britain and Germany, respectively, from the moment in which, two centuries before, the Aristotelian tradition of *oikonomia*, usually only constrained to the private domain, began broadening its scope of interest to the political sphere.

It is not by chance that interest in the analysis of the economic culture of the Age of Enlightenment has led in recent decades to profuse international research about the history of economic institutions. This research owes a great deal to the pioneering approaches and methods of Coats (1993).<sup>2</sup> The abundant literature accumulated to date on this subject reveals that many European countries participated in this significant institutional movement, albeit it with their own individual features. In a debate between the “cosmopolitan” and “national” roots of the Enlightenment movement, political economy was one of the most influential “connecting discourses” of the Age of Enlightenment, particularly at the heart of what Hume called the “sciences of man,” as argued by Venturi (1971, 123–126) or Robertson (1997, 672–673). Thus, the emergence of these new economic institutions, in the form of societies, publications or

university chairs, was simply the crystallization of the new enlightened ideas of political economy; in short, a further consequence of the intense international process of the circulation, reception and adaptation of these ideas to the different national contexts.

Spain was no stranger to this process. During the second half of the eighteenth century, and more specifically, after the end of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), many fledgling economic institutions emerged throughout the monarchy, some of which directly influenced enlightened politics and its reforms. These institutions, undergoing successive transformations over the centuries, have prevailed until practically the present day. This study conducts a synthetic analysis of four of these institutional manifestations: the Economic Societies of Friends of the Country (*Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País*); dictionaries of political economy and commerce; the economic press; and, finally, the university chairs of Economics.

## The economic societies of Friends of the Country

If there is an expression in which the emergence of the institutional dimension of political economy in the whole of Europe is most clearly illustrated, it is the movement of economic societies.<sup>3</sup> Their development, in the form of organizations for promoting the useful arts, agricultural academies or economic societies, began with the Dublin Society (1731), but their expansion across Europe owes a lot to the societies of Florence (1753), Brittany (1757), and Berne (1758). These were the most influential in the Hispanic context. The first steps in the process of creating the enlightened economic institutions in Spain were taken in the period 1763–1765. At first, this process was inconsequential and dispersed, responding to local and autonomous initiatives, alien to the political power of the Council of Castile (*Consejo de Castilla*). Of the three institutions that were created during this three-year period, two of them—the Agricultural Academy of Lleida (1763) and the Academy of the Kingdom of Galicia (1764)—had a very ephemeral influence. This was not the case of the third institution, the Royal Basque Society of Friends of the Country (*Real Sociedad Bascongada de los Amigos del País*). It was a stable and long-lasting society and is considered the first Spanish economic society.

The *Sociedad Bascongada* was created in 1764–1765 with a sphere of influence covering the three Basque provinces. Its foundation cannot be separated from the political position that these provinces held—besides the kingdom of Navarre—at the heart of the Spanish monarchy. Having remained outside the process of political unification ordered by Felipe V after the War of Succession (the so-called *Nueva Planta* decrees of 1707 and 1717, which put an end to the political and administrative institutions of the former Crown of Aragón), these provinces conserved their old *Fueros*—charters or regional laws—and with them their political institutions. In fact, the foundation of the Basque Society was the culmination of a long process, undoubtedly rooted in the Enlightenment, which had begun in the 1740s. Finally, under the direction of the Count of Peñaflorida, it was formed as a consultative, advisory and coordinating body for the three provincial Basque institutions (Astigarraga 2003, 23–74). As is known, this experience was extended to the whole Monarchy by the hand of the Attorney General (*Fiscal*) of the Council of Castile and the principal ideologist behind the economic reforms during the reign of Carlos III (Llombart 1992), the Count of Campomanes, and the Madrid Economic Society (1775).

The Campomanes proposal and the Madrid Society were immediately successful and unquestioned. The emergence of economic societies in Spain was basically a phenomenon intrinsic to the final period of the reign of Carlos III and although their activity seemed to weaken with the death of the king, the eighty-three initiatives proposed through December 1788 (of which the Council approved more than sixty) point to their success (Anes 1969, 11–41). Between 1775 and 1780, forty initiatives arose including many of the societies which would become the most

important and active, some on a regional scale: in addition to the Madrid Society, those of Seville, Granada, Cantabria, Zaragoza, Las Palmas, Valencia, Murcia, Segovia, Tenerife, Asturias or Mallorca. Of the forty-three initiatives arising in the period 1781–1788, while some large societies were formed (such as Valladolid, Santiago, La Rioja, Málaga), there were many that corresponded to small towns, which seems to indicate that the local response was greater than expected, and there was a possible emulation effect once the larger scale societies had been created. During the same period, this effect began to extend to the colonies, where, between 1781 and 1810, a dozen economic societies were founded, nine in the period before 1795, which, according to Shaffer (1958, ch. 7–12), was the most favorable time for their development.

The geographical distribution of the societies was not homogeneous or uniform. While in Asturias, Aragón, Cantabria, Galicia, Mallorca, Murcia, or Valencia large, “regional-level” societies were predominant, around thirty societies emerged in Andalusia, more than twenty in New Castile and another handful in Old Castile and Extremadura. In the latter case, the societies mainly corresponded to small towns with less possibilities and resources. Furthermore, they did not always accept the government directives regarding the statutes in a disciplined way. This was the case of Seville and Valencia, where the Council of Castile had to impose the model of the Madrid Society when the founders responded, respectively, to the design of the Royal Basque Society or that of the Board of Trade of Valencia. There were no initiatives to establish economic societies in some large towns such as Cádiz, La Coruña or Barcelona. In the latter case, this was because the region’s Board of Trade already carried out very similar functions to those undertaken by the economic societies. In other towns, such as Pamplona or San Sebastián, societies were created but were very short-lived. Therefore, the uniformity that was initially sought within the movement as a whole was only partially achieved in terms of the motivation behind them and the statutory clauses. Furthermore, the intensity and quality of the activities carried out by the economic societies was naturally very uneven. In addition to the Basque and Madrid Societies, only a few managed to maintain a lasting rhythm of activities such as those in Aragón, Asturias, Seville, Segovia, Cantabria or Mallorca. Without a doubt, in general terms, their practical results did not match their enormous quantitative outlay. In July 1786, the Council of Castile had to open an inquiry in order to investigate the causes of their decline (Demerson 1978). However, there is no doubt that the substantial development of Spain’s economic culture in the last third of the eighteenth century would have been impossible without their publishing, translation, and distribution of writings, texts, and treatises to promote economics; and this can also be extended to the circulation of scientific, technical, and “useful” knowledge in general.

Despite their differences, the experiences of the Basque and Madrid Societies shared a common element: the fact that they had been created by the political power (the local government of the Basque provinces and the Castilian government) and were therefore subject to their control. Consequently, contrary to other interpretations which have related the emergence of the economic societies in Spain either to autonomous and “spontaneous” initiatives of the Spanish “select” minorities seeking to take part in the Enlightenment movement, or to the interest of the nobility to articulate institutions through which to benefit from the favorable agricultural climate that was present in Spain during the second half of the eighteenth century,<sup>4</sup> the close connection between governments and economic societies indicates the political nature of the process of their creation. Finally, the Council of Castile sought to create territorial institutions to carry out its modernization plans and through which it could involve the local elite classes with its patriotic message. In this sense, these institutions embryonically gestated the politicization of Spanish cultural life during the last two decades of the eighteenth century. According to the interpretation of Franco (2005), their relative openness to participation, the equal treatment of different social classes, the regular discussion of topics characteristic of the enlightened culture,

the diffusion of new ideas or the relentless publication of texts and memoirs were factors that enabled the economic societies to accommodate both new forms of sociability and new cultural dynamics and practices (pre-political in some ways). All of this favored a significant expansion of the Spanish public sphere at that time and prepared the way for the subsequent emergence of “public opinion.” Therefore, these societies became genuine schools of future “citizens,” whose status was differentiated from subjects in terms of political criticism, freedom of expression, or ideological plurality. In short, they fostered a high level of participation of the socio-political elite in public life (constituting a type of intermediary between the King and the people) within a context that, in some cases, even gave rise to the gradual distancing of the economic societies from the political power. Indeed, without their pioneering experience it is impossible to understand the set of dynamics that opened the constitutional path for Spain, which culminated in the Courts of Cádiz (1810–1812). The economic societies, together with the consulates and the Board of Trades, constituted the principal institutional support for the diffusion of ideas and values of the Enlightenment throughout the Hispanic world.

## Dictionaries of political economy and commerce

The dictionaries of commerce and political economy of the eighteenth century constituted an undeniable component of the intense “dialogue” on economic issues that took place in the European Enlightenment. One cannot but notice their rich genealogy, starting with the pioneer *Dictionnaire universel de commerce* (1723–1730), created by the brothers Jacques and Louis-Philémon Savary. Subsequent extensions of it were carried out in Great Britain (Malachy Postlethwayt, 1751–1755; Richard Rolt, 1756; and Thomas Mortimer, 1766), France (André Morellet, 1769; and the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*) or Germany (Jürgen Elert Kruse, 1753), which illustrates the continent-wide dimension of the initiative. The objective of these works was to institutionalize the *langue du commerce* in the form of alphabetic vocabulary with a dimension broader than a simple collection of trade practices. The background of this overlapping of the encyclopedic tradition dating back to the seventeenth century with the emerging economic culture of the following century was the globalization process of international trade, due to the strategic role played by the coveted colonial enclaves. All of this obliged European governments to promote instruments through which they could address the constant “jealousy of trade.”<sup>5</sup> The dictionaries of commerce constituted one of the most essential of these instruments: they enabled private traders to reduce their transaction costs and helped the public authorities to establish the correct commerce policies. They were no less important than the practical arts and crafts treatises.

However, the history of these dictionaries in Spain was characterized by more drawbacks than benefits.<sup>6</sup> In the sphere of translation, the initiatives were constant, particularly after 1770. Spanish versions were produced of the most emblematic texts of European commercial literature. Attempts were made to translate the dictionaries and manuals on commerce of Jacques Savary, Jacques and Louis-Philémon Savary, Samuel Richard, Honoré Lacombe de Prezel, Wyndham Beawes, Jürgen Elert Kruse, or M. La Porte into Spanish. These attempts were not only individual initiatives; they also had the support of institutions, such as the Consulate of Commerce of Bilbao or the Aragonese Economic Society. However, none of these publications were ever entirely translated. This created a divergence with respect to other European countries. In Great Britain, Germany, Italy and, even, Portugal, different translations were successfully completed—at least partially—adapting to the respective national frameworks.

The efforts made to create a Spanish dictionary of commerce were more successful. Five publications with a dictionary format—or similar—can be identified, all published in the last

part of the century. Their authors were Eugenio Larruga (1787–1800), Miguel Gerónimo Suárez (1788–1789), Vicente Alcalá Galiano and Diego Gallard (1789), Tomás Antonio de Marien Arróspide (1789), and Juan Bautista de Virio (1792). A series of common characteristics show the extent of the achievements of the Spanish Enlightenment in this field of commercial culture. First, except in the case of Marien Arróspide,<sup>7</sup> they were works carried out by civil servants working for the Ministry of Finance—Alcalá Galiano and Gallard—and, particularly, the Board of Trade—Suárez, Larruga and Virio—. Several of them, such as Virio or Larruga, were also responsible for setting up the Balance of Trade Office in 1786. It was founded by the Minister of Finance, Lerena, following Necker’s model in France (Astigarraga 2011a, 12). Its double function as an agency of economic development and official statistics was complemented with the publication of all types of economic texts. All of this highlights the difficulty in undertaking the creation of a work with the characteristics of a dictionary of commerce without the support of the political power, or even without being commissioned by it.

In addition, the texts were “political” as their objective was to outline different economic reforms. The forty-five volumes of Larruga’s *Memorias* constituted ambitious factual research—finally incomplete—on the industrial and commercial structure of Spain in order to promote these two sectors. Meanwhile, Virio and Alcalá-Gallard approached the analysis of the French and British tariff structures in a way so as to guide the reform of the Spanish external sector. All of this reflects that these works lacked the universal spirit characteristic of the *Dictionnaire* by the Savary brothers: in general, they were more concerned with the “facts” than the “principles” of the “commerce in general,” according Richard Cantillon.<sup>8</sup>

In short, the remarkable level reached by Spanish economic culture during the last few decades of the eighteenth century was not reflected in the dictionaries of commerce: Spain lacked an original national dictionary with a “universal” perspective and a significant theoretical reflection of its own. Therefore, it is not surprising that Jovellanos was exasperated by the absence in his country of a work similar to the ubiquitous *Dictionnaire* by the Savary brothers. As a result, the principal legacy of Spain’s Enlightenment was probably the benefit of differentiating between the theoretical principles of commerce, characteristic of “civil, public or political economy,” and the uses and practices of the trading profession, characteristic of the traders’ manuals. This was highlighted by Jovellanos himself (1798). Nevertheless, although very limited, the work of the Spanish enlightened scholars was not wasted. The connection between the encyclopedic task carried out in the heart of the Ministry of Finance and the outstanding dictionaries published by the liberal minister José Canga Argüelles in the 1820s remains to be studied.

## The economic press

The press was a highly active agent for distributing enlightened ideas in Spain in the eighteenth century. It was particularly during the 1780s when the first gazettes, letters, miscellanies or mercuries emerged, which shared the same objective of disseminating useful knowledge among a wide readership through the periodical publication of issues. It is not surprising that their analysis has been prominent in the cultural history studies of the Spanish Enlightenment.<sup>9</sup> In the hands of their creators, the professional conscience of the *job* of “journalists,” “public writers” or “diarists” was forged, forming a community with its own identity in the literary Republic.<sup>10</sup> During the last third of the century, the volume of journalists became so dense that *dialogues* between them emerged. Through these publications, the value of the press emerged as an instrument through which to criticize, instruct, and exercise reason, in other words, as a powerful instrument of the Age of the Reason (Urzainqui 2014).

The press was also an exceptional channel for disseminating new useful knowledge. This was the main way to popularize the technical knowledge that in other countries was sparking the industrial revolution (Mokyr 2009, 40ff). This dissemination included the “science of commerce” or political economy. In this respect, the experience of neighboring France was fundamental (Steiner 1996; Orain 2013).

In a first phase, between 1758 and 1771, eleven newspapers with economic content were born. Their creation formed part of the “fermentation” of economic writings and the press itself: between 1760 and 1770, twenty-seven newspapers emerged (Urzainqui 2014, 386–390), which coincided with the first wave of cultural liberalization of the government of Carlos III. Graef’s initiative to introduce the “science of commerce” in his *Discursos Mercuriales* (*Mercurial Speeches* 1752, 1756–1757) was inconclusive and failed (Astigarraga 2017). And so, the beginning of the history of Spanish economic journalism in the eighteenth century can be attributed to the names of Nifo, Barberi, and Saura (Astigarraga 2018). In the shadow of their journalistic initiatives an overt positioning took place with respect to the commercial society. On the one hand, there was the vast work of Nifo, particularly the *Estafeta de Londres* (*London Courier* 1762, 2 vols) and the *Correo General, Histórico, Literario y Económico de la Europa* (*General, Historic, Literary and Economic Courier of Europe* 1763, 4 vols.). Although they include translations of authors such as Bielfeld or Mirabeau, both publications refer to the classic *oeconomie* and its defense of the virtues of traditional Catholic agrarianism.<sup>11</sup> Inspired essentially by a French newspaper, *Journal Oeconomique* (JOE, 1751–1772), Nifo criticized the emerging “science of commerce” and the new values on which it was based. He pointed an accusing finger at the British political-economic model, as well as the Gournay circle, the authentic catalyst in the 1750s of the transfer of British economic culture to France.

By contrast, Barberi and Saura established a journalism interested in highlighting the virtues of the commercial society. The problem of Spain was precisely the extreme lack of commerce. This translated into an essentially political problem: the entire apparatus of the Monarchy had to soak up the new “spirit” of commerce. Its social rehabilitation, the *noblesse commerçante* or the education in the “science of commerce” were topics that were addressed by the newspapers, inspired by the influential J. Accarias de Serionne’s *Journal de Commerce* (JC, 1759–1762), in the case of Barberi’s *Miscelánea política* (*Miscellaneous Politics* 1763–1764), through a long-winded defense of interest rates in loan operations, and in the *Semanario económico* (*Economic Weekly* 1765–1767, 3 vols.) of Saura (under the pseudonym of Araus), through the introduction of extensive reviews of authors such as Mably, Coyer, Gee, Hume, or Accarias de Serionne himself. In any event, their initiatives were, similar to those of Nifo, ephemeral, lacking in finance and poorly adapted to the “figure of maximum authority,” whom, in Nifo’s words, everyone should serve—the public.

This context changed in the second half of the 1770s. Campomanes (1775, vol. I, XXII), together with other well-known authors (Sempere, Cabarrús, Foronda, etc.), instigated the creation of economic journals throughout all the monarchy. The decisive factor for this to happen was the proliferation of economic societies. It was the conclusive factor in the creation of a market—now more than potential—for the supply and demand of economic knowledge. As well as being required by the economic societies, the press became an instrument for supporting their actions and the papers and treatises that they published. The years 1776–1777 represented, in this sense, a turning point in the history of the economic press. The debates that took place in the Madrid Society a few years later with respect to the publishing of an economic gazette, led principally by Jovellanos, and the possible influence of the French physiocratic journals, reflect the awareness of the relevance of the press as a powerful instrument for the dissemination of the Enlightenment and in creating public opinion (Domergue 1971, 201–231). Equally revealing during these years is the establishment of the periodical press in Spanish overseas territories,

through initiatives such as *Gaceta de La Habana* (*La Habana Gazette*, 1782), the *Mercurio peruano* (*Peruvian Mercury*, 1790) or the *Telégrafo mercantil* (*Merchant Telegraph* 1801) in Río de la Plata.

Although it never published an economic gazette, the Madrid Society developed two of the main initiatives during these years. In 1777–1778, Cubié (under the pseudonym of Biceu) reopened Saura's *Semanario Económico*. However, it was short-lived and its contents, extracted from the JOE, were really outdated. The opposite was the case for the *Memorias instructivas, y curiosas* (*Instructional and Curious Records*, 1778–1790, 12 vols.) of Suárez and Núñez. Published by order of the Board of Trade, they included translations of books by Condillac, Necker, Bigot de Saint-Croix, Justi, and Turgot. This represented a significant step forward in the history of the Spanish economic press: for the first time, a newspaper published complete political economy treatises. The translated texts were written by key authors and contained profound interpretations about the functioning of the commercial society. They were also very useful for the development of the official reforms, especially those related to the grain trade and the freedom of labor.

These were the forerunners before the emergence of *El Correo Mercantil de España y sus Indias* (*The Commercial Courier of Spain and its Indies* 1792–1808). The launch of this publication eased the prohibition of the press ordered by Floridablanca in February 1792 in order to interrupt the echoes of the French Revolution. Its content covered, for the first time, the whole of the empire and addressed theoretical and practical issues of “commerce” (Enciso 1958). The publication was created by the Balance of Trade Department. It was directed by two of its most outstanding members, Diego María Gallard and Eugenio Larruga, particularly by the former, who was the Secretary of the Balance of Trade Department and was a stable director of the publication, with the exception of the period 1795–1799. A few years after the Spanish periodical press broadened the scope to cover agronomic knowledge with the publication of the *Semanario de agricultura y artes dirigido a los párrocos* (*Priests' Agriculture and Arts Weekly*, 1797–1808). Conceived in the same institutional context as the *Correo Mercantil*, it was directed by Juan Antonio Melón (Díez 1980). Therefore, with the publication of these two newspapers, the process of the professionalization of economic journalism began in Spain.

## University chairs of political economy and commerce

The institutionalization of the teaching of political economy in Spain was developed in four places: the Seminary for the Nobility of Madrid (c. 1778), the Chair of Civil Economy and Commerce of Zaragoza (1784), the University of Salamanca (1787), and the Academy of Political Economy of Mallorca (c. 1780). The most relevant was undoubtedly that of Zaragoza. It was the first Economics chair in the history of Spain. It was founded in 1784, under the initiative of the Aragonese Economic Society. Around this time, news had reached Spain of the chairs of *Polizei* and *Kameralwissenschaft* of Uppsala and Vienna, and those in Italy, with a more plural doctrinal orientation, located in the Austrian Lombardy (Milan and Modena) and the *Regno delle Due Sicillie* (Naples).<sup>12</sup> This news aroused calls led by Arriquíbar, Peñaflorida, Campomanes, and Jovellanos for the creation of chairs of political economy. In 1774–1775, in his widely-disseminated *Discursos*, Campomanes referred with admiration to the chairs of Naples and Milan where they taught “the true rules of commerce in general” (1774, CXIII; *las verdaderas reglas del comercio en general*).

The first initiative originated in the Basque Society. In 1776, this Society, in its Bergara Seminary, attempted to establish a “Politics” chair aimed at public civil servants, who would teach Public Law, Germanic “political science,” and British Political Arithmetic; however, it could not be carried out due to a lack of financing (Astigarraga 2003, 136–137). One year later, the Madrid Society wrote a well-reasoned report to justify the advisability of founding economic studies that

went beyond the trade usages, focusing also on the “general theory” of commerce. It referred to the authority of French (Herbert, Coyer or Forbonnais) and British (Cary or Cantillon) economic writers, as well as arithmetic-political authors (Petty or Davenant); however, the principal guide of the report was the French physiocrat André Morellet, whose *Prospectus d'un nouveau dictionnaire de commerce* (1769) had been designed with the objective of cataloguing the general principles of commerce (Astigarraga 2010).

However, maybe out of political prudence due to the problems that teaching a science such as political economy could cause to the Court outside of the enlightened circles, where it carried a “suspicious” stigma, the initiative of promoting economic studies was transferred from the Madrid Society to the Aragonese Society,<sup>13</sup> known for its innovative educational programs. The proposal that it made to the Council of Castile was to establish a Chair of Economics for general training, following the example of the Civil Economy and Commerce Chair of Naples (1754). Its aim was to reproduce on Spanish soil the initiative created thirty years previously in Naples by the Tuscan *napoletanizzato* Bartolomeo Intieri, supported by *Carlo di Borbone* and under the direction of the Ethics and Metaphysics professor Antonio Genovesi, who used his well-known *Lezioni di commercio* (1765–1767) as a teaching manual.<sup>14</sup>

One characteristic of the chair of Zaragoza, which had the same name as the chair in Naples, was its experimental nature, whereby, according to its results, the possibility of generalizing its experience throughout the whole Monarchy was considered, using the dense network of economic societies to do so. A second feature was its official nature, an element which it had in common with other European experiences. All of the substantive aspects of the Chair, from the appointment of the Professor to the design of the program of study, were under the control of the Secretary of State, directed by the Count of Floridablanca. With respect to its educational orientation, it was particularly aimed at law students of the University of Zaragoza, especially future civil servants. In any case, the founding of the Chair was a farsighted manifestation of the “republican” principles of commerce: one of the main objectives of the Chair was to extend the education of economics to the nobility, converting noblemen into merchants under the same conditions as students from other social backgrounds.

Compared with the school in Naples, the Spanish initiative had its own characteristics. First, it sought to establish itself as a center of economic dissemination through two channels: the formation of a “great library of economic writers” and the development of an intense translation program. In the words of its first Professor, Lorenzo Normante, the idea of all of this was “to propagate political and economic knowledge, eliminating its reputation of being a dangerous or useless novelty which is how the ignorant see it” (1786, 5; propagar los conocimientos político-económicos, quitándoles el aspecto de novedad peligrosa o inútil con que se presentan a los ignorantes). Therefore, Normante, who held the chair between 1784 and 1801, prepared teaching materials inspired by the *Essai* (1734) by J. F. Melon and the *Lezioni* by Genovesi. Furthermore, between 1784 and 1789, different members of the Aragonese Society translated writings by Carli, Condillac, Casaux, Grisellini, Filangieri and Genovesi; other versions, inspired by Forbonnais, remained in manuscript form. On the whole, these translations were short reviews for educational purposes. The only peculiar case was that of Genovesi’s *Lezioni*, which, together with the teaching manual written by Danvila, constituted the main teaching texts during the first two decades of the Chair. In 1784, Floridablanca had requested the Aragonese Society to design a complete course in political economy based on “the best Italian, French and English authors.” Accordingly, in 1785–1786, Victorián de Villava, a member and a professor of Law at the University of Huesca, translated and published his version of the *Lezioni*, which was complete, accurate, and enriched with notes.

A second characteristic feature of the Chair, in comparison with its Neapolitan predecessor, is that its activities were coordinated with those of another two Chairs: those of Moral Philosophy and Public Law—also called Natural Law and Law of Nations—, founded in 1785 by the Aragonese Society (Astigarraga and Usoz 2008–2009). Above all, it is highly significant that it simultaneously taught the three disciplines which had represented the spearhead of the renewal of social scientific thought during the European Enlightenment. Another different question, as time would show, was the unequal results of the three disciplines. The teaching experience of these two Chairs was less remarkable than that undertaken in Civil Economics and was also more short-lived. The civil economics courses prevailed, with different periods of interruption, until 1846, when the Chair was absorbed by the university of Zaragoza. The Moral Philosophy and Public Law Chairs, however, were discontinued in 1794 and 1798, respectively.

The teaching content in the Moral Philosophy and Public Law programs was conservative. In the former, the text chosen was *Philosophia moral* (1755), by the Aragonese doctor and philosopher Andrés Piquer. It was a manual rooted in the *early* Enlightenment period, much closer to Muratori than the more distinctive Natural Law currents of thought from Grocio (Grotius) to Locke. Its philosophical eclecticism did not go beyond the boundaries of a moral philosophy based on Catholicism. Meanwhile, the text chosen for Public Law was *Elementa Juris naturae et Gentium* (1758) by Heineccio. This teaching manual belonged to a legal culture based on positivism, far removed from the rationalism typical of natural law. Its absolutist and conservative nature reflect its political ideology.

All of this contrasts with the trajectory of the Civil Economy and Commerce Chair. From its beginnings, its teaching content was relatively up-to-date and was modified in order to accommodate the changes in European economic thought. In 1798, fifteen years after its establishment, and after the closure of the Moral Philosophy and Public Law Chairs, the economics chair was teaching French authors, such as Quesnay, Condillac, Forbonnais, and Necker; English writers, such as Hume and Smith; and Italian authors, including Muratori, Genovesi, and Verri. This reflects the unmistakable modernizing nature of this experience which was also dynamic and had a remarkable doctrinal pluralism. The information that we have about its teaching practices reveals that it focused on some of the central themes of economic and political culture of the Enlightenment, from forms of government or criminal laws to the freedom of trade or luxury. All of this shows the asymmetry with which political and legal culture was developed on one side and economic culture on the other. Political economy was a measure that over the eighteenth century became an active channel for spreading ideas going beyond what we know as strictly economic content. In fact, it was the economics chair—and not the other two—that was targeted by a forceful and hardline attack by the Spanish reactionary sectors, led by Fathers Cádiz and Cabra. Although the Chair remained active, this meant that it had become impossible to generalize its experience and there was an interruption in its program of translation and edition of writings.

Logically, the establishment of the Aragonese chair paved the way for an intense period of the promotion of economic teachings. While emblematic enlightened figures, such as Jovellanos, Alcalá Galiano, Aguirre, or Foronda, continued to foster these teachings, between 1785 and 1787 the enlightened government received new initiatives from Cádiz, Valencia, Barcelona, or Madrid. None of these initiatives were developed. But, it should be remembered that, around this time, together with Zaragoza, economic teachings were developed in other active centers: the Political Economy Academy, founded by the Economic Society of Mallorca, under the initiative of José Antonio Mon, and the Seminary for the Nobility of Madrid, where political economy was taught as part of the curriculum of the Moral Philosophy Chair by Joaquín de Danvila. Both of these initiatives shared the same *genovesiana* orientation as the Aragonese initiative, although in

Danvila's *Lecciones de Economía Civil o de el Comercio* (Lessons of Civil Economy and of Commerce, 1779), the first Spanish teaching manual, the ideas of the Neapolitan were merged with those of Cantillon and Condillac.

A highly illustrative example of the progress that economics made during the last part of the eighteenth century is provided by Ramón de Salas.<sup>15</sup> A resident of Salamanca from the mid-1760s, this Aragonese enlightened scholar belonged to the core of innovators that openly contested the powerful reactionary sectors of the university of this town. With the support of other future fathers of the first Spanish constitutionalism, in 1787 Salas founded the *Academia de Derecho Español y Práctica Forense* (Academy of Spanish Law and Forensic Practice). The innovative nature of this academy is reflected in its contents and teaching methods which were similar to our present-day seminars. Salas sought to replace the anachronistic scholastic teachings of jurisprudence and theology with “useful” disciplines that did not form part of the university curriculum. His priority was political and he initiated the first experience in teaching economics in a Spanish public university. In this respect, Salas was assisted by teachers and students who attended the gatherings that he assiduously held at his home. With their help, he carried out hand-written translations of many works in the fields of public law, moral philosophy and political economy, by authors such as Bodino, Voltaire, Rousseau, or Schmid d’Avenstein, which were difficult to access at that time in Spain. These translations were copied and secretly distributed among the intellectual circles of Salamanca and other neighboring towns. All of this shows that the reforming adventure of Salas and his group had very little to do with the practices of the official Spanish Enlightenment. Its forms of sociability and contents gave rise to a still little-known radical current of the Spanish Enlightenment—as it was understood before Jonathan Israel’s great work.<sup>16</sup>

This is the context within which Salas undertook his own translation of Genovesi’s *Lezioni*. It is a hand-written translation with copious notes of the first twenty-one chapters of the book. It was carried out between 1787 and 1790 and intended for the Spanish Law Academy where Salas taught Genovesi’s doctrine. Its title, *Apuntaciones al Genovesi y extracto de las Lecciones de Comercio y Economía Civil* (Notes to Genovesi and extract from the Lessons of Commerce and Civil Economy), clearly shows the will to critically comment on the ideas of Genovesi. In fact, the “*Apuntaciones*” are a rebuttal of the economic and political ideas of the Neapolitan. The length and depth of this section converts it into a book within a book and includes new ideas about natural law, republicanism, the political tradition of Montesquieu and the main currents of political economy, from Melon and Condillac to Physiocracy. However, once again, it was the reactionary sector of the University of Salamanca which, in 1792, put an end to Salas’s brave and somewhat visionary Academy of Law five years after its foundation.

## By way of conclusion: A legacy with a future

During the second half of the eighteenth century, political economy constituted a crucial instrument in the fertile process of the reception, dissemination, and application of the enlightened ideas across the whole of the Spanish monarchy, including its overseas territories. The economic and political culture then spread to levels not dissimilar, in some cases, to those of the neighboring European countries. This gave rise to the creation of new institutions. None of the principal manifestations in this field, from the foundation of economic societies or university chairs of political economy and commerce to the publication of dictionaries or specialized journals in the subject, could be matched: during the three decades following the end of the Seven Years’ War, there were more changes than all of the preceding decades of the century. Furthermore, political economy began to play a crucial role in the creation of the enlightened public sphere and in the

emergence of “public opinion.” In this way, still enjoying a growing disciplinary autonomy, it began to take the form of a privileged language of Politics, both in the intellectual field and in terms of reforms. All of this constituted a remarkable expression, although barely recognized in current historiography, of a Spanish enlightened program which, while still moderate, pragmatic and gradualist, was, in any case, an undeniable project of “Enlightenment” (Astigarraga 2015a, 1–17). Further evidence of this is that all of the principal institutional manifestations of political economy found a place in the new constitutional Spain. The obstacles to the freedom of the press were removed simultaneously with the acknowledgement by the Courts of Cádiz of the usefulness of the economic societies and the incorporation of the teaching of political economy in the university syllabus.

## Notes

- 1 This chapter was funded by Research Projects HAR2016-77344-R (MINECO) and H20\_17R (Aragon Government).
- 2 See the compilation of works included in Coats (1993). In the European context, Guidi and Augello are essential.
- 3 This section briefly summarizes the recent interpretation of Astigarraga (2015b, 63–81).
- 4 See, respectively, Sarrailh (1957), Carande (1969, 143–181) and Anes (1974, 11–41).
- 5 See Hont (2005, 1–155).
- 6 An overview can be found in Astigarraga and Zabalza (2007).
- 7 Of all of the publishers mentioned, this merchant from Bilbao is particularly worth mentioning. He was responsible for the “completely reworked” edition of the Dutch manual of commerce by Samuel Ricard, published in 1781, and singled out by McCulloch, Coquelin-Guillaumin and other Classical economists as that with the highest quality. It was also widely distributed, given that large fragments of it were used in the *Commerce* volumes (1783–1784) of the *Encyclopédie Méthodique*. The powerful Basque-French merchant, Simón de Aragoirri, Marquis of Iranda, could have had a furtive influence on all of this.
- 8 *Essai sur la Nature du Commerce en Général* (Essay on the Nature of Trade in General, 1755).
- 9 See Aguilar Piñal (1978), Guinard (1973), Sáiz (1983), Urzainqui (1995, pp. 125–216), and Le Guellec (2016). From the perspective of the creation of a “new public,” see Larriba (2013).
- 10 Álvarez Barrientos (1990). On the forging of journalistic identity through “spectators,” see Urzainqui (2009).
- 11 An overview in Enciso (1956) and in Maestre, Díaz and Romero (2015).
- 12 On the Germanic experience, see Tribe (1988, 91); and on the Italian, Augello et al. (1988, 31–46, 47–92, 93–138). The French experience did not develop until after the Revolution.
- 13 On the history of the Chair, see Forniés (1976), Usoz (1996) and Sánchez, Malo and Blanco (2003).
- 14 The Chair, directed by Genovesi until his death in 1769, constituted a decisive piece in the development of the enlightened culture of the Italian *Mezzogiorno*, in both the intellectual and reform fields; see, e.g., Venturi (1969–1984, vol. I, 523). And on Genovesi in Spain, Astigarraga and Usoz (2013).
- 15 For in-depth analysis, see Astigarraga (2011b).
- 16 Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 2001.

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# Women as public intellectuals during the Hispanic Enlightenment

The case of Josefa Amar y Borbón's *Ensayo histórico-apologético de la literatura española*

Elizabeth Franklin Lewis

## Women and the republic of letters in Spain and Latin America

The importance of the public and private spheres to our understanding of the legacy of the Enlightenment has been the subject of much scholarly debate in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, sparked by the 1989 translation to English of Jürgen Habermas's *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Feminist scholars especially have been interested in the gendered nature of these divisions.<sup>1</sup> Where did eighteenth-century women interact with Enlightenment ideas debated in the emerging public sphere? With whom? How were women included or excluded? Who influenced them? Whom did they influence? Dena Goodman's conclusion has been that, at least in the case of the French Enlightenment and its so-called Republic of Letters, the eighteenth century "was grounded in a female-centered mixed-gender sociability that gendered French culture, the Enlightenment, and civilization itself as feminine" (Goodman 1992, 6). But was the same true for women of the Hispanic Enlightenment? Pilar Pérez Cantó and Rocío de la Nogar have found that some of the sites of late Enlightenment sociability in Spain and Latin America (academies, scientific and economic societies, newspapers, salons) were egalitarian spaces where both men and women, "ignoring status and social hierarchies began to read, listen, converse, and opine about new ideas..." (Pérez Cantó and Nogar 2005, 760). However, Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos, in his analysis of the emergence of a professional class of men of letters during the Spanish eighteenth century, reminds us that despite the contributions of a few notable female writers to the Spanish "Republic of Letters," rarely were women recognized as public intellectuals and reformers. Rather, "literary practice for women was supposed to be restricted to the private, whether in a convent or in a home" (Álvarez Barrientos 2006, 51).<sup>2</sup> Both of the above assertions—that during the Hispanic Enlightenment some women interacted with men in public spaces as equals, and that women were for the most part excluded from the public sphere—are true.<sup>3</sup> Still, there existed in Enlightenment circles in Spain and Latin America a small but undeniably important group of intellectual women who presented their ideas and intellectual or creative work publicly on topics as diverse as aesthetics, economics, and education, and by doing so they not only influenced some Enlightenment debates, but also laid the groundwork for future Spanish and Latin American feminists a century later.

After a brief survey of the rise of the “woman question” among Hispanic Enlightenment male writers, this essay will examine some of the women who were held up by *ilustrados* (enlightened men) as models and some who also shared their ideas publicly at intellectual gatherings and on the pages of the burgeoning periodical press and other published texts. After this overview, we will examine a little studied publication of one of the most notable of these women, Josefa Amar y Borbón: her translation from Italian of ex-Jesuit Francisco Javier Lampillas’s *Saggio storico-apologetico della Letteratura Spagnola* (1778–1781) published in seven volumes, in two editions between 1782 and 1789 as *Ensayo histórico-apologético de la literatura Española*. In the context of a heated international debate over Spain’s cultural legitimacy sparked by Nicolas Masson de Morvilliers’s 1782 essay “Espagne” in the *Encyclopédie Methodique*, we shall see how this early product of Amar’s scholarly acumen not only presented her to the public as an intellectual and won acceptance for her as part of the elite group of Spanish eighteenth-century *ilustrados*, probably gaining her membership into the Economic Society of Zaragoza, but it also helped to set the trajectory of her brief but remarkable career as a respected thinker and writer, and paved the way for the public success of other women of letters.

### The woman question and spaces of enlightened sociability

It was a man, Benito Feijoo, who brought women, or at least the question of women’s intellectual equality, to the forefront of the Hispanic Enlightenment. His 1726 essay “Defense of Women,” published in the first volume of his *Teatro crítico universal* (*Universal Critical Theater*, 1726–1739), followed in the long tradition of the French *querelle des femmes*, and of more recent apologists like Poulain de la Barre (*De l’égalité des deux sexes*, 1673). In his essay, Feijoo rejects scholasticism’s misogynist affirmations of the intellectual inferiority of women, and instead employs rationalist arguments that point to a difference of experience (especially of education) rather than to physical or moral differences between the sexes (Bolufer 1998b, Bolufer 2005, Kitts 1995). Feijoo’s essay provoked decades of reaction among male writers in Spain and Latin America against and in favor of this defense of women.<sup>4</sup> Feijoo’s essay also sparked a new spirit that encouraged female participation in various spaces of Enlightenment sociability.

Some elite women in Spain and Latin America hosted *tertulias*—salon-like gatherings of artists, thinkers and politicians. In Spain, among the most prominent of these *tertulias* were the gatherings held in the homes of the Countess of Montijo, the Countess-Duchess of Benavente and Osuna, the Duchess of Alba, and the Countess of Lemos (Fernández-Quintanilla 1981, Smith 2006).<sup>5</sup> Women also hosted these gatherings in the Spanish American colonies. In Nueva Granada (Colombia), Manuela Santamaría de González Manrique hosted the *Tertulia del Buen Gusto* (Salon for Good Taste) where influential thinkers, politicians, and travelers gathered (Pérez Cantó and Nogal 2005, 778; Socolow 2000, 170; Soto Hall 1934).<sup>6</sup> Women were also admitted to the academies and societies formed in the second half of the century. Spain’s *Academia de Bellas Artes* (Academy of Fine Arts), established in 1752, admitted women from its inception, accepting a total of thirty-four women between 1752 and 1808 in various capacities from supernumerary members to academics of honor. In addition, numerous works of art by women were included in public exhibitions sponsored by the academy during this period (Smith 2006, 50–73). In Mexico, the art academy of San Carlos showed paintings by women artists, for example the paintings by sisters Juliana and Josefa San Román Castilla in the early nineteenth century (Infante Vargas 2015, 43). The Royal Academy of the Spanish Language in Madrid admitted its first woman, María Isidra de Guzmán, in 1784.<sup>7</sup> In 1785 Guzmán was also the first woman to be granted a university degree, the first woman to be admitted to Spain’s oldest economic society, the *Real Sociedad Vascongada de Amigos del País*, and in 1786 was the first woman admitted to the Royal

Economic Society of Madrid. Later the Madrid Economic Society also admitted the Duchess of Osuna, wife of the Society's director, which set off a debate that culminated in the publication of Josefa Amar y Borbón's famous 1786 essay, "Discourse in Defense of Women and of Their Aptitude for Governing and Other Positions in Which Men Are Employed," published in the Madrid periodical *Memorial literario*. The controversy led to the creation in 1787 of Spain's first civic organization for women, the *Junta de Damas de Honor y Mérito*, which although subordinate to the all-male Economic Society of Madrid, managed to set its own agenda of educational, health, and penal reform for Madrid's children and women (Bolufer 2003a, Lewis 1989, 2004; Smith 2006; Martín-Valdepeñas 2009, 2010). Similar women's civic groups were created in other parts of Spain, including the *Junta de Damas de Cádiz*, created during the Napoleonic Peninsular War (Bolufer 2003a, Espigado 2003, Salverri Baro 2016).

### **From periodicals to pamphlets: Women and public debates in the press**

Women were a topic of discussion and often a target of criticism in the press, where journalists like José Clavijo y Fajardo (*El pensador*, 1762–1767) and Francisco Mariano Nifo (*Cajón de sastre*, 1760–1761) criticized women's addiction to fashion and admonished them to be more attentive mothers (Kitts 1995, 60–106). However, women were important to the success of the newspapers and journals that popped up across Spain in the 1760s and beyond, not only as topics to be debated, but also we find record of women's names as subscribers, contributors and in two cases as editors: Beatriz Cienfuegos of *La pensadora gaditana* (1763–1764) and Escolástica Hurtado of *La Pensatriz salmantina* (1777).<sup>8</sup> By the end of the century, women were increasingly recognized in the pages of the press as influential intellectuals and artists. María Gertrudis Hore published her poetry in the *Diario de Madrid* and the *Correo de Madrid* between 1787–1796; Margarita Hickey's collection of poetry *Poesías varias, sagradas, morales y profanes* (1789) was reviewed in the *Correo de Madrid*; Josefa Amar y Borbón's aforementioned essay in defense of women was published in the *Memorial literario* along with a series of other essays in favor and against admitting women into the Royal Economic Society of Madrid, and her book *Discourse on the Physical and Moral Education of Women* (1790) was announced that same year in the *Memorial literario* (Urzainqui 2016).

The periodical press was an important vehicle for spreading Enlightenment ideas and debates in the American colonies as well. Lucrecia Infante Vargas has found women and women's issues to be important in the growth of Mexican liberalism, as expressed in the pages of the journal the *Diario de México*, where ideas by both Feijoo and Amar y Borbón are cited, and Mexican men and women debated topics including the effects of women's fashion and luxury consumption, women's intellectual capacity, and women's education (Infante Vargas 2015, 28–32).<sup>9</sup>

### **Exceptional female minds**

Some male *ilustrados* saw women as crucial allies in their plans to overhaul Spanish society, especially through their roles as Enlightened mothers who would educate and raise the ideal citizens of the future. To that end, female education became another important topic of debate. These questions of women's proper education, their proper role in Spanish society, and their participation in Enlightenment reforms not only filled popular pamphlets and the pages of the periodical press, but they were put on display in some very public ceremonies celebrating women's intellect.

The public examinations of two women—María del Rosario Cepeda and María Isidra Quintina de Guzmán—are remarkable not only for the tender age of their adolescent subjects,

but also for the attempt by their promoters to set these young women as examples of women's intellectual capacity, of the power of education, and as proof of Spain's cultural superiority. In 1768, twelve-year-old María del Rosario Cepeda impressed her audience in Cádiz with her knowledge of Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, as well as in history and literature (Cubié 1768, 138; Serrano y Sanz 1903, 268). The published account of her exam speaks of the great example she provided for other Spanish girls:

So that the spirits of our young women might be inspired, and they may follow her lead, fleeing from idleness, loving instruction and study, all for the glory of their nation, and to polish society with dignity

(Cepeda, *Relación*, 3–4)

Para que inflamados los espíritus de nuestras jóvenes, se estimulen a su imitación, huyendo la ociosidad, amando la instrucción, y estudio, para esplendor de su patria, y construir el más digno esmalte de la sociedad.

Contemporary author Juan Bautista Cubié concludes a compendium of talented Spanish women in his book *Mujeres vindicadas de las calumnias de los hombres* (1768) with an entry on the recent news of Cepeda's exams.<sup>10</sup>

Almost two decades later, another precocious young woman, seventeen-year-old María Isidra Quintina de Guzmán, caught the attention of the politicians and literati in Madrid. As previously noted, in 1784 Guzmán was the first woman admitted to the Spanish Royal Academy, something she herself marveled at in her acceptance speech:

Has it not been necessary to drain all the generosity of the Royal Academy, in order to elevate to an honor that is the most distinguished position and the highest prize of the greatest scholars, a seventeen-year-old young woman who has not known (except in name only) gymnasiums, academies, or seminaries, nor has she touched the threshold of the famous Temple of Minerva, nor even heard another voice save that of her only teacher?

(Guzmán 1785, 11)

¿no ha sido necesario apurar toda la liberalidad de la Real Academia Española, para elevar a un honor, que es el más distinguido empleo y encumbrado premio de los más esclarecidos literatos, a una joven de diez y siete años, que no ha conocido sino por el nombre los gimnasios, las academias, los seminarios, ni ha tocado los umbrales del famoso templo de Minerva, ni aun oído otra voz, que la de un solo maestro?

Guzmán recognizes her lack of experience in the public spaces of a man's intellectual world, yet she defends her ability to participate in it through this speech. She refers to a "literary Republic" (*República literaria*, 7), as well as to a "great Republic of wise men" (*gran República de los sabios*, 7), and she praises the efforts of the Royal Academy to promote the Spanish language and Spanish literature at home and abroad. She defends Spanish culture from its (foreign) critics, and holds up the Royal Academy's dictionary (in its second edition by the time she delivered her speech) as proof of the importance of the Spanish language and its literature:

Accept the challenge from a young Spanish woman, who has spent her childhood's free time reading and understanding your dictionaries: Compare them with the dictionary that

our Royal Academy has brought to light...and in spite of yourselves you will rethink your insults and convert them to praises, if you don't insist on going against the truth.

(XVI–XVIII)

Admitid el duelo, a que os desafía una joven Española, que ha empleado sus pueriles ocios en la lección e inteligencia de vuestros diccionarios: ponedlos en paralelo con el que acaba de dar a luz nuestra Real Academia Española...y a pesar vuestro habréis de retratar vuestros dicterios, y convertirlos en elogios, si no os obstináis contra la verdad.

Later in 1785, the young Guzmán, a daughter of the nobility whose family was close to the crown, was sponsored by King Charles III for a university degree, a doctorate in modern philosophy from the famous University of Alcalá, the first woman to earn such a degree in Spanish history. Details of her examinations were printed in the journals *Memorial Literario* and the *Gaceta de Madrid*. The account in the *Memorial Literario* emphasizes the importance of Guzmán's accomplishments not only as a validation of the intellectual capabilities of women, but of Spain itself, echoing Guzmán's own words in her acceptance speech to the Royal Academy:

Literature today is the target of shots by foreigners, and even by some Spaniards, who either by worry or by caprice have tried to discredit it, some in ignorance and others forgetting that our nation has been rich throughout time, not only with superior minds, learned men, and writers in all the arts and sciences [...] but it has also held up the model of innumerable illustrious literary women.

(147–148)

La literatura es hoy el blanco de los tiros de todos los extranjeros, y aun de algunos españoles, los cuales, o por preocupación, o por capricho han procurado desacreditarla, ignorando unos, y olvidando otros, que nuestra nación, fue, en todos tiempos fecunda, no solamente en ingenios elevados, en varones doctos, y escritores en todas ciencias y artes [...] sino también que fue modelo de un sin número de mujeres ilustres en la literatura.

The article goes on to list six pages of influential Hispanic women—from Spain's Queen Isabel through Mexico's Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz—before arriving at Guzmán's contemporaries in the eighteenth century, and ultimately to Guzmán herself.

Both Guzmán and Cepeda continued to be known in intellectual circles after their celebrated debuts. Guzmán, already admitted to the Spanish Royal Academy and to the important Royal Economic Society of Madrid as well as the Basque Economic Society, later became a founding member of the aforementioned *Junta de Damas*, a group that Cepeda also joined, and eventually led as its secretary.<sup>11</sup> Were these young women put forward as models for other Spanish girls to emulate, were they held out as oddities of their sex, or was there another reason in championing intellectual women? These adolescent intellectual girls were not the model Rousseauian wives and mothers whose destiny was to support male Enlightenment goals from within the confines of the domestic sphere. Rather they and their promoters saw another patriotic role for women as cultural defenders of Spain, especially of its literature. This alternate feminine ideal exalted highly-educated literary women as proof of Spain's modernity and worthiness to be counted among the cultured nations, in response to foreign voices like Masson de Morvilliers, who criticized Spain as culturally backwards and different from the rest of Europe.<sup>12</sup>

## Translation as public legitimization: Josefa Amar y Borbón's Italian roots

From the 1780s through the first decade of the nineteenth century, numerous women wrote and publicly shared their original literary and intellectual compositions: poets Margarita Hickey and María Gertrudis Hore; dramatists María Rita de Barrenechea, María Rosa Gálvez, and Isabel Morón; and essayists Inés Joyes y Blake and Josefa Amar y Borbón (Bolufer 1998b, Fernández Palacios 2002, Lewis 2004). This intellectual production by women also included numerous translations such as that of Françoise de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* (1747) translated by María Romero in 1792 (Smith 2003; Bolufer 2014) and of Samuel Johnson's *The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia* (1759) translated by Inés Joyes y Blake in 1798 (Bolufer 2008). Even women writers known today for their original publications also saw translation as an important part of their intellectual production: Margarita Hickey translated Jean Racine's 1667 *Andromaque* from French and published it in her 1789 collection along with her original poetry, *Poesías varias, sagradas, morales y profanas o amorosas*; María Rosa Gálvez published and or performed several plays translated from French, including *Catalina o la bella labradora*, *La dama colérica*, and *La intriga epistolar*; and of course, Josefa Amar y Borbón and her translations from Italian of two treatises—one on agriculture and the other defending Spanish literature (Establier Pérez 2006, Palacios Fernández 2002, García Garrosa 2011, López-Cordon 2005, Smith 2006, Fernández-Quintanilla 1981).

Josefa Amar y Borbón is one of the handful of eighteenth-century Spanish women authors whom late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century historians have considered as one of Spain's earliest feminist writers (Lewis 2004, López-Cordón 2014). Her two major works—the 1786 “Discurso en defensa del talento de las mujeres, y de su aptitud para el gobierno, y otros cargos en que se emplean los hombres” (“Discourse in Defense of Women and of Their aptitude for Governing and Other Positions in Which Men Are Employed”) and her 1790 book on female education, the *Discurso sobre la educación física y moral de las mujeres* (*Discourse on the Physical and Moral Education of Women*)—have gone from almost complete oblivion to semi-canonical status over the past twenty years, with ever more frequent appearances of these two main works in course reading lists, encyclopedia articles, and essay collections. Still, most have preferred to focus almost solely on Amar's original writings. However, before becoming the famous defender of Spanish women's rights, and before writing one of the best known and most highly regarded books on child-rearing and the education of girls in her time, Josefa Amar y Borbón published, like so many other authors and especially women authors of her time, translations. We know of two translations published by Amar under her own name, both from original Italian texts. The first was of ex-Jesuit Francisco Javier Lampillas's *Saggio storico-apologetico della Letteratura Spagnola* (Génova, 1778–1781), which she published in seven volumes and in two editions between 1782 and 1789 as *Ensayo histórico-apologetico de la literatura Española* (*Historical-Apologetic Essay on Spanish Literature*). Her second translation was of a 1782 text by Francisco Grisellini, the *Discurso sobre el problema de si corresponde a los párrocos y curas de las aldeas el instruir a los labradores en los buenos elementos de la economía campestre* (*Discourse on the Problem of Whether Town Parishes and Priests Should Instruct Farmers in the Good Elements of Rural Economy*), at the request of the Royal Aragonese Economic Society, and thought to be published in Zaragoza in 1783, in an edition that does not carry a date. These two translations from Italian were Amar's first publications as a scholar. They not only legitimated her work as an intellectual, gaining acceptance for her as an *ilustrada*, and in the case of the Lampillas translations probably gaining her membership into the Economic Society of Zaragoza, but they also helped to set the trajectory of her brief but remarkable career as a thinker and writer, as scholars like López-Cordón

and Sullivan have noted (López-Cordon 2005 and 2014; Sullivan 1992). A close examination of Amar's translation of the Lampillas treatise defending Spanish literature, and of the public reception it received, will reveal the importance translation held for Amar as an integral part of her work as a public intellectual and her life-long vocation to the scholarly life.<sup>13</sup>

In the 1770s, several treatises appeared in Italy criticizing Spanish literature, especially the perceived bad taste of *culteranismo*, a scholarly, Latinizing style, of seventeenth-century baroque Spanish writers, most notably exemplified in the poetry of Luis de Góngora. Two authors in particular that held such views, Saverio Bettinelli and Girolamo Tiraboschi, were met with vehement defenses of Spanish literary tradition by a number of Spanish ex-Jesuits living exiled in Italy at the time. Catalanian Francisco Javier Lampillas, a former professor of rhetoric in Barcelona, published in Italian one of the best-known and most well-received of these defenses, his six volume *Saggio storico-apologetico della Letteratura Spagnola* (Ticknor 1849, 391–394; Alborg 1972, 858–859; Fabiani 2010). Barely a year after the publication of the last of Lampillas's volumes in Italy, Amar published the first volume of her Spanish translation of it in Zaragoza. She would spend the next four years publishing six more volumes, while at the same time she completed another translation from Italian—the aforementioned text by Grisellini (Sullivan 1992, Pérez Sarrión 2003). Amar translated Grisellini's economic treatise at the request of the Zaragoza Economic Society exemplifying both her ability as a translator and her engagement with topics of economic policy, but the publication of the Lampillas's essay, apparently of her own initiative, was Amar's first foray into the eighteenth-century debates over the legacy of Spanish culture and literature. Not only did she publish this essay within the context of the Italian controversy, but the first volume of her translation appeared in the same year of the very polemical objections over Masson de Morvilliers's previously mentioned essay (López-Cordón 2005, 81).<sup>14</sup>

Amar translates the Lampillas text, because, she says:

It can be very useful to publish this news in our kingdom, so that some are disabused of mistaken ideas that they might have in this matter, and so that others now and in the future are encouraged by the conclusive evidence from the author that recognizes Spain in the cultivation of letters.

(“Prólogo de la traductora” *Ensayo histórico-apologético*, Vol. 1, 1782, n.p.)

puede ser muy útil publicar estas noticias en nuestro Reino, para que se desengañen unos de las ideas erradas que pudieran tener en esta material, y se estimulen otros con las pruebas concluyentes del Autor a continuar en este tiempo y en el venidero los testimonios que acreditan haberse distinguido siempre los Españoles en el cultivo de las letras.

Amar aims to simultaneously defend Spanish literary tradition and encourage its future through her translation.

Amar repeats exactly the structure of Lampillas's six volumes in her first edition. She also copies his prologues, notes, appendices and indexes faithfully. However, she adds a *dedicatoria* to the Princess of Asturias, María Luisa, as well as her own prologue to part one, volume one; and her own prologue to part two, volume three (the fifth volume of the series). In a seventh volume, which is a copy of a response that Lampillas made to criticisms of his first two volumes by Tiraboschi, Amar adds her own alphabetical index to the previous six volumes by Lampillas of the important people, places, historical events and literary terms contained in them. She also begins this last volume with another *dedicatoria* to María Luisa, and a prologue explaining why

she wanted to publish Lampillas's response and her own index. A second edition was published in Madrid in 1789.

Most of Amar's translation is very faithful to Lampillas, whom she praises in her prologue to the first volume as having performed "an admirable service to his nation" (n.p.; *un servicio tan recomendable a su patria*). Differences between the first and second editions are minor, and generally reflect Amar's polishing as a translator. She seeks in the second edition to improve on her previous work: "Indeed, I have attempted to polish and Hispanicize it more than I did at first" ("Advertencia al lector" 1789, n.p.; *En efecto, he procurado limarla, y españolizarla más que al principio*), often preferring a less literal translation into more idiomatic Spanish. Still, despite her adherence to Lampillas's ideas—"I have tried to stick to the concepts" (*He procurado ceñirme al concepto*) as she says in her prologue to the first 1782 volume—there is much of Amar's own erudition, style, and personal interests in these translations. In the *dedicatoria* of the 1782 volume Amar stresses a personal, feminine, and intellectual connection with the Princess of Asturias (soon to be the Queen of Spain by publication of the translation's second volume):

That which I consecrate at the Royal feet of your Highness is a legitimate tribute for many reasons. The first is born of the reverent gratitude owed to the special honors the august Sovereigns have given my family [...] Another is because your Highness is the most illustrious, most high and in sum the head of all women, and the one who translated this text is also a woman. And the last reason is because this work is directed at the defense of Spanish literature.  
(1782, n.p.)

El que consagro a los Reales Pies de Vuestra Alteza es un tributo legítimo por varias razones. La primera nace de la reverente gratitud debida a las singulares honras dispensadas a mi familia por nuestros Augustos Soberanos... Otra procede por ser Vuestra Alteza la más ilustre, la más elevada, y en fin la cabeza de mujeres, y ser mujer la que ha traducido esta obra. Y la última por dirigirse su objeto a la defensa de la literatura Española.

Later in her "Translator's Prologue" Amar elaborates on her interest in Lampillas work. She begins by explaining why she thought it important that she translate Lampillas's text:

I do not deny that there are infinite others in this Kingdom who understand Italian, and without a doubt better than I; but it is enough that many more don't understand it that this translation might be useful to them, so that in this way a work that is an honor to our nation can be spread.  
(1782, n.p.)

No ignoro que hay en este Reyno infinitos que entienden el [italiano], y sin duda mejor que yo; pero basta que no le comprendan otros muchos para que sea útil la traducción, a fin de que por este medio se divulgue una obra de que resulta honra a nuestra Nación.

The work of a translator, says Amar, is profoundly creative:

I have tried to stick to the concepts, and mostly to the original words, but not with so much exactitude that I have copied verbatim, in which case it wouldn't always make good sense in Spanish. The painter cannot make a copy if at every step he does not look back at the original. The translator, once he has found the perfections of the text, should not look back

frequently at the original if his copy is going to be successful. He will certainly not translate elegantly if he does not forget that he is translating.

(1782, n.p.)

He procurado ceñirme al concepto, y casi a las palabras del original, pero no con tanta exactitud, que le haya copiado al pie de la letra, en cuyo caso no haría siempre buen sentido en el Español. El Pintor no puede sacar la copia si a cada paso no vuelve los ojos hacia el original. El traductor una vez que se entere de sus perfecciones no ha de volver frecuentemente la vista al original si ha de sacar airosa la copia. No traducirá con gala ciertamente el que no se olvide de que está traduciendo.

Unlike the painter who seeks to make a faithful copy by transferring what is seen directly onto canvas by frequently looking to the original, a translator must do more than reproduce an object (in this case a text) from one form to another. Translating is an active and creative endeavor—searching for meaning (“Concepto”) from the words (“las palabras”). But to do this well, to be successful in her copy (“sacar airosa la copia”) the translator should not rely too much on the original. She should forget that she is translating.

Amar ends the prologue to the first volume with a note to her female readers, explaining points in the *Lampillas* text (especially an appendix at the end of the fourth volume on Spanish women writers) that “could equally claim the welcome approval among those of my sex” (“pudiera pretender igualmente el agrado y buena acogida entre las de mi sexo” 1782, n.p.). This appeal to women readers is present also in Amar’s concluding *dedicatoria* and prologue to the seventh and last volume of her series, as she continues to emphasize women’s accomplishments, and her own erudite and creative achievements. In the *dedicatoria* to María Luisa, she highlights once more the princess’s outstanding intellect and dedication to female education:

Your Highness’s superior talent and education is so notorious to all [... .] We women have proof that your Highness desires our instruction, and that you do not consider education at odds with our sex given what you have done with the Serene Highness Princess Carlota Joaquina [... .] an example to inspire women today and in the future.

(1782, n.p.)

El talento superior de Vuestra Alteza y su instrucción es tan notorio a todos [... .] En cuanto a las mujeres tenemos una prueba de que Vuestra Alteza desea su instrucción, y no la considera agena del sexo en lo que ha hecho con la Serenísima Infanta Doña Carlota Joaquina [... .] exemplo para estímulo de las mujeres presentes y venideros.

Significantly, Amar highlights another young educated woman (similar to Guzmán and Cepeda), exemplifying again the importance of intellectual women. Amar’s original alphabetical index to *Lampillas*’s text, more a dictionary than an index, takes translation and creation one step further, blurring the line between her “faithful copy” and the assertion of her own erudition.

In the epilogue to her book *The Subversive Scribe*, “Traduttora, traditora,” Susan Jill Levine muses about the role of the woman translator. While writers like Albert Bensoussan have feminized the translator as a secondary figure, an enslaved and subservient handmaiden to the word of another, for Levine the “feminine” qualities of translation are far from submissive:

If somehow we learn to de-sex the original vis-à-vis its translation, particularly in our postmodern age [... .] if we recognize the borderlessness or at least the continuity between

translation and original, then perhaps we can begin to see the translator in another light, no longer bearing the stigma of servant, of handmaiden. Translation, saddling the scholarly and the creative, can be a route through which a translator may seek to reconcile fragments: fragments of texts, of language, of oneself.

(1991, 183–184)

Seen in this way, the translations by Amar, and by other eighteenth-century women, were not secondary forms of intellectual production. Neither were they merely cleverly planned calculations gaining her acceptance into a male-dominated society, or potentially lucrative business ventures, or ways to avoid censorship or criticism—although we cannot deny that translations by women also achieved these things. Rather, translation also reconciled “fragments” of eighteenth-century women’s intellectual lives, whose participation in Spain’s Republic of Letters was both celebrated and limited. For Josefa Amar, translation was part of both her scholarly and writer-ly vocations, and as such was inseparable from and indeed fused with her work as a public intellectual.<sup>15</sup>

## Conclusion: Women as public intellectuals?

In the aforementioned account of María Isidra de Guzmán’s doctoral ceremony, the *Memorial literario* included among its list of remarkable contemporary women the names of María del Rosario Cepeda and Josefa Amar, specifically pointing to Amar’s translation of the Lampillas text as exemplary (1785, 155). The model girl at the head of the list was the same young Princess Carlota Joaquina praised by Amar in her concluding *dedicatoria* to her translation. The *Memorial literario* calls the precocious young princess an example of “virtues and literature” (“ejemplo de virtudes y literatura” 154).<sup>16</sup> Similarly, a few decades prior, Juan Bautista Cubié also saw women as indicators of Spain’s virtue and culture. Cubié recognized the importance of defending women publicly before a (male) “Literary Republic,” as he states in his prologue: “I would be deserving of reprehension if I denied that true Criticism, practiced with the required moderation, were necessary and beneficial to the Literary Republic” (“Digno de reprensión sería yo, si negara que la verdadera Crítica, puesta en práctica con la debida moderación, era necesaria y provechosa a la República Literaria.” 1768, n.p.). Cubié also worries about unfair and cruel reaction to his book by the men of this “Republic,” whom he calls “ignorant” and “full of vanity.” They stand in contrast with his catalog of educated Spanish women deserving of respect and admiration.

For Kant, Enlightenment emerged from the freedom to make “public use of one’s reason,” (59), especially as a “*scholar* [Gelehrter] before the entire public of the *reading world*” (Kant, 60).<sup>17</sup> All of the women discussed earlier in this chapter—the women who hosted *tertulias*; the women who subscribed and contributed their letters and poems to newspapers; the women whose paintings were shown in public exhibits at the art academies; the women who delivered official speeches; the young women whose intellect was put on public display; and the women who published their own original texts as well as those who chose foreign texts to translate and publish—also exercised to varying degrees “the public use of their reason.” While we might question the capacity of a child to contribute her ideas freely, they, along with the other women we have seen here, were so many “fragments” of a long list of intellectual women during Spain’s Enlightenment, who in varying degrees found in the public space afforded them in certain areas of inquiry, such as the defense of Spanish literature, enough freedom to voice their opinions publicly and be heard.<sup>18</sup>

## Notes

- 1 Among scholars who have critiqued the exclusivity of the bourgeois public sphere are Nancy Fraser (1990) and Mary Ryan (1990).
- 2 This and all translations from Spanish are my own. See also Alvarez Barrientos, Lopez and Urzainqui, 1995.
- 3 On social interactions between women and men, see Bolufer (1998a) and Bolufer (2003a). Likewise see Smith (2006) on the idea of a “female citizen” who participated in the public sphere in Spain.
- 4 Manco de Olivares wrote a “Counterdefense in favor of men” (1726), while Basco Flancas published a text in support of Feijoo’s essay in 1727.
- 5 The Countess of Lemos’ *tertulia*, the *Academia del Buen Gusto*, was frequented by the likes of thinkers like Ignacio de Luzán.
- 6 Santamaría’s collection of specimens from her personal Cabinet of Natural History was praised by Alexander Humbolt (Pérez Cantó and Nogal 2005, 778).
- 7 The second was Carmen Conde, elected in 1978.
- 8 There has been debate over whether these are pseudonyms for male editors (Sullivan 1995, Canterla 1999, Dale 2005, and Urzainqui 2004).
- 9 Debates over education were put into practice by the establishment of schools, including the Colegio de las Vizcaínas in Mexico City and the Casa de Educandas in Havana (Infante Vargas 2015, 38–39; Vásquez 1981, and Socolow 2000, 168–169).
- 10 These compendia of *galerías de mujeres* demonstrated Enlightenment interest in exceptional women like Guzmán, Cepeda, and the lesser known Pascuala Caro and Cayetana Parcent, both of Valencia (Bolufer 2000).
- 11 Pedro Álvarez de Miranda (2002) details a petition by Cepeda’s father to the Royal Academy to recognize his daughter as “Socia Honoraria,” which was denied. Cepeda went on to make her mark through her cultural and intellectual activities in both Madrid and Mexico.
- 12 See Matthieu Raillard (2009) on Masson de Morvilliers and Spain’s cultural identity, as well as Donato and Romero’s chapter in this volume. On the promotion of exceptional women as counter argument to Masson de Morvilliers, see Bolufer (2000, 204).
- 13 See Anita Fabiani (2010) on the translation to Italian of Amar’s “Discurso en defensa de las mujeres” by another exiled Spanish Jesuit, Juan Francisco Masdéu, and its possible connection to Amar’s translation of Lampillas.
- 14 Bolufer (2000) discusses Lampillas’s presentation of exceptional Spanish women as a possible reason for Amar’s interest in translating him.
- 15 See García Garrosa’s chapter in this volume on translation in the Spanish Enlightenment, as well as the chapter by Donato and Romero on translation and the encyclopedic tradition.
- 16 The young princess displayed her knowledge in religion, history, geography, and languages at only nine years old.
- 17 While Kant acknowledged women had intellectual capacity, he also mockingly declared that intellectual women “might as well even have a beard.” See Mari Mikkola (2011, 89).
- 18 While, as previously discussed, these young girls were used as propaganda tools used to promote an enlightened image of Spanish culture, Guzmán and Cepeda remained in the public sphere of their own accord as adults through, among other things, their activity with the *Junta de Damas* (Álvarez de Miranda 2002, Bolufer 2000, Demerson 1975, Fernández-Quintanilla 1981).

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## Seduction narratives as a platform for social change in eighteenth-century Spain

Ana Rueda

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Eighteenth-century writers and readers delighted in narratives of pleasure, love, and seduction. “The eighteenth century still spoke of seduction,” states Baudrillard, “[i]t was, with valour and honour, a central preoccupation of the aristocratic spheres” (1990, 1). While the topic has been widely studied in British and French literature (Ballaster 1992; Binhammer 2009; Saint-Amand 1994; Young 2008), we know little about how the eighteenth century defined seduction or used it in the context of the Hispanic World and, specifically, in Spain. The legacy of the male seducer embodied in Don Juan, which Tirso de Molina captured in his seventeenth-century play *El burlador de Sevilla* (*The Trickster of Seville*), written between 1612 and 1625, lent itself to new configurations during the Enlightenment that often combined Don Juan’s characteristics with those of the seventeenth-century libertine or the later Casanova type as embodied in the protagonist of Mozart’s 1787 opera *Don Giovanni*, with libretto by Da Ponte.<sup>1</sup>

While the stratagem of Tirso’s Don Juan was to trick women in order to rob them of their honor triggered by a bet between men, the amorous codes of the *cortejo* (courtship, escort) (Rueda 2004) shook the solid foundation of the Golden Age concept of honor and called for a different kind of sophistication in the art of seduction, one more attuned to the libertine’s physical pleasures. As Martín Gaité (1991) reminds us, a remarkable and gradual reform in values took place throughout the eighteenth century in Spain, moving away from the stern Baroque worldview that consigned Tirso’s Don Juan to infernal torment, and toward a profligate life of luxury. This shift in lifestyles altered the seclusion in which women had lived, admitting pleasurable forms of entertainment unlike the austerity, gravity, and rigid sense of honor of Spanish life in the previous century that blocked women from the social scene. The new philosophical trends that stressed happiness centered on the wealthy, leading to unrestrained squandering of their means and to more ostentatious and embellished forms of gallantry to which the emerging bourgeoisie also aspired. End-of-the-century practices of the *cortejo* stand in distinction to earlier, lengthy courtship practices and moved at a much faster tempo, sparked by the movement of a fan and the twinkling of an eye. Spaniards adopted foreign innovations, such as holding private parties where the *allemande*, the *minuet* and the *contredance* were performed instead of livelier local dances. Nevertheless, when Giacomo Casanova (1725–1798), of Italian and Spanish parentage, travels to Spain during his twenty years’ wanderings, he becomes fascinated with Spanish dances as rituals of seduction, as he describes in Book X of *(His)Story of My Life*, written in

1797 and published in 1820. The *seguidilla* impresses Casanova to the point that he immediately hires a dance master to teach him the intricacies of autochthonous Spanish dances. Thus, two master seducers, Don Juan and Casanova—one fictive and one historical—set the stage for the constructions of seduction in late-eighteenth-century Spain.

In Spain, eighteenth-century writers display a myriad of new scenarios. Even though victims of seduction are still predominantly female,<sup>2</sup> the shift in women's roles and social practices, which responds to the gradual relaxation of morals, allows female heroines to express themselves in ways that also helped to reformulate sexual relationships. Spanish amatory narratives are a bellwether indicating a change in social and literary roles, a reformulation of sexual relationships, through the symbolic dimension of seduction as posited by Jean Baudrillard in his book *Seduction*.<sup>3</sup> As the anonymous *La seducción y la virtud* (1829, *Seduction and Virtue*)<sup>4</sup> states in its prologue, "Lovelace characters do not reside in Richardson's head alone" (xii; no existen los Lovelaces en la sola cabeza de Richardson) and posits that there are many shades between a Lovelace and a Grandison; that is, between a rake who is intent on seducing, humiliating and abandoning women, and a perfectly moral character who comes to the rescue of women in distress but never reveals his own emotional impulses. In literature, *pasiones* (emotions) are the key to unraveling behavioral dispositions and social patterns. As Elster states in the context of French moralists, "we can read plays and novels as the closest thing to a controlled experiment involving high-stakes human emotions" (1999, 108). Nevertheless, this poses a murky issue, because seduction, which Baudrillard aligns with play and appearances, hardly touches upon deep feelings (Hardwick 1973).

I intend to examine this space of dissimulation, flirtatiousness, and the complication of passions, by looking at late-century expository prose and Spanish novels in which seduction—from *seducere*, "to lead astray"—provides the primary narrative thrust. This preliminary examination of Spain's novelistic production reveals that such practices often take a turn in gender, moving away from the strategies of the master-seducers and toward female seduction which tends to lead men into marriage. Seduction is thus refashioned as a nuptial hunt by the woman for the male partner. In refashioning the seducer into husband, narratives endow him with certain virtues that redeem him from being totally unfit for marriage, or adopt drastic measures—even murder at the hand of the seduced—should he prove to be incorrigible. As females engage in the dynamic cycle of seduction, they either take charge and manage to tame the rake into marriage material or decline socially and suffer consequences that they cannot control emotionally or legally. The contrast of outcomes yields a curious pattern: while seduction in the context of virtuous love is often described through circular images that point to the containment of feelings, vicious seduction (consensual or non-consensual) produces a displacement and adopts not a cyclical hermetic pattern, as Baudrillard claims, but a spiral, vertiginous trajectory that drains people's finances and plunges them into the lowest possible moral abjection or even death. By focusing on the trials or tribulations that characters experience in resisting or in yielding to the pleasures of love in seduction scenes, precisely at the moment when they strengthen or weaken their resistance, we will be able to identify the pivotal moments of psychological engagement or surrender that may pose a challenge to Baudrillard's association of seduction with the symbolic, capable of subverting the mechanical objectification of sex and the real.

Baudrillard charts the genealogy of seduction through different states—the rule, the law, and the norm—and maps them on to different forms of simulacra to characterize seduction. The first is explained by the logic of the duel and relates to passionate involvement in ceremonial procedures and theatrical representations, while the others shift to economic and political aspects of seduction. Thus, Baudrillard's theory sets up a mode of circulation that is itself secretive, deceptive, ritualistic and commanding its own rules, drawing the other within one's

area of strength. Seduction surpasses the imposition of a hierarchy of power roles: “It is an endless refrain. There is no active or passive mode in seduction, no subject or object, no interior or exterior: seduction plays on both sides, and there is no frontier separating them. One cannot seduce others, if one has not oneself been seduced” (Baudrillard 1990, 81). Thus, his theory allows us to see seduction as a reversible phenomenon. The oscillation in the forces of seduction imprints a reversibility where the seducer and the seduced exchange roles, in a process where desire appears to be endlessly thwarted. For the French thinker, “this alternative is undoubtedly of the order of the feminine, understood outside the opposition masculine-feminine” (7). Since the feminine is transversal to every sex, seduction defies gender fixations between the masculine and the feminine, and differentiations between subject and object. In Western culture seduction has historically been associated with the feminine and production with the masculine. Baudrillard’s depiction of seduction, however, does not operate in this binary logic. He interprets seduction in terms of reversibility: seduction is a challenge to be seduced, each leading the other from one’s truth, appearing weak and rendering the other weak in an unending and delightful game. In this process of reversion the seductive ‘female’ mode operates in the symbolic order, that is, the order of artifice, rituals, and signs, such as titillating gestures, flirtations, and double entendres. The senseless charm of appearances and the beauty of their artifice trick one’s sense of reality and efface the order of the real. In the symbolic order, the feminine is in a duel/dual relationship with the masculine, and constantly defies it in a game of mutual attractions that undergo transmutations in the symbolic spaces between the actors.

Seduction draws on gender norms strategically, and as the feminine seduces the masculine, the balance of powers shift. This power of attraction and distraction, of absorption and fascination can, for Baudrillard, “cause the collapse of not just sex, but the real in general—a power of defiance. It is never an economy of sex and speech, but an escalation of violence and grace, an instantaneous passion that can result in sex, but which can just as easily exhaust itself in the process of defiance and death” (81). Thus, for Baudrillard the sovereignty of seduction exceeds the possession of sexual power, for “*seduction represents mastery over the symbolic universe, while power represents only mastery of the real universe*” (8, emphasis original). As Baudrillard further argues, the strength of femininity lies in the game of seduction (symbolic order) as an alternative to sex and power (order of power and regulations) (7). To resist or reject seduction is a “misappropriation of women’s true being,” which is inscribed in their bodies and desires (8). Thus, the feminine in all of us rules the symbolic order in the game of seduction.

Baudrillard’s oscillation in the forces of seduction portray seduction as a dynamic phenomenon that may be applied to works that are not particularly well-known, such as the anonymous three-volume novel *La seducción y la virtud o Rodrigo y Paulina* (1829). Nevertheless, as counter to Baudrillard’s thesis on the commutation of sexual difference, I have chosen select novels from the collection *Voz de la naturaleza* (1787–1792; *Nature’s Call*), a six-volume collection of novellas authored by Ignacio García Malo (1760–1812), to diagram the rituals of seduction and explore their impact on the transformation of socio-historical realities.<sup>5</sup> Seduction narratives of the later part of the eighteenth century were a site for changing cultural understanding of moral behavior in Spain, revealing that seduction does not necessarily exceed the possession of sexual power that causes the collapse of the real. Often seduction is merely the crass imposition of a hierarchy of power that is markedly gendered. In those cases, the narratives identify the dangers that affect their heroines and offer advice on protecting themselves from predatory men. Moreover, they empower victims of seduction with strategies for resisting unwanted seducers as well as for maneuvering them into marriage. By inscribing the social conditions that put heroines in danger, novels also point to women’s inequality of rights and their lack of legal recourse. In fact, in spite of the admonitions against falling prey to the schemes of seduction,

some novels even hint at the need to introduce legal reforms that derive from the consequences of seduction.

Nevertheless, while European male and female writers became highly successful at portraying the female point of view in tales of courtship, love, sex and rape, the case for Spain is yet to be made, as recent studies attest: Jaffe (2015), Candau Chacón's (2016), Bolufer Peruga (1998a, 2016). Surely, the dominance of the Catholic Church and the Inquisition, along with the dual state and religious censorship, tended to suppress more liberal forms of licentiousness and intellectual inquiry. In any event, religious and moral authorities could not create a conducive climate for the pursuit of pleasure. Religious discourse insisted that the body conspired against the salvation of the soul and that the passions needed to be curbed, even between husband and wife. Gonzalbo confirms that "between asceticism and lust there was little room for spontaneous manifestations of loving feelings" (2005, 3). Oscillating between pleasurable outlets and traditional restraint, amatory writers could easily tilt the scale for or against the moderation that Christian values demanded. It is therefore difficult to ascertain with accuracy to what extent eighteenth-century Spain associated the literary values with amorous pleasure. Writing under heavy restrictions, and given the enlightened quest to find a virtuous partner over a physically attractive one (Gonzalbo 5), writers battled against Spain's Golden Age literary legacy where lovers typically fall in love at first sight and females succumb to carnal pleasures under the promise of marriage, as in Tirso de Molina's paradigmatic *El burlador de Sevilla*. Of course, eighteenth-century amatory or seduction narratives did not survive on virtuous love alone. Judging by the popularity of these novels, it seems safe to conclude that readers did not read these works for edifying purposes alone; they must have delighted in the strategies that heroines employed to preserve their sexual virtue under the coercion of male lust.

## Positioning seduction historically and theoretically

Eighteenth-century Spanish moralists defined the passions as an unruly motion or a disturbance (Gonzalbo 2) that altered the senses and led to temptation, while seduction, traced to Castilian Law, was associated with the sin of lust (Rodríguez Ortiz 2003, 58–68). This may account for the differentiation between genuine seduction (play in continuous movement) from insincere seduction (strategies aimed at sex). The former is a dual challenge of power; the latter, a conspiracy of power where the seducer intends to win. Baudrillard would equate the latter with an impoverished understanding of the phenomenon, which surfaces in the novels under examination not as structures of leisure but as sexual crimes.

Discourses emanating from the pulpit, the press, manuals of conduct, and even certain novels themselves condemned the novel for its seductive power and issued warnings about its ability to corrupt young minds (Rueda 2001, 88). These offer an important window into the expectations regarding conduct and social mores, which provides a sounding board against which we can test fictional stories of seduction. While women, as La Bruyère suggested, were supposed to veil their feelings, men were under a social imperative to seduce by putting on a mask of adoration (Elster 1999, 107). It is also important to keep in mind that whereas moral tracts and writing manuals advise women to use letters to define the limits of their sexuality against the lover's advances, novels function as workshops on how to exploit the persuasive power of letter writing to seduce both the addressee and the external reader, no doubt another reason why preachers and moralists condemned the genre. The publication of novels in Spain was banned by a 1799 edict, though in practice, fictional works continued to be published at a decreased rate and many continued to filter in from France (Rueda 2001, 99). Thus, it is not surprising that the power-of-books motif is used as a rhetorical instrument of persuasion in seduction narratives. Reading was coded as

seductive in Spain as well as in France (Young 2008, Jaffe 2010), but with the added twist that Spain stigmatized France as the progenitor of the text's power to seduce.

For instance, *Irene y Clara o la madre imperiosa* (1831), purportedly an adaptation of an unknown French novel by liberal writer Salvá in exile in London with the collaboration of Gómez de Hermsilla (Rueda 2003, 25–35), illustrates a case of seduction by reading. Irene and her lover hide in a forest bordering the garden of her mother's house to read furtively a French novel taken from the mother's boudoir while she is busy with one of her admirers: "We began reading with equal eagerness and the liberal descriptions that were plentiful in the work made both of us blush" (Salvá 1831, 85; *Empezamos la lectura con igual ansia y las descripciones libres de que abundaba la obra nos sonrojaron a entrambos*). The *impérieuse* mother's scandalous novel—along with her own behavior—enables sexual desire in initiating the young lovers' amatory games.

In all the novels under analysis, seduction takes place through letters or through the power-of-books motif. Epistolarity is perhaps the most common form of seduction in eighteenth-century novels. As Ballaster confirms, "[t]he letter appears as fictional device in virtually every amatory narrative in Britain in the period 1680 to 1740, both as a means of seduction and an expression of complaint, reaching, of course, its apotheosis in Richardson's *Pamela* (1740) and *Clarissa* (1747–8)" (1992, 61), even though these works were not translated into Spanish until 1794 and 1794–5 respectively. Seduction narratives reveal the hypocrisy and deceitfulness that govern behaviors in Spanish society. For instance, M.A.S., the protagonist in *Efectos de amor propio*, a semi-autobiographical epistolary novel by Miguel Álvarez de Sotomayor, decides to repress his natural feelings and "use all the dissimulation that my passion allowed me" (62, *usar de todo el disimulo que mi pasion me permitía*). Dissimulation becomes a defense mechanism to survive in a hypocritical society and blackmail the emblem of this masked society (Rueda 2001, 215–216).

Because the erotic lurks beneath the spiritual, there is always a sense of danger and transgression in the game of seduction that concerned moralists. While France led the way in Rococo art forms and more explicit erotic art, Spain also contributed to these manifestations, although with less audacity. Writers and artists on both sides of the Pyrenees revealed a fresh sensibility as they tended to portray the process of seduction in shared metaphors and imagery that captured sexual innuendos: uncaged birds (representing the loss of virginity or sexual availability), scenes with women on swings (a symbol of sexual arousal), and classical figures such as Venus or Cupid in the novels' frontispieces and in other forms of ornamentation (erotic emblems). With the relaxation of morals, Spain transitioned from subtle eroticism to an unequivocal carnal dimension. Extramarital affairs, for instance, became commonplace and "openly admitted" in the second half of the century, when marriages were typically arranged (Martín Gaité 1991, 107). As women began to show more *marcialidad* (lack of inhibition, frankness) by accepting the fashionable practices of the *cortejo* and less of the traditional *recato* (reserve/coyness) it became more difficult for guardians to restrain their daughters in order to guarantee their chastity, a virtue still required to find a husband. Given the "potential spoilage" (Martín Gaité 73) of a young woman before marriage, dark images such as "the precipice" or "the edge of the precipice" are often invoked in Spanish seduction narratives. Along with the complex rituals of the *cortejo*, other forms of amorous communication also fell under the suspicion of immorality. These included the highly codified fan language, whose grammar served as an indispensable tool that both concealed and showed off the half-daring maneuvers of a fashionable lady. In addition to song and dance as conduits for seduction, exchanges in gardens and in intimate feminine spaces such as boudoirs, which were unabashedly voyeuristic, became privileged sites for seduction (Gómez-Castellanos 2009; Rueda 2008).

By the close of the century, the common folk, represented in art and literature as *majos* and *majas*, engaged in social practices with defiant, down-to-earth manners in love pursuits to

counter the contrived refinements of French culture. The question of “Spanishness” in the art of seduction is relevant, since *majos* and *majas* reaffirmed their Spanishness, *petimetres* and *petimetras* mimicked French manners, libertines and *femmes du monde* approached and responded to seduction with completely different attitudes. Thus, in literary fiction the brash gestures of a *maja* seem warmer, more spontaneous, and more real than those of a *petimetra*. Ramón de la Cruz’s *El careo de los majos* recounts characteristic observations about the *maja*: “A slap from a *maja* is better than all the sweet flattery of the ladies; the first is a proof of love and the second, sham” (Zanardi 2016, 109). Historically, the phenomenon of *majismo* seeped into the upper classes as they adopted the attire and the attitudes of *majos* and *majas*, fashioning themselves as a ruling class in touch with its people.<sup>6</sup> While some manners crossed social lines, the more marginalized sectors of society followed other behavioral standards. The marginalized were often victims of sexual abuse or cohabited in order to survive, as studies in historical jurisprudence show (Rodríguez Ortiz 2003; Baldellou 2015).

An important study on the new patterns of social behavior brought by the Enlightenment is Carmen Martín Gaité’s 1987 pioneer work translated as *Love Customs in Eighteenth Century Spain* (1991). She writes about seduction and some of the innovations that made flirtations easier, for they were “always intended to give a new and more enticing chance to the amorous game of the *cortejo*” (Martín Gaité 1991, 25). For instance, in a fashionable *contradance* called “the little mill,” “[a]fter the final circular figure, the dancers return to their place; if it happens that the young lady’s head gets dizzy with the many turns, as it does to most of them, the gentleman will have her lean her head on his chest until her dizziness disappears” (Martín Gaité 25). As a game with complex signs and rituals, the artifice of amatory seduction required mastery in the form of appearances and precise bodily contortions. Like a dance in perpetual motion, seduction has its own rhythm and requires a movement that, as Baudrillard would confirm, is dynamic. According to Baudrillard, “to be seduced is to be turned from one’s truth. To seduce is to lead the other from his/her truth” (81).

Eighteenth-century seduction narratives feature a constant flux between attraction and distraction, pleasure and agony, grace and danger. Since in eighteenth-century Spanish novels male and female characters seem equally engaged as active participants in the discourse of seduction and romance, several questions drive my inquiry. What emerges in the fictional invocation of seduction in terms of (fe)male victimization and (fe)male agency? How can we separate power (sex) from the symbolic order (seduction)? A question that also derives from Baudrillard’s postulations is whether female victims of seduction oppose the phallographic structure of the master seducer narratives or limit themselves to reversing roles, having thus no impact on the social and political structures that represent power in the “real universe,” a possibility that seems at odds with the utilitarian concept of fiction. It is reasonable to argue that novels of seduction, which adhered to a utilitarian model, were capable of changing social practices (Bolufer Peruga 1998b, Baldellou 2015). Given the novel’s established connection to quotidian realities, do the novels promulgate social and legal reform through the courtship and seduction practices that they describe or do they reaffirm the status quo of behavior, sanctioned by the dual censorship of State and Church? In what ways was reading this genre also an act of seduction between the author and the reader, pointing to their shared awareness that bodies, texts, and pleasure are interconnected?<sup>7</sup> How did writers articulate seduction, being highly aware of the fact that Eros in novels was sanctioned as a menace to morality? In light of the omnipresent dichotomy between virtue and passions, how does seduction, as opposed to virtuous love, manifest itself in representative Spanish amatory tales and to what extent is seduction linked to the emancipation or repression of desire in late-eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Spanish literature? Above all, do these novels reinforce or unseat the hierarchy of the feminine in the symbolic order?

## Seduction as a never-ending game? *La seducción y la virtud*

If seduction is indeed “a never-ending game” as Baudrillard states, one may wonder whether the art of seduction in these novels is indeed seductive, for it usually ends in marriage, when the attraction is mutual, or in death, when it is not. In the best-case scenario—marriage—the process of seduction places function before fantasy, channeling it to a utilitarian model and to social conformity. For example, in *La seducción y la virtud* (1829) Rodrigo confides in his friend Mortemar his reliance on an epistolary correspondence to seduce the virtuous Paulina. In spite of the novel’s date of publication, it is explicitly indebted to Richardson’s 1740 *Pamela*, as stated in its preface (xii). The male protagonist follows Lovelace’s model of seduction, even though the novel’s *tour de force* between seduction and virtue brings it closer to a new sensibility. Rodrigo’s tactic, he reasons, will allow him to be untouched by the excitement that her sight inspires in him:

I will use my beautiful paradoxes; I will adorn them with the artifice of a seeming demonstration, and presented with the coating of undeniable truth, won’t they *lead astray* the weak reasoning of a passionate woman? I trust so, Mortemar.

(I. 187–188, emphasis mine)

echaré mano de mis bellas paradojas; las adornaré del aparato de una demostración aparente, y presentadas con el exterior de verdades innegables ¿no conseguirán *estraviar* la débil razón de una muger apasionada? Confío que sí, Mortemar.

Alternately gallant, libertine, impulsive, reticent, and daringly lustful or, by contrast, concerned with the ethics of the *cortejo*, Rodrigo’s epistolary tactics work, even though it takes him almost two volumes—twenty-nine letters—to engage Paulina in an epistolary exchange. Rodrigo tricks her into believing that he is about to engage in a duel—the same sort of engagement that he and Paulina are having at the symbolic level—and she falls for his ruse by writing a letter dissuading him from fighting.

Throughout the three volumes Paulina resists her seducer in an unrelenting display of *recato* (reserve) (II.48), but she does enter the game of seduction by responding to his letter, even if she does so to keep him at a distance. In his perseverance, Rodrigo simulates outlandish hazards (a physical assault, a duel, the kidnapping of Paulina so he can “save” her) to seduce the woman about whom he is passionate. Paulina, in turn, resorts to a seductive deterrence—the goal is to never let herself seduce or be seduced—which the novel thwarts. Both characters use deception, but Rodrigo shares his tactics and feelings with his confidant, whereas Paulina seems to lack any form of intimacy. The novel offers scarcely a hint of her own desires. In fact, she does not know she is in love with Rodrigo until her aunt points it out. In this sense, she does not unleash the potentially liberating forces of seduction.

The *tour-de-force* between virtue and seduction—a contention between thought and feeling—develops as Paulina strives to make Rodrigo less passionate and more rational, while Rodrigo aims for the reverse in her. Her attempts to insulate herself from Rodrigo’s advances do not so much stop him from fabricating new strategies as dare him to try to seduce her. Perhaps his contrived stratagems to win the seduction game at all costs are triggered by his fear of being seduced by Paulina’s virtue. Unlike Tirso’s Don Juan, whose objective (attaining fame) is laudable while his means (seducing women) are dishonorable, Rodrigo exposes himself to the danger of ridicule in his efforts to win Paulina. In turn, her objective may be less to seduce Rodrigo than to never become a seductress, for seduction “shows through in its very negation” (Baudrillard 120–121).

As Baudrillard confirms, “If seduction is a passion or destiny, it is usually the opposite passion that prevails—that of not being seduced. We struggle to confirm ourselves in our truth: we fight against that which seeks to seduce us” (119). Thus, for Rodrigo and Paulina the seduction takes the form of an uninterrupted ritual exchange where both parties raise the stakes in what seems to be a never-ending game, one which will end only in marriage nevertheless.

Three scenes of seduction are key in moving the action forward. They involve a garden, a fan, and a penknife. The first takes place during an intimate moment in the Gardens of The Alhambra. Rodrigo accidentally sets foot on a precipice and drags Paulina down with him into an irrigation ditch, which she interprets as a disturbing omen. The second seduction attempt takes place through Paulina’s fan, which depicts Armida and Rinaldo, the lovers of the epic poem *Gerusalemme liberata* by Torquato Tasso.<sup>8</sup> The iconography tells a story that parallels that of Paulina and Rodrigo, but, terrified at the idea of being seduced, virtuous Paulina condemns Armida’s passion. Rodrigo’s final attempt to seduce Paulina takes place at his barn. At a sudden move from Rodrigo, Paulina—a true epistolary heroine—grabs Rodrigo’s penknife from the wooden chest on which he has written his letters and threatens to kill herself if he takes one more step. She succeeds in making her own body a barrier to seduction. The psychodramatic effect cannot, however, conceal it as a form of blackmailing. Frozen in her theatrical pose, she has removed herself from the domain of the real and into the realm of appearances, that is, the symbolic, to follow Baudrillard. This is a great dramatization of the seduced turned seducer in a refusal of seduction.

Throughout the novel, virtue, upheld by Paulina’s pious readings (Fénelon, Bossuet, Ducreux’s *Ecclesiastical History*, and Du Clot’s *La Sainte Bible vengée*), proclaims its sovereignty. Rodrigo, whose outrageous attempts to win Paulina fail resoundingly, submits to Paulina’s virtue under her aunt’s ultimatum: “Either renounce Paulina or embrace virtue” (O renuncia a Paulina, ó abraza la virtud). He replies: “Well then, I wish to follow her and embrace it” (*La seducción y la virtud*, 1929, III. 253; Ea, pues, yo quiero seguirla y abrazarla). Paulina’s insistence has indeed changed and reversed roles, making her the seducer who subjugates Rodrigo’s passion. The only novelistic solution left at that point is to have him repent of his behavior, which was not so very monstrous, except for his inability to curb his passions. The novel’s happy ending reveals not so much that virtue triumphs, but that rationality and emotion, virtue and passions, use similar strategies and may converge as modes of behavior and experience.

We might say that a basic narrative level seduction ends in marriage, and we will never know if a reversion is even possible after this point. Paulina’s uncompromising position is insensitive to Rodrigo’s pleas. Her aunt’s ultimatum to Rodrigo leaves him no choice but *convert* to her virtue, without any possible *reversion* (Baudrillard 120). Can Paulina continue living deprived of seduction or with seductions that emanate from her only? Paulina seems to have appropriated the entire process of seduction for herself and displays a pathological response. In order to retain her virtue, Paulina suppresses her amorous feelings toward Rodrigo and submits to the authority of her aunt and her uncle the priest, twin authorities which are as indestructible as her own virtue. Unlike Rodrigo, the character of Paulina lacks intimacy, emotions or secrets; this conforms to Baudrillard’s (and Freud’s) “hysteric” (119). Paulina is meant to be the rational voice in the novel, but it is an irreversible logic to seduce without being seduced. The anonymous author may have conceived that in order for virtue to shine in the novel without tarnish the protagonist must repress her desires. But unawareness of her own feelings may also be seen as dissimulation to protect herself from seduction and barricade her sexuality behind excessive scruples, letters, and other forms of deterrence. Or, more subversively, perhaps seduction operates here to awaken a hidden truth in her, which would grant Rodrigo and passion the ultimate victory.

If seduction here does not result in a male achievement over the female’s resistance through consent, neither does it result in the seducer’s failure, for in the end Rodrigo marries Paulina

regardless of whether she faces her self-denial or not. Baudrillard's concept of seduction is a ludic performance that reverses the order of things and the positioning of the individuals. The reversal of hierarchies in his theory involves a shift of positions, not a complete defeat over the seduced, which would relate to power. Thus, for Baudrillard the law of seduction "cannot end since the dividing line that defines the victory of the one and the defeat of the other, is illegible" (22). Indeed, the lines between seducer and seduced narrow in this cooperative venture that inverts the scheme: the seducer ends up being the seduced. Can we conclude that in this novel both the seducer and the seduced are locked in a reversible, but hermetic form of seduction that cannot end, one which like an epistolary exchange is potentially *endless*? What *La seducción y la virtud* achieves is transforming the potentially destructive drama of passion into harmless play within the safe limits of the household. This seduction story, like most, has less to do with sex or the expression of sexual desire than with the ideological presuppositions about virtue and vice, and with the order of the symbolic, that is, the feelings and emotions that sustain important social institutions such as marriage. The unspoken pact of seduction is thus converted into the social contract of marriage. For Rodrigo and Paulina it is neither a fall into the abyss, a reenactment of the story of Armida and Rinaldo, nor a targeted sexual assault: all three options can be folded back into Paulina's symbolic fan.

### García Malo's novelistic assemblage

Spanish novelists, not unlike other European writers, invoked seduction for the text's edifying potential and utility in protecting the reader's virtue. At the same time, they condemned novels as pernicious on opposite moral grounds by arguing that they ruined the moral fiber and aesthetic sense of their readers. As Georges May states, "most novelists were obliged to recognize the existence of this dilemma; to a certain extent, one could even say that each of their novels constitutes an attempt to resolve this dilemma" (quoted in Young 2008, 106). This raises the question of whether seduction novels lead readers (of any generation) astray through fictional layers that grant seduction a right of its own.

The virtue vs. passions discourse became the central dilemma that structured the most powerful seduction plots of the Enlightenment. Unlike Paulina, most heroines tend to be a figure torn between their virtue and their desire, for they know that succumbing to their natural impulses will lead to disgrace. García Malo sums this up by the literary *topos* of a shipwreck that leads youth astray (*Theodoro y Flora* 105, 172). For García Malo<sup>9</sup> this *topos* is a natural, uncontrollable result of the passions, which he describes through yet another nautical simile: "Like a vessel that travels without a rudder or sails at the mercy of the winds and the furious waves" (*Anselmo y Elisa*, VI.10, 64; como una nave que camina sin timón ni velas a discreción de los vientos y de las ondas furiosas).<sup>10</sup> Along with the shipwreck imagery, *caballos desbocados* (unbridled horses) are omnipresent tropes in García Malo's, and in other Spanish novels of this period, to designate unrestrained emotions.<sup>11</sup>

García Malo (1760–1812) is one of the many forgotten authors of the transition between the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries and whose biography has been reconstructed by Carnero (1996). Born in a small town in Cuenca, García Malo wrote plays, novels, and translated Homer's *Iliad* and Richardson's *Pamela*. Three of the eleven novellas in García Malo's moral project *Voz de la naturaleza* (*Nature's Call*) use seduction to articulate the recurring theme of unbridled passions, epistolarity and the power-of-books motif to deliver both positive (circular, self-contained) and negative (spiral) seductions: *Flavio e Irene* (III.5), *El brigadier y Carlota* (V.11) and *La desventurada Margarita* (II.3).

The virtue versus passions dichotomy, partly a formulaic justification to circumvent censorship, structures the collection. García Malo warns the reader that "In order to make virtue shine

more, I give passions much *force*, so that the triumph of the former may appear as more glorious” (1803 ed., iv; Para hacer resplandecer mas claramente la virtud, doy mucha fuerza á las pasiones, y así parece mas glorioso el triunfo de ella). I underscore the term “force” (*fuerza*) because it designated the key element of a sexual crime (Rodríguez Ortiz 2003, 44) and points to an imbalance of power in the collection. The dichotomy between virtue and passions at the heart of his assemblage contrasts opposing and instructive novellas in tandem fashion: one designed to abhor vice, paired with another designed to embrace virtue (v). But can the voice of reason prevail over the voice of nature? Can his fierce insistence in a moral maxim ultimately suffocate “Nature’s call,” on which happiness depends?

Despite García Malo’s explicit pedagogical intention and the rationalist agenda that he promulgates, the interrelatedness in his presentation of the *topos* challenges reason’s rule over human affairs. There is a constant tension in a work that places more emphasis on the passions than the intellect, inviting the reader to question whether reason can ultimately subjugate the passions.

Baudrillard’s theory of reversibility in seduction may be extended to García Malo’s assemblages at the structural level. García Malo’s paired novels counter the deterministic implication of nature’s call and the bleak picture of a mind purely governed by rational operations. The assemblages thus escape the tyranny of stasis, inviting readers to examine the interstices between reason and emotions through the workings of heightened emotional intensities. The in-between-ness that García Malo’s paired novels create might be thought of as the space where the immanent power of these novels lies. Forcing the reader away from complacency and passivity, the assemblage offers a resistance to the very dualistic thinking of virtue vs. passions. The restless movement—a constant oscillation between positive and negative behavioral models—permeates the entire collection and functions as a game of seduction that thwarts the reader’s true thoughts and impulses. Moreover, this unsettled feeling also dwells within the confines of a single novel. This ever-shifting state also offers the reader the opportunity of developing his/her own interrogations and responses to the effects of seduction and to imagine or articulate possible reconciliations through a more holistic union of polarized encounters beyond the models of seducer-victim, male-female, thoughts-feelings—extremes that cannot settle on one position. Hence, the reader is instrumental in constructing the relations between the disjointed sets of novels beyond a purely Manichean axis. More importantly, the reader must reach that determination not only through intellect, but also emotionally, that is, through his/her emotional reactions to the plots of seduction and the injustices or the joys that they bring about.

### Self-contained passions and rape: *Flavio e Irene*

García Malo typically portrays “honest” (i.e., respectable) love as being modest, secret, and reverent in a restrained social or public environment, yet it contains the force of a tempest when the reader is invited to share the lover’s inner feelings. In *Flavio é Irene* (III. 5) García Malo resorts, again, to powerful, nautical metaphors to express uncontainable, virtuous love:

like the vast sea, agitated by the impetuosity of the winds, is not able to leave the limits that encircle it, raises its waves furiously toward the Heavens, and seeing that it cannot break them away from its center point [...] it gathers them in its deep abysses; in the same way the hearts of Flavius and Irene, oppressed by the violence of their tender love, exhaled their inner sighs into the air; and realizing that they could not leave the limits that prescribed their restraining, buried them again within their chest only to exhale them yet again.

(9–10)<sup>12</sup>

Intimate feelings are thus kept secret and condemned to a circular form of breathing that cannot let go or provide relief. Significantly, the young couple make a pact: that their correspondence remain secret, which reinforces the circularity. Typically, García Malo's narratives turn to the trials that couples must endure in their right to happiness. In this case, the lovers must confront the tyranny of the *pater familias*, who is tricked into withdrawing his approval of the young lovers' marriage, a marriage that is clearly unobjectionable. At this point, opposing forces may be seen as concentric circles that build around consensual relations and that lock the lovers into marriage.

The key force in this novel is the attempted rape (*violación*) that the heroine suffers. Guillermo, Flavio's untrustworthy friend, takes Irene to the mountains in Genoa under false pretense: to get her married to Flavio. Instead, he tries to take advantage of his friend's fiancé:

We are both alone, and when persuasion fails, force will impose itself. You can no longer get away from me. Your honor depends on my will, and if yours is not inclined to my desires, you will soon experience my violence.

(55)<sup>13</sup>

As the seducer is about to tie her arms, she prays, manages to free a hand, grabs his sword, stabs him in the chest and pushes his body off a cliff. The phenomenal deed is, however, not enough to restore the lovers' love. The narrator reminds the reader that God, who allowed the heroine to counter the rapist, still wishes to punish her for disobeying her parents by leaving the house. While the novel does not elaborate on this point, García Malo's readers may have thought of an illegal *secuestro* or a *manifestación*. These were legal procedures that allowed young women, under certain rules, to be extracted from their parents' home when young couples rebelled against the father's authority or refused to admit an unobjectionable marriage (Baldellou 2016).

García Malo's authorial intrusions, however, underscore the woman's disobedience and, in punishment, he has bandits steal all her money. Irene solves her situation by becoming a shepherdess for an older couple. Flavio, who has roamed Italy, part of England and France looking for her, arrives by chance at the hut where Irene lives just as she is about to die from her hard life and a broken heart. Unsent letters to her father and her beloved Flavio explain her pitiful situation to her true love, she recovers eventually, and the couple gets married in Genoa. Thus, personal letters function here not unlike legal documents: they prove her innocence and serve as testimonials of her virtuousness, which make her deserving of Flavio. Her unsent letters, however, only dissipate her tribulations after she has done penance and suffered for her errors. This is an extreme case of the *topos* virtue rewarded, independently of her crime, and stands in sharp contrast with *El brigadier y Carlota*.

Literary seduction may take many forms (sentimental, passionate, unrequited, perverse, successful or failed), inviting us to delineate the instructional parameters of positive vs. negative seduction, while Baudrillard allows us to disentangle seduction and courtship (*cortejo*) from rape (*violación*), which in fact are opposites. Non-consensual forms of seduction relate to the development of legal theories of contract and to changing structures of political authority in Spain.<sup>14</sup> More work is needed in connecting this rich field to literature, which offers a very promising research venue.

### **Spiraling: *El brigadier y Carlota* and *La desventurada Margarita***

Courtship takes on criminal connotations in *El brigadier y Carlota* (V.11) and in *La desventurada Margarita*. Literary seducers usually do not follow a path that leads to acceptance in society,

because any stratagem to seduce a woman is fair play. They know well that letters are apt vehicles to enter the woman's home in lieu of the lover, for delivering a missive is in itself a form of penetration (cf. Rueda 2001, 396). In *El brigadier y Carlota*, seventeen-year-old Carlota and a young brigadier fall in love at first sight at a social gathering in Vienna and exchange glances that reveal their inner sentiments. Since she is closely monitored by her strict aunt, the brigadier uses "an ingenious artifice" (152): to recite verses from Metastasio's dramatic compositions to declare his love to Carlota. To circumvent the aunt's rigid control over the girl, the brigadier writes Carlota a letter declaring his love and his desire to marry her. The brigadier's letter is deceitful, but Carlota does not realize it and responds in another letter "*you do not love me in vain*" (166; emphasis original). After persistent amorous conversations at her window, Carlota yields and allows the brigadier to enter her room secretly at night. At that point, things take a wrong turn for Carlota and she spirals downward to her moral ruin.

The brigadier possesses the protagonist sexually, the most banal form of seduction. The narrative states that he is "seduced by the most clumsy of passions" (190; *seducido de la pasión más torpe*), suggesting that men, like women, end up seduced by their own frailness: the man, by his low instincts, the woman by her consent. After several sexual encounters, the brigadier engineers a way to leave Vienna. Carlota realizes this too late; the damage is done. The brigadier not only takes her honor, but also the promissory letter of marriage so she has no legal recourse to demand retribution for the harm done to her. Carlota has a baby and is expelled from her aunt's home. After her baby dies unexpectedly, she goes to Naples and prostitutes herself. A couple of years later she moves to Venice and becomes a renowned opera singer, but she continues to lead a scandalous life. Coincidentally, the brigadier and Carlota meet again at a Milanese inn. She recognizes him and stabs him in his heart. With deep repentance for all her crimes, she seeks the protection of the archbishop who facilitates her entrance in a convent to do penance for her sins.

The plot development hinges on Carlota's inability to produce the brigadier's letter. Without proof of the promise of marriage, Carlota ends up caught in the downward spiral of prostitution and libertinage. After many imprecations by the narrator throughout the novel against libertine behavior in both genders, the moral of the story oddly stresses the importance of kindness and prudence in the education of young people as opposed to the rigorous upbringing of hypocrites, like Carlota's aunt, who cause the ruin of young women. Thus, Carlota is not so much the victim of seduction as the victim of a flawed and overly rigid moral education.

Finally, in *La desventurada Margarita* the protagonist's assiduous *cortejo*, a despicable *petimetre* named Don Juan, courts her habitually: "he was her partner at the dance, the one who tended his arm at the promenade, and his hand at the staircase" (II.3, 7; *él era su compañero en el bayle, el que le daba el brazo en el paseo, y la mano en la escalera*). Predictably, and under the promise of marriage, he also enters her room without her consent (1803, 18). Margarita succumbs, "[s]educed by her own frailness, she lost her most precious asset, yes, her pure honesty, which once lost, can never be recovered again" (1803, 20; *[s]educida de su fragilidad, perdió la prenda de mas valor, sí, la pura honestidad, que una vez perdida, no se recupera jamás*). Margarita gives birth alone in a barn, where she hides her social ignominy. Upon learning that Don Juan plans to marry a lady in Madrid, Margarita and her father demand Don Juan's imprisonment, but Don Juan's father bribes the judge and Margarita loses her case in court. She and her father lose their means of subsistence fighting a corrupt and dilatory judiciary system.

Divine justice intervenes to stop Don Juan's evil ways as he is killed by his enemies upon leaving a playhouse in Madrid, but Margarita's misfortunes continue. As her father correctly predicts at his deathbed, her misery will invite more seducers: "The image of a child who is a victim of indigence is very seductive" (1803, 58; *La imagen de un hijo, víctima de la indigencia, es muy seductiva*). Outward signs of poverty make her even more attractive to seducers, adding

a bizarre physical attraction to their disempowered status. A noble, attracted by her paleness and destitution, offers her money for sex, which she refuses. Still virtuous despite having lost her honor, she endures a priest's contempt for having had an illegitimate child. As she begs for alms, a passing policeman interprets her situation as a shameless performance that hides a dissolute life. Margarita dies soon after from inanition embracing her baby's dead body.

García Malo does not leave this scenario of distress without comments. Surprisingly, the narrator issues a warning to women, who should not trust men's promises intended to satiate their "shameful passions" (88). An unmarried woman ought to keep her virtue intact and "learn to suffer, with constancy and courage, keeping her virtue in such high esteem that she chooses a death as bitter and unhappy as that of unfortunate Margarita" (89; *aprender a padecer, con constancia y valor, manteniendo su virtud en tan alto grado, que antes de perderla elija una muerte tan amarga é infeliz, como la de la desgraciada Margarita*). The exemplarity and *pathos* contained in this model of Christian martyrdom is such an extreme form of virtue that García Malo's readership may have perceived it as anachronistic. How could readers miss the fact that Margarita's miseries derive from her loss of legal rights—the right to live without hiding, to control access to her body, to present a case and be heard in a fair trial? The novel's strong denunciation of a corrupt legal system and the policeman's presumption point to a society that does not recognize women as legal subjects. By underscoring the protagonist's vulnerability to male seduction and the Christian suffering of the heroine, the narrative invites women to emulate a behavior that is incongruent with the plot. To embody the heroine's pathos through a conscious rehearsal of the Passion understood in terms of the Christian doctrine of salvation only leads the reader astray from the novel's signals for reform in the social, political, and legal establishment.

## Conclusions

As a site for changing social behaviors, seduction narratives help shape and revitalize the development of the eighteenth-century novel, which was under serious attack in Spain. The novels examined here focus on complex and diverse responses to sex, love, and marriage, as well as on the negative consequences of unrestrained emotions. The treatment of seduction varies from author to author and from novel to novel, but examined collectively, seduction narratives point to a change in male and female roles that depart from the punitive Don Juan model and the libertine French model with its emphasis on pleasures. By means of a reformulation of sexual relationships, seduction is reconfigured in innovative ways and pressed into the service of marriage. Female characters seduce men into marriage when the seducer's actions are disruptive to social harmony, as in *La seducción y la virtud*. In García Malo's novelistic project, seduction leads to a positive end when the moral rules of society are upheld; but it is destined to a catastrophic outcome when the woman is victimized, which points to her non-existent legal status and the need for societal reforms.

Eighteenth-century Spanish seduction novels may seem far from bringing about a sexual revolution but do question the ethics of seduction from diverse angles, promoting social and sexual responsibility based on Enlightenment tenets, without ever addressing the issue of pleasure. This may be so, as Baudrillard suggests, due to the minor role of sexual gratification in seduction, or simply to the impediments in publishing candid representations of female sexual desire in eighteenth-century Spain. In these seduction narratives sexual desire is either mediated by the power of art/literature, which awakens and domesticates affections, or vilified, blocked by letters, parental figures, and extreme forms of behavior (such as murder or self-harming solutions) in keeping with the exemplary and enlightening prefaces. Nevertheless, given the evolving attitudes toward more open social relations between the sexes, extreme solutions would

have been difficult for late-eighteenth-century readers to emulate. In this contradictory cultural climate, literary solutions to seduction that appear to impose restraint and to issue severe warnings may be traced to the dual (ecclesiastical and royal) censorship that operated in Spain at the time and to the fact that social practices were changing at a faster pace than moralists were willing or able to admit openly. Given the disparity between the more relaxed social mores and the constraints that novelists faced, it is entirely possible that the invocations of a rigid virtue-vice dilemma were perfectly assumed to the point that it could be easily dismissed by readers, who could then redirect their attention to novelistic scenes and plot development that delivered reading satisfaction, independently of the moral frame of the novels. Keeping in mind the young lovers' embarrassment and delight in reading passages of a forbidden book in Salvá's *La madre imperiosa*, novelists understood—long before Barthes's 1973 *Le plaisir du texte*—the connection between texts and pleasure. They offered eighteenth-century readers a variety of seduction scenes that permitted them to experience trepidation or delight despite a cultural atmosphere that cast literature as dangerous and threatening to the country's moral fiber.

Two general patterns surface in this admittedly limited analysis of the texts and writers here examined. Consensual seductions leading to marriage are often shaped by self-contained patterns of concentric circularity that show resistance to and non-engagement with extreme passions, which ensures that the protagonists remain virtuous throughout the novel. In contrast, yielding to passions under the spell of seduction take on a spiral pattern of degradation that results in abject or calamitous situations for female and male characters. Within this polarity, Spanish writers offer a myriad of solutions to wield seducers into submission, ranging from blissful marriage, if the seducer is amenable, to death when the seducer is spurned.

In any case, these fictional resolutions challenge Baudrillard's conceptualization of seduction as a never-ending game, for seductions have a goal that either results in marriage or leads to moral vilification. Also questionable is Baudrillard's claim that seduction is not related to sexual domination or real power, since anecdotes such as *El brigadier y Carlota* or *Flavio e Irene (Voz de la naturaleza)* define the seducers through the mere fact of sex, inviting the reader to explore the act of seduction and its legal ramifications. Nevertheless, Baudrillard's concept of reversibility in seduction is particularly useful to understand the dynamics of seduction and to identify pathological cases lacking reversibility, such as the epistolary heroine of *La seducción y la virtud*. Eighteenth-century readers may have been seduced—or led astray—by the complex concentric layers built around positive seduction or by the downward, spiraling effect of the pursuit of pleasure. While writers could not or would not write forthrightly about sex, readers learn ways to channel disorderly behavior into marriage and see glimmers of hope that, in the Age of Enlightenment, raise questions that challenge the obtuse, bureaucratic system that leave seduced and abandoned women unprotected and treated as non-subjects from a legal standpoint.

## Notes

- 1 Casanova and Da Ponte were life-long friends (Bleiler 1964).
- 2 An example of a male protagonist seduced and blackmailed repeatedly by females is *Efectos del amor propio* (c. 1810) by Álvarez de Sotomayor.
- 3 *De la séduction* was published by Editions Galilée in 1979. Its first English edition is from 1990.
- 4 The novel has been attributed to Valencian author Francisco Brotons and may have been written around 1823 or earlier.
- 5 The titles and quotations in English are my translations.
- 6 This phenomenon came to be known as *aplebeyamiento* or coarsening of the upper classes.
- 7 Giangiulo Lobo (2013) suggests it was a seductive act and a compulsive game among readers and writers.

- 8 In the episode, which inspired many painters and composers, the Saracen sorceress Armida is sent to murder the sleeping soldier of the First Crusade, Rinaldo, a fierce warrior but also honorable and handsome. Instead, she falls in love and holds him a lovesick prisoner.
- 9 García Malo's series *Voz de la Naturaleza* was published in six vols., 1787–1792. In the 1803 Aznar edition, a seventh volume was added containing one long novel (Carnero, 1991).
- 10 *La seducción y la virtud ó Rodrigo y Paulina* (1829) for the shipwrecked man motif (vii).
- 11 The trope of the horse unbridled goes back to the Middle Ages, Chaucer's *Reeve's Tale*, and later Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1516; 1532 in complete form), where in his fury Ruggiero becomes the very image of a beast, a "cavallo sfrenato." I thank Dr. Gloria Allaire for these references.
- 12 "Así como el vasto mar, agitado de la impetuosidad de los vientos, no pudiendo salir de los límites que le circuyen, levanta sus ondas furiosamente hácia el Cielo, y viendo que no puede arrojarlas de su centro [...] las recoge en sus profundos abismos; de este modo los oprimidos corazones de Flavio é Irene por la violencia de su tierno amor, exhalaban sus íntimos suspiros por el ayre; y viendo que no podían salir de los límites que les prescribía su sujecion, volvian á olvidarlos en su pecho, para exhalarlos nuevamente."
- 13 Solos estamos los dos, y lo que no puede la persuasion, podrá la fuerza. Ya no podeis huir de mi. Vuestro honor depende de mi voluntad, y si la vuestra no se inclina á mis deseos, en breve experimentaréis mi violencia.
- 14 Eighteenth-century historians (Frieman 1986; Fernández Vargas and López Cordón 1986; Ortega 1998; Rodríguez Ortiz 2000; Bolufer Peruga 2003, 2009; and Baldellou 2015, 2016) have contributed to this line of research that pertains to women and the legal structures of the time.

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# Negotiating subjectivities on the fringes of the empire

## The port city of Cartagena de Indias as site of social and political convergence

Mariselle Meléndez

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Beyond question, issues of immigration have been historically contentious, igniting emotions as diverse as fear, anxiety, curiosity, empathy and prejudice, to name a few. This is the case for colonial Spanish America where Spanish authorities' policies on immigration constituted a key component of seeking social order, economic growth and geopolitical security. This essay centers on legal documents pertaining to the trial against Juan Casanova, a French foreigner living in Cartagena de Indias, who in 1753 was accused of engaging in concubinage with one of his female black slaves. The documents are located in the *Archivo General de la Nación* in Bogotá, Colombia under the title, "Testimonies against Juan Casanova of French origin for his concubinage with a black female slave" (Testimonios de los autos contra Juan Casanova de nacion francesa por el concubinato con una esclava). The case is comprised of more than one hundred folios from which two more accusations emerged: a second charge of concubinage with another of his female black slaves, named María Augustina, and an accusation of residing illegally in Cartagena as a foreigner. I examine how a foreigner, female black slaves, and Spanish authorities negotiated race, ethnicity and gender on the fringes of the Spanish empire.<sup>1</sup> I also discuss how *extrangería* (as it is called in the legal documents) was constructed and negotiated as a fluid and ambivalent way of constructing subjectivity. *Extrangería* was understood at the time as "the condition and the quality of being a foreigner, and from another Kingdom or place" (*Diccionario de autoridades* 1990, 697). I would argue that being on the geographical fringes of the empire allowed Cartagena to become an international arena and a fluid social space where disputing subjectivities converged. In sum, I consider the port city of Cartagena as a spatial locality opened to cultural encounters, racial interactions, global political agendas, and new ways of thinking about what it meant to be foreign. At a time when "population policy" became a preoccupation for Spanish authorities looking for "imperial resurgence" through "economic and geopolitical stratagems" of governmental reform deeply embedded in the politics of the Enlightenment, such as "public happiness, prosperity, and population growth" (Paquette 2011, 97–98), it would be important to explain how the foreign was rethought within a web of identity reconfigurations. In sum, I would like to argue that the transient and fluid nature of the port and port city of Cartagena allowed foreigners to live quite freely with a certain degree of success despite the existence of clear legal policies.

The political and economic legislation known as the Bourbon reforms (1717–1792) informed the manner in which ports and port cities were viewed and delineated in the eighteenth century as well as who could legally live in those zones. Ports began to be considered by colonial authorities as strategic places of government, as geographical sources of knowledge, as useful places for economic progress, and as dynamic spaces of social order and disorder. For other individuals subjected to colonial power, living in port cities allowed them to maneuver the rules that were imposed upon them. The case against the French foreigner Juan Casanovas accused of concubinage serves as an example of the shifting and complex negotiation of identities in a society in which government ideas were deeply influenced by the tenets of the Enlightenment.

## The port city of Cartagena in the eighteenth century

On September 13, 1741, a royal representative named Juan del Campillo writing from Madrid to the Governor of Caracas recalls the unstable situation that the port of Cartagena de Indias was enduring as part of continuous British naval attacks. He asked the Governor of Caracas to send military reinforcement to Cartagena to help the port city defend itself from future unexpected attacks. Campillo requested the governor to act with great “effort and diligence” (*desvelo y aplicación*) and “utmost promptness” (*con la mayor prontitud*) to protect Cartagena from the enemies (AGNB 1741).<sup>2</sup> Later on, Campillo emphasizes the urgency of the task, “so the crucial importance of this Enterprise can be achieved with great security and convenience” (AGNB 1741; *para que logre con maior seguridad, y conveniencia la alta importancia de esta Empresa*). This document calls attention to the constant state of instability and risk to which ports such as Cartagena de Indias were exposed throughout the eighteenth century. Securing ports and port cities (i.e., the fringes of the Spanish empire) was vital to the stability of the colonies and maritime commerce. It is important to remember that in 1740–1741 Cartagena was besieged by the British Royal Navy so the port city was in a constant state of alarm.<sup>3</sup>

What happened on the fringes had also great implications for urban centers and hinterlands. As Peggy K. Liss and Franklin W. Knight suggest, “between 1650 and 1850 port cities and towns provide[d] a window enlightening the structure of economy, politics, culture, and society” (1991, 1). In the case of Cartagena de Indias, this structure of economy, politics, culture, and society was connected to the slave trade (Restall and Lane 2011, 157). However, in the context of the Caribbean in the eighteenth century and the legal importation of slaves, “it was a port of secondary importance” (Grahm 1991, 176). Between 1747 and 1796, the average number of slaves imported to Cartagena consisted of 270 annually (Grahm 1991, 176). Many of the imported slaves, as Matthew Restall and Kris Lane explain, were involved in “construction work, transport, and warehousing” constituting an important labor force (2011, 164). Others were employed as domestic servants.

It is important to remember that Cartagena de Indias, due to its location, enjoyed “regional, imperial, and international importance” (Grahm 1991, 168). The port functioned as a “junction” in the trade and communication between Spain and Peru and as the most important location “for external exchange of goods and information” for the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada (Grahm 1991, 170). Shipped goods from Spain to the Viceroyalty of Nueva Granada had to pass through Cartagena. Cartagena was also of great strategic and commercial value for foreigners who illegally engaged in a very productive commercial trade. It is believed that Cartagena “relied on foreign, not Spanish, trade through most of the eighteenth century” (Grahm 1991, 175). Trade with foreigners was so common despite strong Spanish laws prohibiting commercial trade between foreigners and locals. Rampant contraband contributed to the transformation of the port city of Cartagena into an impressive military stronghold. Cartagena’s coasts were filled with

twenty-five-foot walls, multiple forts and an impressive fortress overlooking the port. Every entrance of Cartagena bay was fortified (Grahm 1991, 171). [See Figure 11.1] However, these architectural changes did not prevent foreign attacks or the constant intrusion of foreigners into the port city. Both those who were forced to live there as in the case of slaves or people of African descent, and those who willingly and illegally wanted to live there such as locals and foreigners, made of the port city of Cartagena a dynamic place to live and survive.

Gabriel B. Paquette reminds us that “attempts to reform government, increase revenue, and compete with rival imperial states brought an influx of new political ideas and institutions to Spain and its Atlantic empire and reinvigorated long established conceptions of royal authority” (2011, 8). These ideas were informed by the tenets of the Enlightenment that circulated throughout the eighteenth century in which economic and scientific progress, utility, reason, and social order became prevalent preoccupations for the Spanish Crown and colonial authorities. In this “enlightened absolutism” as Paquette refers to it, population “became a barometer of the wisdom of public policy” (2011, 15, 64). If for some, immigration became a vehicle to achieve economic development by increasing the work in less populated territories, for Spanish authorities, foreign immigration was still viewed with hesitancy and mistrust. For example, in 1791, Paquette adds, “new instructions ordered foreigners who wished to remain in Spain indefinitely for exercising the ‘liberal arts or mechanical offices’ to swear obedience to the Church, to the sovereign, and to Spanish laws” (2011, 91). The view that population growth was a key to achieve commercial growth forced Spain to think which foreigners were worth granting legal status. Some foreigners were deemed worthy of being welcomed while others were not, based solely on their potential value. A 1783 royal decree stated that “all foreigners originating from powers and nations which are friends of mine, who seek to establish themselves, must demonstrate that they profess the Roman Catholic religion and if they do not meet this indispensable condition, they will be unable to settle” (cited in Paquette 2011, 97–98). However, Spanish authorities did not have all the human legal apparatus needed to enforce their population policies in their colonial territories, especially in transient port cities such as Cartagena de Indias where foreign immigrants were able to settle quite easily.

In the eighteenth century the port of Cartagena de Indias had become without a doubt a fluid space of social interaction.<sup>4</sup> More importantly, the diasporic and international nature of its transient population made of the port and its surroundings mobile spaces where daily activities were difficult to control. Locals and foreigners engaged in a daily contact that informed their way of living. For them, the port city functioned as a place where strangers and locals “meet out of necessity” and “come to do business with one another” (Knight and Liss 1991, xv). Archival documents of the time offer us a fascinating picture of how colonial authorities tried to deal with this way of life and the constant political instability that permeated the coastal city. From corsairs looking for ways to reach the port city of Cartagena, constant attacks by British and Dutch naval forces, royal decrees prohibiting foreigners in Spanish territories, cases of illegal contraband between Dutch and locals or between French and indigenous people, the interceptions of vessels occupied by an array of foreigners such as black Dutch, Genovese and Scottish merchants, and black slaves; all these cases speak to the port city as a risky and fluid space.<sup>5</sup>

## Living in the port city

It is said that commodities, plants and people all traveled through ports (O’Flanagan 2008, 4), but so do knowledge, ideas, perceptions, rumors and lies. The documents pertaining to this trial offer a phenomenal example of the manner in which ideas, rumors, perceptions and lies resided



Figure 11.1 Cartagena de Indias as a fortified city. 1730. Juan de Herrera y Sotomayor.

at the heart of contending subjectivities. On one hand, we have María Merced Herrera's testimony against her owner, the French *pulpero* (shopkeeper) Juan Casanova, in which she admits that she was his concubine for three years and a half years. On the other hand, we have Juan Casanova's absolute denial. Both testimonies are mediated by the judicial authorities in charge of the trial, and by the lawyer representing the French *pulpero*. Other crucial pieces of the puzzle in this case are the testimonies and confessions of other female and male slaves as well as those of Casanova's allies. Their arguments and counter arguments offer us a glimpse on how daily life as a foreigner was lived in the port cities of the empire. Furthermore, their testimonies attest to the importance of understanding the manner in which space informed their interaction in the port city as a contact zone.

Gabriel Porras Troconis traces a picture of the particular spaces within Cartagena de Indias where people fulfilled their daily activities. According to him, daily activities took place in the harbor and docks especially when galleons were expected to arrive from Spain on route to Portabello (cited in Grahn 1991, 171). Other important spaces of daily activity occurred in the two commercial streets adjacent to the governmental plaza, the areas around the slaughterhouse, the jail, and the royal streets where the ecclesiastical and administrative buildings were located (Grahn 1991, 171). With regard to the number of people who inhabited the port city, the population ranged from 16,000 in 1736, to 10,000 in 1750 to 11,500, between 12,000 and 13,000 in 1777, and 11,000 in 1778 (Grahn 1991, 179).<sup>6</sup> Racially, Cartagena witnessed the same hierarchical components of other colonial cities with whites on top and *mestizos*, *pardos*, blacks, and other groups of African descent on the bottom. According to Lance Grahn, in the eighteenth century *mestizos*, *pardos* and blacks composed 90% of the population (1991, 180–181). However, a minority but powerful white elite occupied the top and controlled most municipal posts, legal and illegal commerce, as well as top positions in the navy. Social hierarchies were also evident in the geography of the city. The white and power elite lived in the neighborhoods of La Merced, Santa Catalina, and San Sebastián while poor people were relegated to the neighborhoods of Getsemaní and Santo Toribio where 68% of the population lived (Grahn 1991, 182). [See Figure 11.2 , Area including No. 28 and No. 29] It is between the neighborhood of Getsemaní and Casanova's small store (*pulpería*) where the lives of Juan Casanova and his black slave María Merced converged.<sup>7</sup> María Merced lived in the heavily populated black neighborhood of Getsemaní [See Figure 11.2 , No. 29], and more specifically, the street behind the butcher shop (*carnicería*) [See Figure 11.2, No. 28]; while her owner (and lover) Juan Casanova's house was located in the commercial area close to the Puerta del Puente [See Figure 11.2, No. 2]. The Puerta del Puente connected Getsemaní to Cartagena's main commercial area.<sup>8</sup> The *carnicería* seemed to be located between the edges of Getsemaní neighborhood and the commercial area close to Puerta del Puente. His house functioned as his living quarters and the place in which he conducted business in his *pulpería*. Casanova's and María Merced's personal encounters fluctuated between these two houses and in the constant crossing of the Puerta del Puente.

On February 5, 1753, Don Eusevio Sanchez Paxe, licentiate and high court judge of Cartagena along with other colonial representatives in charge of patrolling the city, decided, between 10:30 and 11:00 pm, to knock on Casanova's door located at the corner of La Marquesa street. After several attempts, the French *pulpero* finally opened the door, and to Sanchez's consternation he saw a black woman naked and attempting to get herself dressed. He added that she was on one side of the same bed from where Casanova had just gotten up. Sánchez also stated that in another side of the room he found a black man still sleeping on a bed. In an effort to find out exactly what was happening in that house, Sánchez proceeded to ask the woman why she was there. To this she replied,



Figure 11.2 Plano de Cartagena. 1748. Jorge Juan and Antonio de Ulloa, *Relación de un viage por la América Meridional*. Biblioteca Nacional de España.

It was true that she has been his concubine for three years, and that when he requested her to sleep with him she did it because he was her master; however, other times he went to the neighborhood and district of Getsemani where she lived, causing some scandal.

(AGNB)<sup>9</sup>

Ser cierto havia tres años y medio estava con el nombrado amancebador, y que cuando la mandava viniese a dormir con el lo hacia como a su amo que era, y otras su nombrado amo, iba a la banda y barrio de Getsemani por las tardes a donde la que vive, causando en ello algun escandalo)

Due to her response, he decided to arrest Casanova, María Merced and the black slave named Manuel and to send all three to jail where they were to remain in three separate rooms. Here begins a five-month legal process in which both protagonists vehemently offered two very different versions of their relationship. The trial involved the testimonies of Manuel the black slave, eight other black women and acquaintances of María Merced, six acquaintances of Casanova and citizens (*vezinos*) of Cartagena, plus the two protagonists. The documents do not explain why the authorities decided to stop by Casanova's house, but according to one of the testimonies, the room where Casanova was found with María Merced faced the street (Calle de la Marquesa), where Sanchez and his armed guards were patrolling. It is not clear if Sanchez himself saw something suspicious, or if someone else including María Merced alerted him to the situation.

María Merced's version of the relationship points to a sexual relationship that developed out of false promises and coercion. She confessed that she used to go almost every night to her owner's house to sleep with him except when he decided to see her at her house in Getsemaní behind the slaughterhouse where "both engaged in sin by copulating" (AGNB; cometian el pecado de copular). María Merced mentioned that one of the women who lived with her, María Candelaria, a *samba libre*,<sup>10</sup> was a witness of these encounters at her house and that several times María Candelaria herself had to leave the house and wait at the slaughterhouse due to the crowded living quarters. She also testified that during the relationship that lasted three and a half years, she suffered a miscarriage. Also, during those three years, she said she was sold and purchased twice by Casanova. Pressed by the interrogator to explain why she still agreed to have sexual relationships with Casanova even when she was not his slave, she replied: "that it is true that she returned to her master because he promised and offered her through messages and papers that he was going to immediately grant her freedom provided that she was faithful to him and that she did not betray him" (AGNB 6851; que es verdad que volvio con su amo porque el le prometio por medio de recados y papeles ofreciendole que ymediatamente le daria la livertad como le fuese fiel y no le hiciese traycion). María Merced added that all his messages were sent to her through another of Casanova's black slaves named Gregoria de la Cuesta, and that Gregoria herself brought María Merced many gifts sent by Casanova. She added that Casanova even promised to marry her so she would no longer be a slave. María Merced concluded that her owner never fulfilled his promises and always left her "hopeful" (*esperanzada*) and "disappointed" (AGNB 6851; *desengañada*). As customary in this type of confession she swore that she told the whole truth.

María Merced's testimony highlights the constant pressure that female slaves suffered from their owners and how sexuality became a way to gain manumission. She understood that the only way to escape slavery was to engage in a process of negotiation that although troublesome, had the potential to be her only way out. The trial unexpectedly offered her the opportunity to denounce her owner and to insist that she did what she did against her will and under constant

pressure. In her second testimony, after more charges were filed against Casanova, María Merced's intention to make her owner pay for the false promises became more evident.

The second witness called was another of Casanova's slaves, a *negro bozal* named Manuel.<sup>11</sup> In his confession, he mentioned that because he was asleep, he was unable to offer any information to corroborate María's or Casanova's remarks. However, he did acknowledge to having seen María lying on Casanova's bed when the authorities arrived. Manuel added that he was not aware of the illicit relationship between María Merced and his owner, Casanova (AGNB 6861). Casanova, on the other hand, totally denied María Merced's charges, arguing that she left his house around 8:30 pm after fulfilling her tasks. He vehemently stated that she came later on without his request and that he let her in because he was afraid she was going to be in danger walking outside in the street late at night (6871). Under the authorities' suspicion as to why Casanova purchased María Merced as a slave for a second time, he testified that she still owed him labor for three days and that he hired her again "with the honest purpose of taking care of three other black female slaves who had recently gave birth" (AGN 6871; *con el onesto fin de que cuidara de tres negras que tenia paridas*). No explanation was given as to why, despite being a single man, Casanova needed that many female slaves working for him. Future testimonies will unveil that María Merced was not the only slave with whom he had sexual relationships.

His first confession concluded by answering questions to the authorities about his nationality and specifically if he was aware that according to royal decrees, foreigners were not allowed to live legally in Spanish territories. To this query, he responded that he was quite aware of the prohibitions against foreigners but that the only reason he stayed in Cartagena de Indias was because in 1741 he was asked to join the military forces as a militia man (*miliciano*) to defend the port city from British attacks. He reiterated that afterwards he was asked to stay.<sup>12</sup> His own testimony impelled the authorities to charge him with violating Law X, Title XXVII, Book IX of *Recopilación de leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* (Law of the Indies) geared toward the prohibition of foreigners in the Americas if they were not conducting "manual and technical jobs" (*oficios mecanicos*) such as shoemaker, blacksmith, or carpenter; or occupations that were considered useful to the republic. The law asked colonial authorities not to allow any foreigner who was not considered useful to the kingdom and who did not practice the Catholic faith to remain in the Spanish colonies.

It is interesting to note that the different laws pertaining to foreigners and compiled in Book IX, Title XXVII of the *Recopilación de leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, emphasized the need for colonial authorities to pay particular attention to any foreigner who entered the port cities without official license, asking them to check every ship that arrived in the ports. Even foreigners who came with official license were not allowed to bring any African slaves or merchandise to the ports. Law V, Title XXVII warned "the Governor of Cartagena de Indias, and those of other Ports in the Indies to not allow Portuguese and Foreigners to pass from the Ports to the mainland" (*RLI*; *El Gobernador de Cartagena, y los demas de Puertos de las Indias no dexen passer á los Portugueses, y Estrangeros de los Puertos á tierra adentro*).<sup>13</sup> The laws placed a major responsibility on the colonial authorities who were in control of the "maritime Ports" (*Puertos maritimos*) as they were asked "to recognize and to respect such prohibitions and orders, and to carry them out with exactness and in a timely manner, without any dissemblance or any kind of tolerance" (*RLI*, Law VIII, Title XXVII; *que reconozcan las dichas prohibiciones, y ordenes, y las guarden, y cumplan precisa, y puntualmente. Sin ninguna dissimulacion, ni tolerancia*). Despite the many regulations against the prohibition of foreigners in the Americas and the fact that they were not allowed to live "in Ports and maritime Places" (*Lugares y Puertos maritimos*) as Law XXVI specifies, it is quite interesting how Casanova was able to evade authorities while living a very active life as a slave owner and businessman.

As part of the charges of concubinage and now *estrangería*, the authorities decided to seize his *pulpería*, to conduct an inventory of the store, and to repossess all his personal property and goods. Casanova would end up hiring a lawyer, Don Juan Mollinero, in an effort to defend himself of both charges. Later in the trial, Casanova confessed that he arrived in Cartagena in 1738 in the navy vessel named Africa and that from that point on he became a *pulpero*. However, he was unable to provide official permits that allowed him to legally reside in Cartagena as a foreigner. Casanova's case serves as an example of how the constant physical movement that took place in ports and port cities and their transient nature, made port cities places in which negotiating subjectivities outside legality was very viable. However, Casanova was forced to negotiate his condition of foreigner within the legal confines of the judicial court.

New witnesses were called to testify about the first charge; all black women who according to María Merced were aware of and witnessed the relationship between her and Casanova. Some of these women were current or former slaves of Casanova. Some of them shared housing arrangements with María Merced in her Getsemaní house in what seems to be a type of "synthetic household" in which women slaves lived together to support and help each other (Socolow 2000, 137). María Merced made sure to request witnesses that could account for those two places in which she conducted her illicit relationship with Casanova. For example, María de la Candalaria testified that she was "pressured by both of them to leave her house and go to the street" (*presionada por ellos a salirse de su casa a la Calle*) and that she had no choice but to leave them alone (AGNB 6881). She said that she did not denounce the situation to the authorities because María Merced assisted her financially when she was in need. Another witness and current slave of Juan Casanova, Gregoria de la Cuesta, confessed that she remembered vividly her owner sending gifts (*regalitos*) to María Merced for three years, including cheese, chocolate and preserves and small written papers (AGNB 6891; *papelitos*). She did not mention what was written on the so-called pieces of paper and it is not known either if María Merced knew how to read. The documents do mention that she did not know how to write. Gregoria also added that Casanova saw María Merced every afternoon and that she sometimes refused to fulfill his requests. She recalled one day that María Merced escaped from Casanova and took refuge in one of the other female slave's beds "as María Merced did not want to comply with her master's request" (*no queriendo la María Merced condescender al gusto de su amo*), and that even though Casanova tried to force her to come with him, "he was not successful as she ran away to the street" (AGNB 6891; *no lo consiguió y pues ella se fue a la Calle huyendo*). This testimony confirms María Merced's contention that she was coerced and forced into this relationship and that it was her owner Casanova who always solicited her. He was the one who initiated this illicit relationship. Gregoria's testimony also highlights how María Merced rarely felt empowered to refuse Casanova's sexual desires. Although sometimes she had no choice, as another witness and slave of Casanova named María Merced Castamina testified. She recalled her owner kicking her out of her own bed to be alone with María Merced, spending the night with her until dawn.

The situation will get more complicated for the French *pulpero* when another witness and former slave of Casanova named María Augustina testified—after corroborating that María Merced was always solicited by Casanova—that the one to whom Casanova had promised freedom in exchange for sex was her.<sup>14</sup> She testified that she also lived with Casanova in concubinage and that they had a son together who was baptized and died two years after birth. She added that eventually Casanova sold her to Manuel Zatin and then the relationship ended. María Augustina also showed signs of resentment when she stated that Casanova betrayed her and took advantage of her virginity, and she was deflowered (*desflorada*) with the promise of achieving her freedom. She concluded her statement by informing the authorities that she was able to offer names of several witnesses who could attest to the concubinage and to the birth

of the child with Casanova. The authorities did listen to María Augustina and proceeded to call those witnesses.

María Augustina's declaration added to the bad reputation of Juan Casanova as a slave owner and to his compulsive use of women for sexual pleasure. He was also a habitual liar and a manipulative man. Some of the extra witnesses brought to corroborate María Augustina's denunciation testified that Casanova was abusive against María Augustina when she demanded her freedom or at least the freedom of their mulatto son (*mulatico*). One of these witnesses, Juana Juliana, testified that she was present when María Augustina gave birth. The other, Domingo del Campo, witnessed Casanova's abuse against her and took care of María Augustina when she became sick. Of course, when Casanova was asked to testify for a second time about his alleged relationship with María Augustina, he denied everything, arguing that María Merced and María Augustina were both liars.

After his second testimony, he communicated through his lawyer, Joseph Mollinedo, who requested authorities to grant freedom to Casanova and to return all his possessions. Casanova realized the pressing need now to defend himself of the charge of *estrangería*. His lawyer was able to bring enough witnesses to prove that when fifty foreigners were called to testify about the legality of their stay in Cartagena after the proclamation of the Royal Decree in 1751, which required all foreigners to leave unless they held a job useful to the Crown (Law X, Title XXVII, Book IX), Casanova was indeed one of the foreigners who after being interrogated was legally authorized to remain in Cartagena as a *pulpero*. At that point Casanova argued that a *pulpero* was considered a useful "manual and technical job" (*ocupacion mechanica*).<sup>15</sup> Casanova tried to prove his legality by choosing people whom he trusted and who could attest to his side of the story. However, everything was based on personal recollection. Casanova's lawyer still had to deal with the original accusation of concubinage. To dispute this other accusation, he used every traditional stereotype held at the time to characterize black people and people of African descent.

First, the lawyer Joseph Mollinedo asked for the judicial authorities to disregard the testimonies of Casanova's current and previous slaves because according to him, black slaves had no credibility, as they were prone by nature to hate their owners. With regard to the free women who testified on behalf of María Merced, he argued that their testimonies should not be taken into consideration because they were all her friends and they were acting out of gratitude towards María Merced's kindness and protection of them. For Mollinedo, these black women's statements were pure "poison" (*veneno*) and for those reasons should have "no weight or validity for the condemnation" (AGNB 61241; *son inutiles y sin ningun valor para la condenacion*). After all, they were basically all friends and "beneficiaries" (*beneficiadas*) who were trying to protect each other. In his view, these women's voices had to be disregarded and silenced.

However, all these women had one more chance to let their voices be heard when they were asked by authorities to confirm their previous testimonies as part of the ratification process. All witnesses reaffirmed their previous statements and informed authorities that they had nothing to add. However, María Merced took advantage of this opportunity to request two more witnesses who could attest to the veracity of her testimony. She asked authorities to call Bonificia de los Reyes, a *samba libre*, and Theresa Marquez, a *negra libre*, both of whom lived with her at the house located behind the slaughterhouse. They stated that they could see Casanova from the street seated in María Merced's living room which had a window facing the street (AGNB 61301). In both testimonies, the witnesses emphasized the importance of the street as that other micro space that allowed the opportunity to be seen and to escape when needed. It seems to be implied that their relation and Casanova's actions were there to be seen. What happened inside was not totally invisible to the outside. Indeed, when the former judge Juan Díaz de Escandón was asked to

testify, he confessed that when he first learned about the *amancebamiento* of these two, he forced Casanova to sell María Merced the first time.

The judicial authorities wasted no time in calling the two new witnesses, Bonificia de los Reyes and Theresa Marquez. They both testified that they knew quite well of the “illicit friendship” (*ilícita Amistad*) between María Merced and Casanova. They confirmed that Casanova used to visit María Merced at her house and that he was always eager to close doors and windows when he arrived. They also commented that Casanova always waited until between 3:30 and 5:00 am to leave María Merced’s house so he could open his *pulperia*. Theresa Marquez added that when Casanova was unable to visit María Merced, he would send messages to María Merced to spend the night with him at his *pulpería* (AGNB 61351). After learning about these two testimonies, Casanova’s lawyer decided to request witnesses who could testify on Casanova’s behalf. His petition was granted and the judicial authorities were able to hear a completely different portrayal of Casanova’s persona. Mollinedo’s strategy was to portray Casanova as a good Christian citizen, which coincidentally was a requisite for a foreigner to legally live in Spanish territories.

The five witnesses, all military and civilian residents of Cartagena, described Casanova as a “quiet and peaceful man” (*quieto y sosegado*); someone who was always at home, attended mass every day and always gave alms (AGNB 61391). Casanova’s neighbor who lived across the street from him mentioned that he had never seen Casanova with any female black slaves. Neither had he heard any noise coming from his *pulperia* (AGNB 61411). These men offered a totally different image from the one given by the black female witnesses. It will be the decision of the authorities to decide whom to believe: the slaves and free black women or these five *vecinos*; María Mercedes or the foreigner, Juan Casanova.

On May 25, 1753, after three months of testimonies the Lieutenant of the City Council of Cartagena, Francisco Ruiz Pérez found the French *pulpero* guilty of living illegally in Cartagena de Indias without official permission of the government. He was found guilty also of engaging in illegal slave trading. The sentence read that contrary to what the *Recopilación de leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* stated, the occupation of *pulpero* could not be considered an occupation useful to the Crown so Casanova was not to be excluded. These reasons were sufficient to order the expulsion of Casanova from Cartagena due to his status as a foreigner. It is because of his illegal status (*estrangeria*) and not because of concubinage that Casanova was ordered to leave the port city. In fact, the accusation of *concubinato* was not even mentioned in his final sentence.

What is more striking is that, three days later, the Deputy Governor of Cartagena, Facundo Guerra Calderón, decided to impose a different sentence. In this one, he did not find Casanova guilty of *concubinato*, alleging that the law did not apply against single men. However, the Deputy Governor does acknowledge that Casanova should be punished for engaging in sexual relationships with single black slave women. As a result, they prohibited him from purchasing any single female slaves. He was also ordered to pay a one-hundred-pesos fine for committing sexual acts with black female slaves. They warned him that he was to be expelled from Cartagena if he engaged again in the purchase of single slave women. As the result of the discrepancy between both sentences, the Judge decided to submit the case to the Tribunal of the Royal Court of Appeals in Santa Fe de Bogotá. It was going to be up to the judge of the Royal Court to make the final decision. The lengthy case (more than 100 folio sheets) was sent to Santa Fe to be read and reinterpreted.

Casanova’s lawyer sent another deposition refuting every testimony given by all the black women and men involved in the case. The document constituted a list of stereotypes reinforcing the idea of black people as irrational, full of defects, and willing to lie. He argued that this accusation was part of a vicious plan by María Mercedes to take revenge against her owner for not granting her manumission. According to him, every deposition was just a “falsehood” (*falsedad*)

as her slave friends testified on her behalf because of the many favors they owed her. Mollinedo put into doubt the testimony of Manuel the *negro bozal* by indicating that it would be difficult to believe someone who was incapable of figuring out even his own age. According to him, there is no doubt that María Mercedes just acted with “obvious hatred and passion” (AGNB 11691; *conocido odio y passion*). Mollinedo even commented to the Tribunal that he was quite surprised that taking into consideration the character of these black women and the male black slave Manuel that the authorities in Cartagena never put into question these witnesses. Despite his prejudice, Mollinedo did acknowledge—albeit unconsciously—María Magdalena’s power to put such an elaborate plan into play and to convince the authorities that there was some truth to all this. María Merced read the legal system well and made every effort to make the case against her owner Casanova a successful one. In the end, the Royal Court mandated that Casanova sell all his black slaves, relinquish his possessions and be expelled from Cartagena to Spain where he was going to face his judicial review.<sup>16</sup> They did, however, request that authorities in Cartagena restitute the money that Casanova lost in his *pulperia* while incarcerated, due to the loss of food related items. The Court believed that Casanova could use this money to pay for the costs of his travel to Spain. The fate of María Merced is not known except for the fact that she was going to be sold again. The trial clearly shows that colonial authorities were primarily interested in expelling Casanova from Cartagena and that the concubinage charges represented an excuse to make this prosecution possible.

## Final remarks

Lance R. Grahn characterizes Cartagena in the eighteenth century as “an unusual port” in the Spanish Caribbean (1991, 187). He argues that “[a]lthough Cartagena was a city of enduring regional and imperial significance, life in and around the city was also characterized by inconsistency, tension, and illegality” (187).<sup>17</sup> The legal trial of “Juan Casanova of the French nation because of his concubinage with a slave” (*Juan Casanova de nacion francesa por el concubinato con una esclava*), offers us a hint of how inconsistency, tension, and illegality converged in a case of disputing subjectivities. On one hand, we have the French foreigner who arrived illegally to Cartagena and despite his illegality was able to successfully establish his own business. The fluid nature of the port city made his illegality a way of life. The case also shows how eighteenth-century laws on immigration were not easily enforced. Casanova took advantage of single female black slaves because he knew he could sell them at higher prices when needed.<sup>18</sup> He was an active participant of an illegal slave trade and of an illegal residency. Legal authorities involved in the case made sure to include every single transaction he made when selling and purchasing these female slaves. Illegality was also rampant in his *pulperia* where items from Jamaica, England, France and Flanders were found for sale. Casanova was able to maneuver his illegality for commercial gain.

For the three protagonists of the case—Casanova, María Merced, and colonial authorities—the port City of Cartagena functioned as a space in which systems of power-knowledge were used, reciprocated, and manipulated for the sake of survival, freedom, and order. The port city of Cartagena de Indias functioned as a space of colonial encounters or contact zones “in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict” (Pratt 1992, 6). Negotiating subjectivities on the fringes of the empire, and in the midst of population reforms informed by the tenets of Enlightenment, was a challenging task but not an impossible one.

The contentious case of Juan Casanova shows how legal persecution against illegal immigrants was motivated by the anxiety felt by colonial authorities that a foreigner was

financially benefiting from the riches of the colony. Casanova's financial success represented a threat to local business owners who saw in Casanova a financial competitor who was illegally taking profits away from them. Casanova indeed challenged colonial social order and local economic security. Book IX, Title XXVII of the *Recopilación de leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* emphasized in all its royal decrees that foreigners needed to be in constant surveillance, especially those "single Foreigners who work, are hired or reside in the Ports or Places adjacent to it" (RLI, Law XXV; Estrangeros solteros, que tratan, contratan, y residen en los Puertos, y Lugares de su correspondencia). It was mandated that local authorities turn in those non-married foreigners who resided in the port city illegally. Controlling and managing illegality constituted a prime concern for a colonial administration obsessed with government reforms, increased revenue, and national security.

Bianca Premo, in her most recent book, *The Enlightenment on Trial: Ordinary Litigants and Colonialism in the Spanish Empire*, has argued that "litigants practiced the Enlightenment in the very act of going to civil court," as "litigants made space for law as a system of rights and rules that transcended the hierarchical order of colonial society" (2017, 3). Based on the great increase of legal cases in eighteenth-century colonial Spanish America, Premo proposes that ordinary and illiterate litigants at the time viewed the legal system as a way to defend themselves by managing "dynamic ideas of rights, freedom, and merit" and also justice (2017, 16–17). Although the female black slave María Merced did not initiate the legal trial against the French *pulpero* Juan Casanova, once she had access to the court she convincingly argued for her right to be freed based on Casanova's violations and false promises. Furthermore, Casanova himself used the civil court to defend himself against the charges of concubinage and illegal residency, by arguing his right to reside in Cartagena legally based on the merit earned when he defended the port city against British attacks in 1741. Although neither Casanova nor María Merced obtained their desired results (he had to leave Cartagena and she was eventually sold again), the case underlines how disputing subjectivities were negotiated and fought in the civil and royal courts of the Spanish colonies. The relative freedom with which Casanova lived his life as an illegal foreigner, and the very public sexual relationship he had for many years with his main female slave, reminds us how the transient and fluid nature of the port city allowed a relative life of freedom where the social and the political converged.

## Notes

- 1 With fringe I refer to "an outer part or edge of an area" (*Compact Oxford English Dictionary*, 403); "the outer or marginal part of something" (*Concise Oxford English Dictionary*, 569) and to "an open, broken border" (*Webster's Universal Dictionary of the English Language*, vol. 1, 686). I argue that port cities due to their coastal (outer) nature, were always opened to external influences which facilitated them to develop their own lifestyle on the margins of the central government (i.e., viceregal capitals). Furthermore, ports were always vulnerable to openness due to the constant economic transactions that took place in them.
- 2 All quotes from the primary texts follow the original orthography. Every document from the Archivo General de la Nación de Bogotá will be cited from herein as AGNB. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from Spanish into English are mine.
- 3 For a brief, but helpful, summary of this siege under the command of Admiral Vernon, see, Restall and Lane [CE: add 2011], 238–242.
- 4 Restall and Lane highlight that by the second quarter of the seventeenth century, Cartagena "had achieved African and African-descended majorities" ([CE: add 2011], 213).
- 5 In a longer version of this project I examine many of these cases, which I have compiled with documents found at the Archivo General de la Nación in Bogotá. I would like to thank my Research Assistants Liz Moreno-Chuquén (University of Illinois) in assisting with this compilation and Mónica Lugo (University of Illinois) for her help with the transcriptions of the original documents.

- 6 According to Grahn, French and British attacks contributed to the great number of residents that left the city in fear and preferred to leave in the interior or rural lands. However, he adds that those numbers were “relatively small” when compared to European standards and Cartagena was still larger than Boston, New York and Philadelphia during that time (“Cartagena and Its Hinterland in the Eighteenth Century,” 179).
- 7 In 1774, colonial authorities proposed a plan to dismantle the neighborhood of Getsemaní to instead build a fortification (Marco Dorta [CE: add 1960], 302). The engineer Juan Jiménez Donoso proposed and designed the plan but the neighborhood was not dismantled.
- 8 La Puerta del Puente is known now as Plaza de los Coches. It was also referred to as Plaza del Esclavo y de los Mercaderes due to its commercial nature (Marco Dorta [CE: add 1960], 232).
- 9 In another part of her testimony, María Merced states that their sexual relationship lasted three years and eight months.
- 10 *Samba* or *Zamba* referred to the offspring of an Indian and an African. The word itself meant “knock-kneed” (Katzew 2004, 44).
- 11 A “*negro bozal*” was a slave born and imported from Africa. “Bozal” meant “muzzle.”
- 12 Casanova must be referring to the British attack to Cartagena de Indias under Vice-Admiral Edward Vernon. The battle is considered part of the War of Jenkin’s Ear.
- 13 All quotes from *Recopilación de leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* will follow the original orthography. From herein *Recopilación de leyes de los Reynos de las Indias* will be abbreviated as *RLI*.
- 14 María Augustina was sold five times before finally being sold to Juan Casanova.
- 15 Trial documents referred to three different decrees: one from 1750, another from 1751 and the one from 1752. A section of the 1751 decree, Law X, Title XXVII, Book IX was included in the paper trials (AGNB 61171).
- 16 According to Law XXXV, Title XXVII, Book 9, foreigners accused of illegal residency were to be sent to be prosecuted at the House of Trade in Seville.
- 17 To this regard, Patrick O’Flanagan argues that, “port cities were notorious centres where an internal economy was always in full bloom. Bootlegging, smuggling, cheating, deception, fraud, falsification, swindling and trickery were rampant and many operated as covert centres for piracy and privateering” ([CE: add 2008], 9).
- 18 Black female slaves used to be sold at higher prices while married female slaves were more difficult to sell (Socolow [CE: add 2000], 135).

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# The urban cultural model

## Center and periphery\*

*Joaquín Álvarez Barrientos*

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### The urban model

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw an intensification of nationalist processes that helped consolidate the capitals of the European realms. Madrid began to play a leading role when Felipe II located his Court there in 1561. Increasing bureaucracy put an end to the practice of moving the court from city to city and made it necessary to establish permanent spaces for the archives, offices, and courts that stored the memories and managed the lives of the subjects. There was nothing unusual about this, as the same thing was happening in the other European kingdoms. In establishing the Court in a given city, that city grew and became the capital, a new concept associated with the creation of the modern national State, which in the case of Spain was also the center of an enormous empire. That capital city embraced the role of representing the State and supplied its image. Thus, the capital arises from the need to possess the political instruments necessary to manage the State's territories. Additionally, it is the reflection and image of the kingdom, its embodiment. At the time when these processes took place, the model followed by the courts to display themselves as courts was the "great Baroque city," which revealed the importance and glory of the kingdom. Thus, the city itself became a political element, since the program and the message that were sent from the image of the city were political.

That great city was the result of both the increase in population, given the concentration of military and religious institutions as well as institutions of power, and the concentration of nobles who settled there, building their palaces in the city. The Court then attracted elements of other classes and origins, who came in search of new opportunities. As Max Weber reminds us (1983, 956), the city offered an air of freedom, so people came there to leave behind their old life, in the hope of finding something different and having a better life. This desire, however, very often led to living a life on the fringes of society. Spanish literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gives ample evidence of this social and cultural reality, which characterized Madrid as well as other European capitals.

The concept of the great city also resulted from its being understood as ornate and as representing the kingdom, as previously noted, which was why it was adorned and transformed. But this transformation was made on top of its medieval reality, using the earlier structure

and image while changing facades and altering aesthetic and institutional appearances, since the modern State had new needs and new institutions. Those alterations included transient architectures, formats of cultural commemoration that gave new functions to urban spaces. All these changes were reflected in urbanism, which projected a new, up-to-date model over an outdated one. But changes were also happening in the realm of ideas, such that new ways of thinking were growing over the old ones. Those variations were perceived in the definitions of what constitutes a city, and hence, it is no accident that in the eighteenth century the social aspect, or the sociability, of the city was frequently emphasized. And of course, in the new designs and reforms, the plaza, or town square, was considered a space for meetings and commerce, such as was already occurring in the so-called “classical city.” The novelty of the plaza in this period is that another representative element was added to that social aspect: the setting becomes the frame for a statue of the monarch, something that was happening on the European continent as well as in the new American territories. The plaza highlighted the active political condition of the city, also apparent in its *tertulias*, social gatherings that took place not only in the private salons of the upper classes, but also in the doorways of homes, on patios, in cafés, and even among the clusters of people that gathered in the plazas. Plazas were the physical manifestation of a symbolic space because they housed the town hall, the church, the court; in short, they became the center that ordered all urban space.

This orderliness displays streamlined standards compared to the medieval city. The trend throughout the eighteenth century, and even later, was for straight lines, standardizing spaces, aligning facades, opening up avenues and wide streets, landscaping. This beautified the city, making it a work of art able to adequately represent the monarchy, something that was scarcely done in the Madrid of the prior Habsburg dynasty. Theater and city were connected: the theater house often occupied a privileged space (something that also did not exist in Habsburg Madrid); the use of perspective to create broad panoramas, and the idea of the capital as a stage on which the comedy of life unfolded, updated the old theme of *theatrum mundi*. The city was also becoming a business, also thanks to the consumer economy of the Court. Thus, the modern capital was constructed through its physical and emotional reworking: the customs, rites, and traditions that were consolidated in it (Chueca Goitia 2016, 43). It was also constructed not as a rejection of the countryside per se—something that only began happening well into the twentieth century—but more as a moving away from the values and ways of rural life. However, still in the eighteenth century, the difference between country and city is unclear, just as there was also little distance between the common and the cultured. Although this is the period when those distinctions would be forged, in Madrid many signs of that mixture of rural and urban are still found, manifested in the way of life, in the lack of borders between territories, and even in the city’s patron saint, Saint Isidore the Laborer. The urban periphery blurs the boundaries between urban and rural.

Urban centers *are* history, which is why they are gifted with elements that express that condition: street names that allude to important people and events, commemorative plaques, statues. We are facing the start of the phenomenon of celebrity. Cities become important in individuals’ horizon of expectations, since if one wants to triumph, that is where she or he must go. And those who live outside of it are precisely those who define the concept of urban center, of the capital as an imaginary that concentrates both the aspirations and the fears that the city represents.

In this framework, Madrid underwent a series of changes over the course of this century that, in many cases, continued into the nineteenth—political, institutional, urban, and cultural changes aimed at showing what it already was: the capital of the Spanish empire. For this, it was necessary to give it buildings that showed that status, together with corresponding institutions.

Those changes shaped a model of city and of culture sponsored by the Crown, certain aspects of which they tried to export to other places, or else it was copied, since it represented contemporary modernity.

Following the fire in the Alcázar of Madrid in 1734, a change was initiated in the urban aesthetic, which accompanied the criticisms being bandied about regarding the city's hygienic standards and even its structure as the capital. Since its aesthetic ultimately was to follow the classical model which would display the monarchy's greatness, then to address urban cleanliness—one of the symbols of modernity—solutions were proposed for collecting garbage, prohibitions were made against throwing out waste into the streets, plans were made for indoor plumbing and underground sewers. Important people like José Alonso Arce, Teodoro de Ardemans, Francisco Mariano Nifo, Francisco Sabatini, Ventura Rodríguez, and Juan de Villanueva were involved in turning the Court into a clean, orderly city—and they achieved it, judging by the testimonials given by numerous travelers, from Norberto Caimo in 1755 to William Dalrymple in the 1770s and Christian August Fischer in 1802, who denounced those who repeated outdated opinions, interested only in giving a negative view of the capital along the lines of the Black Legend: “Stop speaking ill of Madrid's cleanliness! How many times do they still talk about, for example, the dirty streets of Madame d'Aulnoy's day! They do so without realizing that for the last twenty-five years, Madrid has been one of the cleanest cities in Europe,” in which garbage is collected daily, and sidewalks are swept and washed down. “Nobody can throw away anything in the street, and bodily needs are taken care of only at home”<sup>1</sup> (Fischer 2013, 185–186). It is worth remembering the possible falseness of the Countess's oft-cited trip, as Raymond Foulché-Delbosch (1926) has already noted, and also that many travelers were merely copying ideas from earlier travelers.

Worrying about hiding the filth reveals a sense of public versus private that forced a policy for altering the urban landscape: for example, by replacing the medieval era round paving stones with square flagstones that eliminated spaces where filth and excrement could collect. We have many examples of the latter, but it is worth remembering Juan de Iriarte's unfinished poem (1774), titled “Merididum matritense,” in which, at midcentury, he takes note of bad smells, rotting garbage, dead animals floating in the river, and even pigs escaping from the pens of the San Antón Abad monks and running loose in the streets, as happened in Venice (Sarti 1999). In short, a reality that is no different from the descriptions of Paris offered by Denis Diderot in *Rameau's Nephew* (1761–1762) and Mercier in his texts about the French capital, nor from other European cities, including London, which was one of the dirtiest of the period.

These are changes in the urban structure and in the mentality of the citizens that point to the incorporation of a modern discourse in regard to hygienic civilization, an urban culture that gives value to the street and the public space in which daily life takes place. Thus, they had a special importance, together with those hygienic changes of an aesthetic nature which were implemented in places around the city where the new tastes were allowed to flourish. Then they moved into peripheral spaces, or close to them, which today form part of the central core of the city: Alcalá Street and Atocha Street and the Paseo del Prado, the elegant boulevard leading to the Prado Museum, as well as the area around the Royal Palace, which was the emblem of the new classical aesthetic that represented the king's grandeur. In these areas, new buildings were raised according to the aesthetic supported by the King, who, to change the “facade of the realm,” created the San Fernando Royal Academy of Fine Arts, and within that, the Architecture Commission that monitored architectural projects, to ensure that they met the requirements of representation and image of the new Spain.

In the spaces mentioned, they built the New Customs House, the Academy itself, the Hydrographic Archives, which ultimately became the Prado Museum but was originally supposed to be the Cabinet of Natural History and Science Laboratory. These were all buildings

that housed cultural centers and projected the institutional image of that culture, a process explained in treatises like that of Fornés y Gurrea (1982), although there are other earlier ones. It is a model of urban culture that is exported and developed in the nineteenth century following the Ionic style, and later the historicist style. Academies, libraries, and museums are all built with their representational value in mind, so they must be well-decorated, monumental, and if possible, at the center of their respective towns (Capel 2005, 412–419). The alteration of the Paseo del Prado, begun in 1768 to create a pleasant space to spend one's leisure time in an area of the city that housed those cultural centers, was extrapolated to other locales, and so there appeared promenades and boulevards in Málaga, Granada, Cádiz, Burgos, and Barcelona (Quirós Linares 2009), as well as museums and libraries open to the public, as examples of an enlightened cultural policy that later went liberal. The same happened with secondary schools. The first was founded in Madrid in 1838, and then others followed in Barcelona, Granada, Málaga, Segovia, and Toledo.

The city, therefore, benefited from the old medieval class system, upon which was erected the new capital, and which was given appropriate infrastructure and buildings to display the importance of the realm and of Madrid as representative of the empire. There are two institutions, among others created at that time, that are important in this respect: the Royal Botanical Garden and the Cabinet of Natural History. The first is on the Paseo del Prado, although it came from a former location outside of Madrid; the second is on Alcalá Street. Both shared an important characteristic, highlighted by different visitors: the American aspect of their backgrounds. Both had species that were only displayed there, to show off the glory of the empire. Their political and educational function was undeniable. They were places not to be missed if one wanted to stay abreast of advances in their respective fields, according to Fischer, the German visitor quoted previously, but also according to the naturalist Juan Mieg, who wrote a guide to the Cabinet. Both centers also projected the notion of royal support for the sciences (Álvarez Barrientos 2017a, 155).

The impression that Madrid was to give was one of moral nobility and grandeur. For this purpose, Martín Sarmiento in his *Sistema de adornos del Palacio Real* (System of Decorations of the Royal Palace), Antonio Ponz in his *Viaje de España* (Journey from Spain), and others such as José Cadalso in his *Cartas marruecas* (Moroccan Letters), argued that the streets and plazas should be named after those who had contributed to the making of the nation. They felt that in those public spaces there should be statues and memorials to commemorate the founding fathers, to serve as an example for pedestrians and reinforce the national identity that was even then already developing, from the culture itself and from the conversion of the past into reified History. The names of streets and plazas, the presence of great personages immortalized in busts and statues, should inspire a feeling of unity and belonging, of awareness of history itself, of national pride and education in common values, that would mold the new citizen educated in a classical aesthetic, an ordered way of life, and political values shared by everyone.

Summarizing these ideas, Ponz commented, “All our cities are ugly, and the oldest ones are the ugliest.” He thought almost all of them should be rebuilt because of their poor construction, which came from the Middle Ages. He proposes a number of ideas: creating spacious entryways, adding a number of doors sufficient to reflect the greatness of the city, using “ample architectural adornment; building many roads that connect to each other; making the main roads straight and wide, so that they are more comfortable and shorter for those who traverse them; but they should not all be exactly the same width and straightness,”<sup>2</sup> because uniformity is annoying.

Ponz follows the Renaissance principle of hierarchy of routes, and the notion that harmony is achieved if the most important roads lead to the center of town, where the main plaza can be found. “More plazas need to be built, to open up the neighborhoods and make them more spacious. Their various shapes will give everything a new beauty: some rectangular, others round,

still others oval, some with three, six or eight angles would always be a source of pleasure and novelty [...]. Porticos make plazas more comfortable.” Nor does he forget fountains, nor the previously indicated symbolic and didactic elements that create a sense of belonging and continuity: “a goodly number of statues mounted on magnificent pedestals, located at entrances, in plazas, in open spaces, representing guardian angels, philanthropic princes, distinguished citizens; they would serve as models of piety, recognition, reward, and finally, to educate the public. [...] Many inscriptions located in various places [would explain] the foundation of the city, some of its municipal laws, the glories of its sovereigns, those of its illustrious citizens worthy of remembrance under different titles, with other things that may have made them famous. It would be an open book from which everyone would learn.” These inscriptions should be clear, brief, well written, and “in the common language of the nation”<sup>3</sup> (Ponz 1789, 16–21).

Not everything suggested by these authors was completed at that time, and it was necessary to wait until the early decades of the nineteenth century to develop them, both in José I’s brief reign during the Peninsular War (1808–1813) and Fernando VII’s (1814–1833) upon his return from exile.

As previously noted, to the extent possible, the capital was modified to give it this new image based, above all, on straight lines and perspective, a unique viewpoint that symbolically reinforced the power of the king and highlighted the process of centralization over which he presided. It offered an image of a harmonious capital, which was based on the Renaissance profile of the ideal city, but which in reality clashed with the crowded houses and tortuous structure of the old city. Those constructions complemented the work of building palaces, hostels, promenades, boulevards, gardens, factories, cultural institutions, canals and highways, all ways of linking the realm through culture, imagery, the economy and communications. This trend continued after the Peninsular War. Thus, for example, in 1818, this reflection was written about the wharf project of the Manzanares canal: “Navigation and woodlands are works worthy of the great Fernando. Roads and canals facilitate domestic commerce, promote industry and create abundance for the realms”<sup>4</sup> (Terán 1999, 31), in a formulation that echoed the past and demonstrated continuity.

Canals united the center with the periphery; they were an investment, in different parts of Europe, in creating a commercial, economic, and cultural circuit—an investment that ended with the arrival of the railroads. Sometimes, as a result of the successes achieved in controlling Nature, they toyed with utopian visions, such as in France, where they wanted to link the Atlantic to the Mediterranean. In Spain different canals were begun, such as the ones in Castile, Aragón, and others that were never completed, like the plan to join Madrid to the sea. Aragón’s canal, however, did give maritime access to commerce in the region (Sambricio 1991; Pérez Sarrión 1984, 2005). The politics of canal construction reflects the importance of commerce and the economy as engines of change and as referential values of the monarchy—a change that also had to do with the method of representing the nation through representations of arsenals, ports, and cities, which today tend to have great documentary value because of their interest in showing the improvements implemented in industry and in those cities with public services. Artists and writers proposed projects for reshaping the coast between 1783 and 1788 and the plans that were drawn up to give some idea of the peripheral regions of Spain and its border, collected in the *Atlas marítimo de España* (Maritime Atlas of Spain 1789). Luis Paret, Pedro Grolliez, Antonio Carnicero, Alexandre-Jean Noël, Mariano Sánchez, Manuel de la Cruz, and Alexandre de Laborde were some of those who reported on these port scenes, saying that they weren’t mere whims but a reflection of and publicity for the change that the Crown was promoting, the image that was being managed on behalf of the people, in contrast to the Habsburg model (Navascués Palacio 2014; Crespo Delgado 2014).

These works are examples of the two-pronged approach of the plans for altering the city: on the one hand, reshaping what already existed; on the other, creating a new urban space under the concept of a growing city (Sambricio 1991). The construction of the *Nuevas Poblaciones* in the Sierra Morena and other places in Andalusia are important examples of the latter category. These were new towns built and populated in previously uninhabited regions of Andalusia along the Andalusian Camino Real, constructed in a classical grid formation upon which perspectives were created to connect plazas. Also important in this latter category were the Royal Sites (e.g., palaces, royal gardens, etc.), many of which were being built or developed during this period, in the tradition of the so-called “follies,”<sup>5</sup> both in urban spaces destined for those who worked at Court, and in the gardens and palaces.

Such projects were not always completed, but what we know of them gives us an idea of their ideal city, and also of the type of citizen that they had in mind for it. But this difference between the projected and the completed was characteristic of the epoch (Chueca Goitia 2016, 186–189). The Bourbon tendency to reshape cities, adapting them to a new model, was continued by José I during his few years in Madrid. His alterations were based on widening streets and plazas by following the prior trend, as can be seen in Barcelona, Granada, Madrid, Seville, and València, and to a lesser degree in Málaga, Valladolid, Santander, and Zaragoza (Quirós Linares 2009; Sazatornil Ruiz 1996). After the Peninsular War, and because of all the destruction, a reconstruction effort was undertaken that at times also involved new planning in the form of expansion. Jovellanos had already tried it, unsuccessfully, in Madrid in 1787, but the war made it possible in cities like San Sebastián. Expansions are characteristic of the nineteenth century (Sambricio 1991).

We have already mentioned the importance for the monarchy of the construction of the Royal Palace, to configure a new model, both urban and figurative. However, it was never possible to furnish the vicinity of the building with an equally magnificent and monumental image, neither in the time of the Bourbons, nor during José I’s brief reign, nor in that of Fernando VII. The projects and programs proposed by different architects (Silvestre Pérez, Isidro González Velázquez) to create a space that would represent the Crown were never realized, and so there remained an empty space around the Palace that cast an image of isolation and separation from the urban surroundings, immortalized in the miniature model that León Gil de Palacio created of Madrid in 1830 (Álvarez Barrientos 2017b).

In any case, the reforms that were proposed, and in some cases completed, were aimed at configuring a pleasing, orderly, clean image of the capital. A good part of it was achieved, and the urban model, which was the same across Europe, was taken as a referent that could be exported to other Spanish cities and localities, both in the Peninsula and in America, where foundational projects based on standardization of the space could be carried out.

## The model citizen

Furthermore, these reforms that moved towards the rational ordering of space were accompanied by others related to morality and customs. The authorities projected a model of the individual that would embody the virtues of a citizen: educated, diplomatic, hard-working, patriotic, virtuous. Women also had their place in this model, since they had the responsibility of bringing up new generations of citizens with these values, as Jovellanos indicated in his *Elogio de Carlos III* (*Praise of Carlos III* 1789). The literature of the time also presented an active feminine model contrasted to the more sensitive masculine model, as is shown not only in *comedias* and sentimental novels: other literary texts and even legal ordinances modeled a well-brought-up citizen, of impeccable habits, with speech and tone appropriate to the urban image that was taking shape. There was a balance and unity of objectives between the type of literature and art that should

be consumed, the space where life was lived, and the behavior and appearance of the individuals who consumed that art and made use of that urban space.

More than a few of those rules were collected in the *Newest Code of the Laws of Spain* (*Novísima Recopilación de las leyes de España*), published in 1805. For example, in Book III, tone of voice was regulated, insults were prohibited, and rules were established regarding the “Policy to avoid indecent or rude words and actions, gatherings, and amusements harmful to traditions and public safety.”<sup>6</sup> This rule for using language in inoffensive ways, without swearing, blaspheming or verbal aggression, was added to other rules regarding the healthfulness of foods, the use of clothing, and the cleanliness of taverns, inns, eating establishments and cafés. At the same time, the authorities showed a desire to control the language of daily use, in similar fashion to the way the Royal Spanish Academy codified the language through their *Diccionario de Autoridades* (*Dictionary of Authorities*). The use of this dictionary, published between 1726 and 1739, was obligatory in all administrative activities of the Empire, which served to unify the language, its use, and its communicative levels. Later, the campaign continued with the orthography and grammar of the Academy, in one more example of centralizing, unifying processes that the governments of the era developed in Europe to establish modern States.

The model citizen exportable from the Court to the rest of the realm is likewise documented in regulations that attempt to control his or her urban conduct by adapting it to new proposals for civilized leisure time: for example, the one published by the Count of Aranda to establish the rules of conduct during the carnival dance in 1767. After carnivals were prohibited, Enlightenment men appropriated this popular festival to domesticate it and make it theirs, which involved eliminating any critical element it had and changing it into a simple masquerade ball, which is how it was announced, and how it appears in the picture that Luis Paret painted on the subject. In these rules are detailed how one should be disguised; which fabrics are acceptable—or not—for making the outfit; the quality of the decorations; the kinds of rhythms one might dance; as well as the conversations that should take place and the degree of cordiality that one should show throughout the party so that nobody feels uncomfortable.

The same happens with the rules offered for attending concerts or for entering the gardens of the Retiro. This was partially opened to the public that same year (1767), in an attempt to change the image of State power after the so-called Esquilache Riots the previous year, in which the populace protested the lack of basic necessities like bread. In this respect, it should be remembered that in Paris the Tuileries Royal Gardens were not available to the subjects (Mercier 1999). That said, however, the public, the common citizen, according to the *Diccionario de Autoridades*, should become accustomed to the current civilizing principles. The rules for being able to stroll through the Retiro and enjoy what it had to offer outline certain behaviors and modes of dress, rules of good manners that define the desired new citizen. In the *Aviso al público para el paseo a pie en los jardines del Real Retiro* (*Notice to the Public for Strolling among the Gardens of the Royal Retiro*), it was requested that men be well-groomed, and not wear certain types of headgear such as *gorros*, *redes*, *monteras* (caps, nets, bullfighters’ hats), nor any other element contrary to decent standards of dress. Therefore, they should wear a dress coat (*casaca*) and undercoat (*chupa*), but not a cape or greatcoat.

Women could wear a cloak or lace shawl up to the entryway, but they had to remove them once they entered. There were straw chairs that you had to pay to use, and refreshments were served; their printed prices were publicly available. The *Notice to the Public* describes the types of sociability, ultimately bourgeois, that were used in several parts of the Paseo del Prado and ends by noting “to the attendees” the advantages of maintaining “composure and regularity”<sup>7</sup> in their behavior, given the respect that a Royal Site like that one deserves. The symbolic presence of the

king and queen was thought to be enough to influence everyone to behave decorously (Álvarez Barrientos 2017a, 186–189).

Indeed, decorum is the foundation of all these cultural reforms, a decorum that reaches both the animate realm of the actors in this play of life, and the more inanimate one of architecture, hygiene, and conduct. Thus, some measures, like those indicated above, were aimed at regulating the behavior of individuals, who just a year before had taken to the streets to demand the lowering of prices of specific foods, as well as other demands influenced by the Spanish nobility confronted with the power of the Court. The riot led to the expulsion of the Marquis of Esquilache, but also left an image of men and women running through the streets. The women in particular were more visible and more important in the city in their taking over of public space for festivities and demonstrations, and also because they sold goods in the streets, no longer the politically passive subjects that they had traditionally been, as shown by their participation in the riots. When the mutiny ended, groups of rioters circulated through the city singing all night, and the women, who had played an important part, went from defiling the bodies of dead soldiers to becoming “gentlewomen” who celebrated the king’s decision to expel the Marquis and abolish the Council of Provisions. The whistles and flares used by these urban guerrillas to find each other and meet up were replaced by tambourines and guitars to sing their happiness over their victory (López García 2006).

But this was not the desired behavior, and hence the plays that praised the indecorous practices of lower-class individuals were constantly criticized, but those with hard-working artisans, collaborators in the purposes of the kingdom, were not. These latter were praised and encouraged by the authorities, decriminalizing manual labor and writing in favor of it, as did the Count of Campomanes in 1775 in his *Discurso sobre la educación popular de los artesanos y su fomento* (*Discourse on the Popular Education of Artisans and Its Promotion*).

## Cultural institutions

Together with this urban framework, marked by the aesthetic correctness of classicism and the sociability of individuals, whose codes of conduct were updated through different agencies, the Court, to keep up appearances and because of being who (or what) it was, had to house the institutions necessary for governing the State. But in addition, it had to house those others in the cultural sphere that lent prestige and served to educate the citizens and create discourses about the nation. The process was happening all across Europe, with the creation of museums, academies, and centers to support and guide education and research, but also so that people could see in them the importance of the national past. Culture and that past had become elements of identity and prestige that governments employed to achieve greater power relative to other kingdoms. This is the time when, as part of the cultural politics carried out by the institutions sponsored by the monarchy, histories of the nation began to be written, and debates were held to determine the national poets. Every country, some before others, chose those writers who represented it, those who would be its “princes”: Shakespeare, Molière, Cervantes, Camões, and so on.

In this context, the Royal Spanish Academy published the *Don Quijote de la Mancha* in 1780 in an impeccable edition, with illustrations by prestigious artists and an introductory essay by Vicente de los Ríos. The Marquis de la Ensenada had attempted this project at mid-century, but his fall from grace cut it short. The work of the Academy, like that of the Royal Library and the other academies, constituted part of the cultural interventions of the Court aimed at consolidating an image of Spain’s past and present, a national identity based on a common language, history, and culture, similar to what was happening in other European countries. These centers,

which appeared in France and England in the seventeenth century, were copied by the rest of the Continent, and even beyond it, because it was thought that they were the best instruments for managing culture and politics. Thus, when Napoleon invaded Egypt in 1798, besides his troops, he was accompanied by scientists, artists, and men of letters who carried out their activity there, including creating a parallel of the Institute of France—the Egyptian Scientific Institute—and introducing European principles for urban planning, hygiene, and so on, to the point of reproducing the European urban cultural model—the Republic of Letters—and its organization of knowledge. This expansion of Gallic dominion across the Mediterranean was another way of colonizing (through culture) the conquered territories and imprinting Continental values and cultural traditions.

Conquering Egypt had been a goal of French politics for some time, but when the Republic was founded, they added a cultural reference to the Roman republic. Ancient Rome's history of colonization in Egypt added a mythic element to the French Republic's "urgency" to also dominate this territory, which held great strategic value for controlling English expansion through the Mediterranean. It was also important as a passageway to India, which provided a supplementary source of grain for the West Indian colonies.

Napoleon had already traveled with teams of artists and scientists who studied the conquered territories and seized artworks that ended up in French museums. The Institute, with its printing press, was established near Cairo in an opulent neighborhood abandoned by the Mamelukes. It established statutes and regulations for developing sessions and naming members, all French. These academics and this institution, established in the center of the Egyptian capital, nevertheless felt marginalized, forgotten by their French colleagues, from whom they requested information, etc. so as not to lose the lines of communication or be considered second-class citizens (Álvarez Barrientos 2003).

In a similar way, in Spanish America, where cities and universities had already been founded, the same cultural institutions and models that were useful in the metropole were reproduced. Academies were created, as well as botanical gardens, schools, centers of astronomy, and economic societies, duplicating models of management and motivation that transferred the current concept of knowledge, but also its limits, as had happened in Egypt. One of the most important academies created in Spanish America was the San Carlos Academy of the Three Noble Arts in New Spain, founded in 1783. This institution was the recipient of originals and copies of archaeological finds taken from the classical antiquities found in the excavations at Mount Vesuvius, as well as reproductions of other works held by the Spanish Crown. The New World colonies learned of the Vesuvius antiquities just a few years after their discovery. The function of the San Carlos Academy was similar to that of the San Fernando Academy: disseminate the classical style, evaluate archaeological projects, and train artists. The Academy's influence, as in Spain, transformed the order of production, artistic tastes, and the structure of the artisans' guilds, as well as introducing European architectural and artistic models found in treatises by Mengs, Winckelmann, and Milizia, among others (Báez Macías 2008).

For their part, after the creation of the Royal Academies in Madrid, Spanish cities like Barcelona, Seville, Cádiz, and València, followed by others, reproduced the courtly cultural model and had their own institutions, as happened in Barcelona and Seville. Both capitals had their respective Academies of Fine Arts. Cádiz also had the Literary Assembly, a manifestation of the scientific meetings of the period that were proposed to the Bourbon rulers by different intellectuals. In regard to the Academies of *Belles Lettres*, after Madrid's Academy of San Fernando, Cádiz received its own academy in 1783, since these institutions were "what the government has always recommended to act as models for the nation"<sup>8</sup> (Cruz y Bahamonde 1997, 218). Later José I tried to organize the knowledge under the *non nata* National Academy (Álvarez Barrientos

2006). The academy format was exported to the periphery because it was seen as the best way to develop science and research in the provinces. But it was done without taking into account the difficulties of finding research material in those areas, or the prejudice that often existed among the intellectuals from the capital, who benefited from the Bourbon centralizing plan (as did those who lived in the provinces).

As we have seen, the French intelligentsia sent to Egypt felt left out. The same happened to the American intellectuals, as well as more than a few of those who lived in marginalized areas of the kingdom and were members of the Republic of Letters. The most notorious of these cases are those of Gregorio Mayans of València and the Mohedano brothers of Granada, although there are others. The general reality is that one had to go to the capital of the realm if one wanted to hold an important position in the Republic of Letters. There were exceptions, but these always involved support from important people who had achieved success in the center, the capital. Benito Jerónimo Feijoo, a Galician who lived in Oviedo, is paradigmatic of this kind of exception. He would undoubtedly not have become an intellectual without the support of his religious order, the king, the press in Madrid, and Martín Sarmiento, who organized the publication of Feijoo's works from the Court.

This state of affairs is confirmed for us when we study the case of Gregorio Mayans, who, although he went to the capital to gain the favor of those in power, never managed to be accepted in the Republic of Letters, although he was more than qualified. His case is, in part, the story of an intellectual who does not kowtow to the interests of the cultural leaders at Court; nor is he able to insinuate himself into the structure of cultural administration there. His project to create a Valencian Academy in 1742 was unsuccessful because he did not submit to the Academy of History's criteria, unlike the intellectuals from Barcelona and Seville, who did. Mayans returned to his home and continued to work from there, marginalized and confronted with important people like Feijoo, the personification of success in the courtly cultural framework.

An interesting case of confrontation between intellectuals of the Court and those from the periphery is that of the previously mentioned brothers, Pedro and Rafael Rodríguez Mohedano of Granada, authors of the unfinished *Historia literaria de España* (*Literary History of Spain*), which they began in 1766. Aware of their situation, and because they were writing from the provinces, they tried to weave a web of relationships to receive favorable consideration at Court. They gained the support of the Count of Aranda, the President of the Council of Castile; of Carlos III; of Múzquiz, the Minister of Finance; and of Roda, the Minister of Justice, as well as recommendations from intellectuals of such stature as the Portuguese Manuel do Cenáculo Vilas Boas, a friend and collaborator of the Marquis of Pombal; from Mayans; and from the royal librarian, Martínez Pingarrón.

But their strategy began to fail in the face of a critical campaign launched by members of several Madrid *tertulias* and by intellectuals from the Royal Academy of History like Enrique Flórez, Juan de Aravaca, and others. Writing the history of Spain was one of the (ultimately incomplete) goals of the Academy of History, which was, in part, why they attacked the work of the Mohedano brothers, who—individually and without corporate support—achieved a goal that the Academy couldn't. The brothers wrote to Flórez in 1770 in an attempt to counter his objections while also making clear that the official intellectuals were overly cautious with regard to productions that came from the provinces, which they did not consider to have equal value to those written at Court. The debate raged on, and in 1779 the brothers reiterated the prejudices that the Court intellectuals seemed to hold in general: "We are aware of the attitude and thinking that is often seen in the Courts regarding literary works, especially [those] from provincial writers"<sup>9</sup> (Rodríguez Mohedano 1779, 8).

However, other provincial men of letters, like José Antonio Pellicer, Juan Sempere y Guarinos, Francisco Pérez Bayer, Antonio Ponz, and the Iriarte family, gained the favor of the Court and held important positions in the cultural and administrative structure. Sempere y Guarinos, born in València, should not be forgotten in this respect because nearly all of his literary works are the result of a government mandate, and he was paid by the ministers. Leaving aside his other works, his *Ensayo de una biblioteca española de los mejores escritores del reinado de Carlos III* (*Essay on a Spanish Library of the Best Writers of the Reign of Carlos III* 1785–1789) is a propagandistic report on the state of affairs in the literature and the cultural institutions promoted by the Crown at the end of the 1780s. Sempere carried out a detailed analysis of Spain's culture at that time, which was widely disseminated in Europe, as attested by the reviews it received in different newspapers. His work was in dialogue with other historical, general, and local investigations which were written at that time in imitation of his.

Likewise, newspapers were one of the cultural institutions that were also proposed within the orbit of center and periphery, to create and develop public opinion in cities like Murcia, València, Barcelona, Seville, Cádiz, and others. They also created a connection between readers from different locales, and between the actions and actors in the news, creating the impression of not being left out of events or on the fringes of culture and society. Writing letters to newspapers served to construct networks of communication for the national culture. This focus on national center and periphery was, in fact, the transposition of a prior administrative phenomenon that occurred in Europe and implied the beginning of an effort to unite territories. But the articulating sensibility that valued the center over the periphery is the same one that comes into play for punishments like exile and banishment.

At the same time, the model had a Eurocentric slant with respect to other cultures and civilizations, which was also applied within Europe itself, in that a more or less vague but recognizable center radiated its light out towards the rest, a viewpoint that is still held today. That blueprint for producing knowledge that placed the center mainly in France and Germany was questioned by Juan Andrés in his history of world knowledge, in which he presented the contributions of different nations to the construction of culture: “Can we not properly call enlightened that century in which the lights of the sciences have been spread universally throughout Europe, penetrating the dark, remote provinces that until now were wrapped in the deepest ignorance? [In previous centuries, intelligence] could not banish ignorance from the schools, nor was it able to enlighten the two ends of Europe, the North and the South.” It is only in this century that a universal culture has been created. “Only in this century has tastefulness in literature and the sciences come to rule in all the provinces of civilized Europe”<sup>10</sup> (1784, 358–360). The abundance of books was the cause of spread of culture, that had reached “even women and common people of the masses”<sup>11</sup> (365).

Juan Andrés, even while recognizing that hierarchy of relations, wrote a cultural history of Europe that paid attention to the contributions to its construction made from the periphery. But despite his achievement, the historiography of culture moved along nationalistic paths, coinciding with the political current of history. In any case, his was an example of how to offer a portrait of Europe and its Republic of Letters without privileging some regions over others. He himself was from the geographic and civil periphery, as an exiled Jesuit living on the Italian peninsula. That status made him feel, as it had others, marginalized on the fringes of the structure of European knowledge. But at the same time, maintaining relations with those centers and persons that generated culture made him feel like he himself created it. His ex-centric situation rattled the stability of the framework that privileged the center over the periphery.

The urban cultural model made itself at home in a center–periphery arrangement, initially as a unifying structure, although over time it became more of a divisive element. On the symbolic

plane, this structure can be read two ways, which fit with enlightened theories of benefit and social and cultural control. On one hand, the center, the capital, can be understood as the place from which to see all around and from whose higher perspective the beneficial light of the Enlightenment is spread. It is an image that has a certain relationship with Christian iconography and with many of the images that show Parnassus, arts, and sciences, such as the one at the beginning of the *Encyclopédie*. The second symbolic reading has to do with controlling society and its culture, since that scheme of center and periphery was the one that was considered best for monitoring things, as Jeremy Bentham showed with his panopticon. By using that scheme, the urban cultural model was able to unify, control, and authorize intellectual production and standardize territorial relations. It was a model that was exported and developed in the eighteenth century, using the classical image for those cultural institutions that created the nation.

By contrast, the support for cities reveals the Crown's effort to use them to create an image of Spain, which also explains the interest in port scenes, for which purpose, in time, the Royal Topographic Cabinet was founded. In this museum would be kept all the miniature models of the Spanish capitals, which would offer a three-dimensional urban representation of the nation. Unfortunately, only the model of Madrid remains, but the idea was to have the kingdom symbolized through its cities, through the center—the capital—and through a prestigious building like the *Casón del Buen Retiro*, an annex of the Prado that now houses the museum's study center and library, and which presents a majestic national urban cultural model that constructed the nation by converting the past into History (Álvarez Barrientos 2017b).

## Notes

★ Translated by Linda Grabner, University of Pennsylvania

- 1 “¡Que se deje de hablar mal de la policía [limpieza] de Madrid! ¡Cuántas veces se citan aún, por ejemplo, las sucias calles de los tiempos de Madame d’Aulnoy! Se hace sin tener en cuenta que Madrid es, desde hace veinticinco años, una de las ciudades más limpias de Europa.” [...] Nadie puede tirar nada por la calle, y las necesidades solo se hacen en las casas.”
- 2 “Todas nuestras ciudades son feas, y más lo son las mayores” ... “suficiente adorno de arquitectura; que sean muchas sus calles con comunicación entre ellas; que las principales sean rectas y anchas, con lo cual son más cómodas y más breves para quien las anda, pero no deben ser todas iguales en anchura y rectitud.”
- 3 “Las plazas se han de multiplicar para desahogo de los barrios. Su varia forma dará al todo una nueva belleza: unas rectangulares, otras esféricas, elípticas otras, algunas de tres, seis u ocho ángulos causarían siempre deleite y novedad [...]. Los pórticos dan a las plazas comodidad.” [...] “un competente número de estatuas sobre magníficos pedestales, situadas en las entradas, en las plazas, en los parajes espaciosos, que representen santos tutelares, príncipes benéficos, ciudadanos beneméritos, formarían una escuela de piedad, de reconocimiento, de recompensa y, al cabo, de enseñanza al pueblo [...]. Muchas inscripciones colocadas en varios sitios [explicarán] la fundación de la ciudad, algunas de sus leyes municipales, las glorias de sus soberanos, las de sus ciudadanos ilustres y dignos de memoria por diversos títulos, con otras cosas que la hayan hecho célebre, sería un libro abierto en que aprenderían todos.” Estas inscripciones deben ser claras, breves, estar escritas con toda propiedad y “en el común lenguaje de la nación.”
- 4 “Navegación y arbolado son obras dignas del gran Fernando. Caminos y canales facilitan el comercio interior, promueven la industria y causan la abundancia de los reinos.”
- 5 Architectural features in eighteenth-century gardens, often depicting Greek or Roman ruins.
- 6 “Policía para evitar palabras y acciones indecentes y groseras, concurrencias y diversiones perjudiciales a las costumbres y seguridad pública”
- 7 “a los concurrentes” la conveniencia de observar en su conducta “compostura y regularidad”
- 8 “las que siempre ha recomendado el gobierno para que sirvan de modelo en la nación”
- 9 “No se nos oculta la disposición de ánimo y modo de pensar que frecuentemente se observa en las cortes acerca de los trabajos literarios, especialmente de las gentes de provincia.”
- 10 “¿no podrá llamarse propiamente iluminado aquel siglo en que las luces de las ciencias se han esparcido universalmente por toda Europa, penetrando las oscuras y remotas provincias que hasta ahora se hallaban

envueltas en las más densas tinieblas? [En los siglos anteriores las Luces] no pudieron desterrar de las escuelas las tinieblas ni bastaron a iluminar las dos extremidades de Europa, esto es, el Septentrión y el Mediodía [...] Sólo en este siglo ha llegado a dominar en todas las provincias de la civilizada Europa el buen gusto en las letras humanas y en las ciencias.”

11 “aun a las mujeres y a las personas de la ínfima plebe.”

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# Enlightenment thinking, court sociability, and visual culture

Francisco de Goya, painter

*Jesusa Vega*

The advent of the Bourbon dynasty in 1700 resulted in a profound change in visual culture and artistic practices in Spain. The idea of decay, associated with the Hapsburgs, gave way to that of renovation and progress, giving rise to a new image of the monarchy and its subjects. A significant administrative and professional reorganization took place and because of this the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando—the new institution of French origin that was established in Madrid (1752)—took hold; and with it the regulation of artistic training, and the normalization of academic visual language. By the time of the war against Napoleon, the scope of these transformations can be considered as a process of acculturation. This idea of acculturation, revitalized in 1939, has prevailed in studies of Spanish eighteenth-century art until recently, which has fueled historiography in its rejection of the century for its “foreignness” and its embrace of the main figure of eighteenth-century Spanish art, Francisco de Goya, as the undisputed, independent, and unique Spanish genius. Goya has overshadowed everything and everybody around him. He has been considered the only artist who kept the “Spanishness” of Spanish art alive, personified by seventeenth-century painter Diego Velázquez, whose manner became the paradigm for the Spanish style in eighteenth-century Spain. In the following discussion, I will address two issues: historiography and Goya (his artistic training and practice, as well as his sociability).

## Art in the Enlightenment: A historiographic concern

The image of the Hapsburgs’ decadence, promoted by the Spanish Bourbon dynasty, reached the fine arts and contributed to a particular triumphant narrative of progress that culminated with the image of Carlos III (1759–1788) as the restorer of the Arts. This idea was expressed by the well-known enlightenment thinker, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744–1811), in his *Elogio de Carlos III* (1789). Nevertheless, this image of restoration was progressively fading. The popularity of Spanish identity was growing among the Spanish people while negative perceptions of French culture grew, and Carlos III’s legacy became completely obscured by Napoleon’s invasion of the Iberian Peninsula (1808–1814). By the end of the nineteenth century, Enlightenment proposals and ideas had grown alongside the intellectual and political movement of “regenerationism,” mainly because of the progressive educational project of the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* (ILE,

Free Educational Institute), created in 1876 and inspired by Krausist philosophy with the idea of renewing national education, particularly in leading universities.<sup>1</sup> In the twentieth century under Franco's dictatorship (1939–1975), the Enlightenment was condemned, exemplified in the article “Sobre el erasmismo” (On Erasmism) published by the Marquis of Lozoya in 1940. After Franco's death the “new” (democratic) Spain was considered a continuation of the Enlightenment (Molina 2016a, 347–353, 380–385), evident in the speech by the actor Fernando Fernán Gómez who played Carlos III's controversial minister the Marquis of Esquilache<sup>2</sup> in the film of the same title released in 1989.

The art historian, Falangist, and Catholic Juan Contreras, Marquis of Lozoya, was appointed *Director General de Bellas Artes* (General Director of Fine Arts) in 1939 and Director of the Diego Velázquez Institute of the *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas* (CSIC, Spanish National Research Council) in 1940, holding both positions until 1951. In the first issue of *Escorial* (November 1940), an elite publication of the Spanish *Falange de las JONS*,<sup>3</sup> Lozoya, dealing with Erasmism, remarks:

In Spain, the true disciples of Erasmus live in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. They are Carlos III's ministers, who suppressed the Society of Jesus; D. Félix María de Samaniego and D. Francisco de Goya, with their terrible satires against friars; D. Bartolomé Gallardo, with his *Diccionario Crítico Burlesco*, and the journalists of the *Cortes de Cádiz* and the “Constitutional Triennium” [...]. With its elegant and cautious secularism, with its skillful educational techniques and its sceptical irony towards the old aspirations of Spain, the *Institución Libre de Enseñanza* has been the posthumous and perhaps [...] the strongest outbreak of Erasmism [...]. Similarly eighteenth-century encyclopedism is offensive, and despite its cold attention to the art and landscapes of Spain, the ILE was opposed to Spanish genius.

(Marquis of Lozoya 1940, 176)<sup>4</sup>

After Franco's death, during Spain's transition to democracy, the Enlightenment began to be reevaluated. The film *Esquilache*, directed by Josefina Molina, was produced the year of the bicentenary of the death of Carlos III (1989). It is the cinematic version of *Un soñador para un pueblo* (A Dreamer for the People), a play released by Antonio Buero Vallejo in 1958<sup>5</sup>; one year before Jean Sarrailh's groundbreaking book, *La España ilustrada de la segunda mitad del siglo XVIII* (Enlightened Spain of the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century), was published in Mexico. Both works mark the turning point in the recovery of the Spanish Enlightenment, so deep is the debt of Spanish academics to the work of international Hispanists.

*Esquilache* is an exaltation of Carlos III, who embodied the Enlightenment —a referential period for socialist politicians who in 1986 created the National Commission “Carlos III and the Enlightenment” chaired by King Juan Carlos I. The socialist Minister of Culture, Javier Solana, architect of the new policy that sought “the rebuilding of an imagined Third Spain capable of contributing to the cultural modernization of the country”<sup>6</sup> (Quaggio 2014, 294), presented the project in this way:

We can assert today, that in Spain there was also a remarkable enlightened movement, that our country too was permeated by currents of European thought [...]. It is not a matter of a simple rhetorical commemoration but rather of contributing to deeper research and communicating to Spanish society the meaning and transcendence of one of the most engaging periods for reform in all areas of public and private life, for historical optimism and utopian speculation [...]. Finally, I believe that the recovery of the voices of our great Enlightenment

[... .] will not only reconcile us with excessively forgotten precedents, but also may affirm our hope in the modernizing of our society today.

(Quaggio 2014, 294–295)<sup>7</sup>

Solana's successor in the Ministry of Culture, Jorge Semprún, considered the eighteenth century a time of transition, when national cultural identity was sought with a "universalist projection that was not dissociated from the particularism of the individual." In Semprún's words, that historical period "germinated the founding values of modern coexistence" where different tendencies "sought to support themselves politically under the indisputable symbol of royal authority" (*Carlos III* 1988, I, 13). There is no doubt as to the timeliness of the *Esquilache* film and the contemporary relevance of its textual and visual interpretation. It was shot in the Royal Palace of Madrid and in the Royal Site of Aranjuez, and to establish period authenticity, or continuity, the main source was Goya's work. Settings and characters embodied the modern reality of Spain while the Enlightenment was recovered. Enlightenment mentality and art was the new feature in the idea of a "new Spain," that looked to Europe, facing down those belligerent dark forces that gazed with nostalgia to the times of Franco. In this context, Esquilache's speech in the film, delivered the evening before the popular riot that led to his political defeat, is apposite:

I am grateful to this Society of Friends of the Country [of Madrid] for the opportunity it affords me to express my perplexity, because, Gentlemen, I am almost an old man and I can assure you that not even the most chaste of maidens has told me, "No," so many times, as that part of the Spanish people who resists any innovation. If I pave, they say, "No," because it increases the cold. If I clean the streets, they say, "No," because filthy air protects from disease. If the bonfires of the Holy Office are extinguished, they say, "No," because the Devil is loosed [...] Friends, the king and his ministers dream of bringing up a new Spain. And we are going to put forth all our efforts, so that this desire becomes reality. We should not allow some to kill the dream of a whole country, because the dream, as is well said in an English tragedy, is the sweetest food that is served to the table of life. Long live the Enlightenment! Long live the Light!

(Molina 1989)<sup>8</sup>

The recovery of the Enlightenment as a period of scholarly attention has generated an enormous bibliography since 1986. This has affected art history, particularly in its treatment of Francisco de Goya, who according to Baudelaire in his poem *Les Phares* (The Beacons)—from his collection *Fleurs du mal* (1857; *Flowers of Evil*)—was a beacon of Modernity. Due to his origins, background, and success in the court of Madrid, and also because of his being a painter (rather than being known for other forms of art), Goya is the best example of an artist from the Spanish Enlightenment and the best-known artist from the Spanish Enlightenment. Paradoxically, Goya's recognition as a genius—a Romantic category still fully alive—has contributed to his being progressively isolated from his own time and context. Furthermore, his predominance has overshadowed practically all his contemporaries, making more difficult any approach to the visual art of the century. Mariano Salvador Maella and his lack of critical recognition is a good example. He received important commissions and shared with Goya the honor of being appointed First Chamber Painter by Carlos IV (Mano 2011, 19–27).

It should be kept in mind that, notwithstanding the importance of sculpture, painting reigned supreme among the fine arts in the eighteenth century. It is essential to remember two points: the relevance of Gian Domenico Olivieri, whose sculptural workshop oversaw

the decorative program conceived by Martín Sarmiento for the decoration of the new palace of Madrid (Tárraga 1992; Muniain Ederra 2000), and Felipe de Castro's effort to explain the importance of sculpture at the time of the creation of the Academy of San Fernando.

Felipe de Castro translated *La lección que hizo Benedicto Varqui en la Academia florentina en 1546* (Lesson Given by Benedicto Varqui in the Florentine Academia in 1546), at the time the Royal Academy of Fine Arts was being established (1744–1752). The treatise was published in 1752 in Madrid. In his dedication to José de Carvajal y Láncaster, Fernando VI's First Secretary of State, Castro explains his motives:

Most Excellent Sir, the reason for this translation has been the opinion expressed against sculpture by the painters of our nation solely based on having read in works of Francisco Pacheco, Vicencio Carducho, Don Juan de Jáuregui, Don Juan Butrón y Don Antonio Palomino, that painting is more honorable than sculpture [...]. He [Palomino] presumes to show that it is even going too far to consider sculpture as painting's younger sister. He states this with malice, never mentioning the Letter of Michelangelo, which rules on this matter in favor of sculpture.<sup>9</sup>

Castro's efforts were in vain. To verify this, it is enough to look to the primordial place that painting occupies in the *Elogio de las Bellas Artes* (In Praise of Fine Arts)—considered the first institutional discourse of modern artistic historiography—given by Jovellanos on July 14, 1781, at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts (Portús 2014, 7–41).<sup>10</sup>

Besides his professional occupation as a painter, there are several other reasons that make Goya an exemplary figure of the changes that took place during the Spanish Enlightenment: first, his provincial origin and training in a local master's workshop (José Luzán); second, his aspirations and professional achievements in both the Royal Academy and the court identify him with social success; third, his concerns and curiosity that lead him to explore new techniques and subjects characteristic of an enlightened spirit. Nevertheless, the development and achievement of that enlightened spirit had much to do with Goya's relationship with the Prime Minister, Floridablanca, and the time spent with Carlos III's younger brother, Infante Don Luis and his family, as well as his friendship with several members of the Royal Aragonese Society of Friends of the Country and other respected figures of enlightened Madrid society such as the aforementioned Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, the painter Luis Meléndez, and the playwright Leandro Fernández de Moratín.

Goya's long and productive life and his art span the reigns of four consecutive monarchs: Fernando VI, the founder of the Royal Academy of San Fernando (the institution in charge of the regulation of artistic training and taste); Carlos III, promoter of greatly ambitious constructive, decorative, and propagandist endeavors, many of them located in Madrid; Carlos IV, paradigm of sophistication in artistic luxury and taste; and Fernando VII, the retrograde who used the past to bolster his prestige during a reign without glory.

As is well known, "the sumptuous building for the General Academy of Sciences," which was being built "with so much zeal" at the Prado Salon (*Memorial Literario*, November 1788, 491), ultimately was to be the Royal Museum of Painting and Sculpture. Opened in 1819, the Prado Museum represented the triumph of art at the expense of science, which never succeeded in creating support structures that would enhance its relevance and progress (Ten 1990, 364). Thanks to the academy, artists would become professors and receive the distinction of *Don*, having the opportunity for social promotions and rewards for services rendered to the crown. On the whole, teachers of fine arts in Spain constituted one of the new meritocracies on which the rising contemporary social structure was founded.

In art historian Enrique Lafuente Ferrari's opinion, following the philologist Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo and the French hispanist Louis Viardot, all these novelties made the Spanish eighteenth century a time of "the invasion of foreign art" (Lafuente Ferrari 1936, 143). Lafuente Ferrari further developed this idea in his books *Breve historia de la pintura española*, and *Antecedentes, coincidencias e influencias del arte de Goya* (A Brief History of Spanish Painting; Antecedents, Coincidences and Influences in Goya's Art), both seminal studies of the period. In his opinion, beyond the unquestionable decadence of artistic production which took place in the eighteenth century, was the lack of understanding of Spanishness, thus making "decadence" and "Spanishness" two contentious issues to further consider.

At the end of the seventeenth century a large number of Spaniards felt that their society was in the grip of decadence. This opinion had been reinforced by the end of the eighteenth century by the writings of, among others, Jovellanos and Antonio Ponz in his *Viaje de España* (1772–1794; Journey through Spain), Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, author of the *Diccionario de Profesores de las Bellas Artes* (1800; Dictionary of Professors of Fine Arts), and the concerns about heritage and monuments voiced by Isidoro Bosarte.<sup>11</sup> Artists who had achieved glory—such as Luca Giordano in painting and José Churriguera in architecture—and quintessential artistic ensembles of Hispanic sculptural creativity—such as the baroque polychrome altarpieces—, became synonymous with ignorance and decaying society, corruption of taste, and irrationality.

Regarding the concept of Spanishness, paradoxically the feeling of nationhood was born in the course of the century that Lafuente Ferrari has rejected for its "foreignness." By the end of the century that feeling was obvious. The defense of Spanish culture, in which art would have a privileged place (Géal 2005, 44–49 and 57–59; Crespo Delgado 2012, 361–379), was a trend to which all enlightened people were committed, especially after Masson de Morvilliers's controversial 1782 article on Spain in the *Encyclopédie méthodique*.<sup>12</sup> It is in this context that a heritage was born, although it would have a critical and selective character. There would be items and monuments worthy of being known and emulated, as well as those which would be seen as having to be eradicated and forgotten. To this inherited wealth, new contemporary endeavors would be added in order to enrich and contribute to the continuity of that legacy, thereby enlarging the prestige of the nation. Consistent with this mentality, the existence of a Spanish school of painting would be promoted. Thus, Spanish intellectuals would show their preoccupation with the general concerns of the century of reason. The concept of national schools was established during the Enlightenment as a criterion for ordering and systematization within galleries throughout Europe.

The concept of the Spanish school showed Spanish scholars' narrative capacity for naturalizing both the greatness of the past, embodied by Velázquez and naturalism, and the cosmopolitan good taste of classicism as an expression of civilization and progress. This good taste was enunciated by Carlos III's First Chamber Painter, the Bohemian artist Anton Rafael Mengs (1766–1779). As Portús (2016, 178) points out, this new concept was formulated by Antonio Palomino in the *Museo Pictórico y Escala óptica* (1724; Pictorial Museum and Optical Scale); and, as Géal (2005, 40–42) observes, its evolution shows how Enlightenment mentality progressed: the initial idea of demonstrating the liberal character of painting becomes a critical framework for description and recording.

One of the main difficulties in defining the Spanish school was to overcome Mengs's view that relegated Velázquez's art to a minor place, considering him a mere "imitator of nature" as opposed to Raphael and other masters of "ideal beauty."<sup>13</sup> Crucially, Jovellanos—Velázquez's profound admirer—, whose mentality was firmly based on classicism (Portús 2012, 94), would formulate the historical discourse that created a sense of identity based on a distinct tradition.

Jovellanos's discourse is not a mere expression of the development of painting in Spain, it is a vindication of Spanish painting.

Jovellanos's defense of naturalism exalts Velázquez as its supreme master. From this moment on, those international masters who either worked in Spain, or who undertook Spanish commissions would be on the periphery of Spanish art (Portús 2016, 181–182). Needless to say, in Jovellanos's eyes, Goya was already the worthy heir of Velázquez. However, it is even more relevant that Goya appreciated Mengs together with Velázquez as his masters. This is the greatest expression of Goya's ability to bring together, in his own manner, these two ways of seeing and painting.

Art historians, including Lafuente Ferrari, easily identified in Goya the continuity of the genuine Spanish school that ignored academic art. Goya was an “amazing phenomena,” a “genius of great magnitude,” in the middle of an exhausted Spain due to the “poverty of spirit and foreignness brought by the Bourbons,” and Goya expressed through his art the goals and concerns of the epoch and “opened up new avenues” (Lafuente Ferrari 1936, 151). It is the historian's responsibility to identify the extent of Goya's expression of those goals and concerns, bearing in mind that any discourse is shaped by the approach and mentality of its context.

The claim that Goya cannot be explained without a knowledge of his time has been made by such opposed personalities as Juan Antonio Gaya Nuño and Javier Sánchez Cantón, both determined to value and champion that reviled and forgotten century. However, the turning point was Nigel Glendinning's *Goya and His Critics* (1977). This book changed the modern interpretation of the artist, since it showed the successive distortions that had been built up at the expense of Goya and his work, as well as how some of them have endured to the present.

The 1988 exhibition *Goya and the Spirit of the Enlightenment* was the last major example to capitalize on the methodology and research developed by Glendinning (Symmons 2017, LXVII–LXVIII).<sup>14</sup> However, that exhibition also expressed once again that “new Spain” eagerly sought by Spanish Socialist politicians. As the directors of the three museums that hosted the exhibition —the Museo del Prado (Madrid), Museum of Fine Arts (Boston) and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York) — wrote in the foreword to the catalogue. In 1988 there were feelings shared between contemporary Spain and that of Goya's time, feelings like “the liberal ideals of popular sovereignty, government by law, and freedom of expression that spawned the Spanish Constitution” (Pérez Sánchez and Sayre 1989, xi)—the 1812 Constitution for the painter, and the 1978 constitution for us.

## Goya in context: Court sociability and visual culture

It is not difficult to understand that the dynastic change that took place in 1700 was a process of acculturation for a section of the Spanish people. The differences in traditions between Hapsburgs and Bourbons were clearly evident. Their dress is one such indicator, because it expressed the cultural and administrative reforms that took place throughout the century. The black attire and Spanish rigid collar (*golilla*) worn by Carlos II gave way to Felipe V's attire: cravat, colored coat, and wig. The new figure of the king, from the Almansa battle (1707), was completely accepted by the time of Carlos III. The wearing of the *golilla* became exclusive to authority, from high dignities, like the magistrate Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes, to the lowest constable in charge of maintaining public order. Due to the outdated and decadent associations with the *golilla*, it was often ridiculed; Goya's bitter compositions in the *Caprichos* (1799) are excellent examples (Molina and Vega 2004).

Fashion was a matter of decorum, modernity and civilization in court, and Goya decided to embody all of these. This decision informed his themes and creative abilities but went beyond his art to influence his professional practice, social relationships and private life. A look at his

earlier self-portraits shows the transformation that took place in the artist due to his improving career and sociability.

When Goya settled in Madrid in 1775, his main concern was his art and career. Like any other painter of the time, he succumbed to the influence of Mengs, known by his contemporaries as the “philosopher painter” for his theoretical and scientific approach to painting. This situation has been described as the “Mengs phenomenon” (Úbeda de los Cobos 2001, 99–286). For this reason, it is not surprising that at the outset of his career in court he represents himself in a very similar way to Mengs’s portrait (Museo Ibercaja, Zaragoza). But soon Goya brings us closer to his new social role in *La novillada*, a cartoon from 1780 (Museo del Prado, Madrid), in which Goya depicted himself in majo-matador costume.<sup>15</sup> Bullfighting was a recreational pursuit enjoyed by both nobility and commoner, and that attire was worn across all strata of society.

Goya’s growing sensitivity to Enlightenment ideas can be appreciated in 1783 when he painted himself among the pious attendees at the oration given by San Bernardino of Siena in the altarpiece of San Francisco El Grande (Madrid). The eighteenth-century mentality brought with it new reformed religious practices. Piety in Enlightenment Spain was something that distinguished it from other countries. Secularizing tendencies in the eighteenth century encouraged strong processes of de-Christianization throughout Europe. This was not the case, however, in the Spanish Bourbon court, all of whom were people of faith, Carlos III being a truly pious man. Nevertheless, innovations which established a new balance in Church-State relations were introduced with the Concordat of 1753, which minimized the power of the Pope in Spain and led to major reforms, from the way of designing churches to a more direct and closer relationship with divinity, trying to eradicate superstitions and false beliefs, as well as teaching more restrained devotional practices.

As opposed to Baroque histrionics, simplicity would prevail. Expressive gestures give way to decorous scenes of serene emotion. In painting, chiaroscuro effects would be abandoned in favor of soft transitions where, in general, there is no absolute darkness, meanwhile the artist’s palette would be lightened, and brush-strokes softened. Themes are represented in enjoyable and exemplary ways, to focus the Christian spirit on God, the Supreme Maker. For the enlightened faithful, God is the creator of nature, and nature is the continuous source of knowledge and progress. Then, in the same way that clear, moral, and evangelical sermons were demanded from priests, art was asked for scrupulousness and iconographic clarity; accordingly, artists had to undertake rigorous research themselves before starting work.

It was in this cultural context that the Castilian translation from Latin of Juan Interián de Ayala’s *El Pintor cristiano y erudito* (The Erudite Christian Painter), was published in 1782. In his treatise, the author deals with an important feature of sociability: the decorum any artist should keep, related to religious life. That very year, the duchess of Villahermosa, speaking of Francisco Bayeu, states: “I am truly interested in this man, because in addition to his skill he is a very good Christian and very devoted to the Blessed Virgin, and has a gift for painting her” (Mano 2011, 159–163).

This assessment contrasts with the opinion soon provoked by the religious painting of Bayeu’s brother-in-law, Goya. He gained an early reputation as a skeptical painter. This was a consequence of his criticism of the Church and the Inquisition, his free treatment of religious subjects, and his innovative approach to painting—emblematic are the frescoes in the church of San Antonio de la Florida (1798). The reaction to Goya’s art revitalized the idea that to be true and faithful, painters must be devout, and at the same time this led to later interpretations of Goya’s religious art as empty of emotion, when it is not considered as a mere mockery; but these opinions were not shared by his contemporaries.<sup>16</sup>

To return to Goya's self-portraits: in his maturity, he depicted himself as a man of fashion. It is known that in the 1780's he wore a wig, mostly to attend professional matters, but by the end of the decade he sported a ponytail that revealed his long sideburns, wearing glasses and a brilliant colored silk coat (Musée Goya, Castres). Dressed this way, Goya was ready for walking and visiting friends, real occasions for modern sociability, showcases of vanity where it was as important to be seen gazing as to be gazed at. Thanks to the correspondence with his childhood friend Martín Zapater (Vega 2013), we learn that Goya progressively cultivated a "civilization suit" as he became socially recognized; and the process was accelerated due to the dizzying pace at which he lived his life, another feature of modernity. Goya was one of many, since that same process was true of most of his contemporaries.

## Renovation, changes, and normative visual language

Nothing of Spanish art and Goya's ambitions would have been possible if Felipe V had not adopted, from the beginning of his reign, initiatives and reforms for the promotion, regulation and development of art. The incorporation of French artists into the service of the king introduced novelties into artistic practice, especially in the genre of portraiture, and also into the skills and services of chamber painters, putting an end to their service being restricted to the king (Aterido 2015, 346–357). Beyond the ups and downs due to the difficulties of the public treasury, the artistic activity developed by the crown and its new policies would be enormous. Working for the king would give prestige and security: the artist would not have to mobilize himself to look for commissions, and in old age would enjoy a pension.

In order to produce wealth, revitalize the domestic market and slow down the importation of goods, Felipe V signed a decree on December 4th, 1705, to invigorate trade and consumption, and to increase the training of artisans and the quality of manufacturing (Bolaños 2002). The royal factories of glass, tapestry and porcelain were a consequence of that policy. They were centers of research and experimentation where science and art met (Manufacturas 1993). These factories became benchmarks of quality because they developed models of economic management, and with the quality, modernity, usefulness, and beauty of their products, they advanced the spread of "good taste" (Vega 2011, 53–83).

With the arrival from Antwerp, in 1720, of Jacobo Vandergoten the Elder and his family, the Royal Tapestry Factory became a reality, and it gained new impetus in 1760, when the Dye Works (Oficina del Tinte), a true center for color research, was established. The Vandergoten family is an example of royal magnanimity and the prosperity of the arts. This family was an example of both the new consumer society and of the emulation of the upper class in daily life. The Vandergotens belonged to that part of the population who did not have noble titles but prospered economically, from bankers and great merchants to well established artists, artisans, mechanics, day-laborers, etc. Livinio Stuyck Vandergoten, Jacobo's heir and director of the Royal Tapestry Factory from 1786, came into an inheritance of half a million *reales*: eight houses, furniture, clothing, dresses, jewelry, carpets, tapestries and carriages (Nieto 2006, 304). His family had arrived in Madrid in 1720 having been deprived of all their goods (Herrero 2000, 13).

Goya began working for the king, Carlos III, at the Royal Tapestry Factory under the direction of Mengs and the direct supervision of Francisco Bayeu. Mengs was responsible for updating themes, models and forms. The designs Goya submitted to the director of the factory show how the new palaces were envisaged: themes were developed in different tapestries which were framed and fixed to the walls (not hanging loose). The idea of permanence made room decoration an assemblage that had to be conceived as a whole, taking into account the furniture, mirrors and cornucopias to complete the visual effect. Room decoration paralleled the

transformation that took place in the distribution of domestic space, in which reception rooms were crucial for new practices of sociability: visits from relatives, friends, and acquaintances, as well as evening soirees where the participants enjoyed conversation, shared hobbies, played games, listened to music, danced, enacted plays, etc. (Molina 2013, 275–342).

In the second half of eighteenth century, a significant increase in real estate activity took place, not only the construction of new palaces or the renovation of existing ones, but also of other residential buildings that bolstered the main cities' urban frameworks. Being built in a modern way meant that the habitability of the space needed to be adapted to new demands, among which was the succession of smaller rooms, in which adornment would be fundamental. A new figure was to emerge: the decorator, or specialist in designing and laying out rooms. This activity was not carried out by professors of painting, although paint was usually involved. Goya remarked on this in one of his letters to his friend Zapater.

Decorators advertised their services, and from their ads we learn that they provided a unified vision of walls, ceilings, doors, and windows. They offered to paint (oil or tempera), wallpaper, or upholster with silk or other fabrics the walls and adorn them with all manner of friezes and ornaments made of wood, bronze, or plaster, in which gold coloring would prevail in order to obtain an effect of splendor and wealth without any kind of moral story or conceptual theme.<sup>17</sup> As was to be expected, criticism promptly arose from enlightened people against these new trends that displaced the fine arts, especially painting and sculpture. Ponz, in his prologue to his volume on Madrid (published 1776), expressed it in these terms:

As for paintings, it is true that in Madrid there are many pictures—and some by classical authors—, aside from those belonging to his majesty; but there were more in the past, until adults and young people decided to follow the fashion, not to say the madness, of stripping their houses of these placid ornaments, valuing more a row of rooms covered in fabrics and ridiculous carvings, in which there is nothing to feed the imagination, as did those wonderful objects executed by unfettered genius. These works represented great events and famous people, and assure that learned men are always in good company inside their own rooms.

(Ponz 1776, v, xvii–xviii)<sup>18</sup>

Imagination was the great value that Goya claimed for the first paintings he presented to the Royal Academy in 1794, while he was recovering from his illness. According to Ponz, imagination marks the difference between fine arts and the new arts and manufacturing. The latter were another face of progress and they also needed to be released from the guilds. Jovellanos insists on the putting to an end to guild organizations in his *Informe sobre el libre ejercicio de las artes* (Report on the Free Exercise of the Arts) in 1785:

The creation of new arts can only be a result of freedom. In freedom ingenuity —favored and stimulated by interest—, observes, rehearses, invents, imitates, produces new forms, and creates objects that, due to their novelty, are looked for by consumers with pleasures and taste. The technical rules of guild legislation, the jealous eyes of other masters, and the hungry vigilance of guild supervisors and their acolytes, constantly intimidate ingenuity and dissuade it from these useful but risky attempts.

(Jovellanos 2000, 443)<sup>19</sup>

Ponz's and Jovellanos's opinions bring to the fore one of the many contradictions of the Spanish Enlightenment concerning the arts: the confrontation between the imagination of the

artist and the ingenuity of the craftsmen, although both were necessary. In this context, the creation of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts can be better understood. This institution is, once again, linked to Felipe V, but also to the fire that ruined the Alcázar, the Habsburgs' palace, in 1734. This timely fire allowed the Bourbons to build a symbolic factory which recalled both their French origins and their desire for modernity. It also led to an urban renewal of the capital, providing a new design for, and extension to, the Salón del Prado, the fashionable political and representative space of the city. It was furnished with fountains in honor of the goddess Cybele, and the gods Apollo and Neptune, and enriched with the shrines devoted to science: the botanic garden, the observatory, and the museum of sciences (eventually this would be devoted to painting and sculpture) (Lopezosa 2006, 205–259).

Although the definitive statutes of the Royal Academy were approved in 1757 under Fernando VI, its origin is in the private academy of the aforementioned Juan Domingo Olivieri who always enjoyed the protection of Felipe V.<sup>20</sup> The delay to the project was because, despite the unequivocally cosmopolitan and international spirit that animated the Academy as an institution, the difficulty of setting a model was enormous. There was a real confrontation between the French utilitarian and the artistic spirit of a Tuscan/Roman model. That is, between the supporters of the Bourbon governmental model proposed by Colbert, and those who advocated the Italian manner, the *accademia del disegno* (design academy), whose reference in the eighteenth century was the *Accademia di San Luca* in Rome. Finally, the model followed was that of the French, although with nuances, and the policy was similar to that which had been established for those in science: sending young people abroad with bursaries (mostly to Rome and Paris) and employing major artists to work in Madrid. In this case, the main figure would be Mengs.

The Academy was the instrument for controlling the Fine Arts, which were considered a state matter. Once the importance of drawing was established, the *raison d'être* of the Royal Academy was to contribute to the progress and transmission of knowledge, both irreplaceable pillars of an education in “good taste.” A new network of knowledge and professional practices was established in regard to both crafts and fine arts. It would be the model from which multiple academies and drawing schools would be created around the country, which would follow the organization of the original institution, neutralizing the power of the guilds. On the other hand, the new teaching system, in addition to awarding qualifications, helped to clarify professional competences and define responsibilities. Finally, one peculiarity of the Spanish Royal Academy was that engraving was held in equal esteem to other fine arts.

The state policy of the promotion of printmaking was to ensure the training of engravers in order to generate a school, in which the teaching of Manuel Salvador Carmona was crucial. After being funded in Paris for ten years, he brought to Spain the elegance and quality of the *taille-douce* and, once appointed Director of Engraving at the Academy, devoted himself to its teaching (Carrete 1989). *Taille-douce* (copper plate engraving) was the Enlightenment art *par excellence*. Without it, progress and the eradication of ignorance would have been impossible, and consequently, life would have been less comfortable and more boring. The best visual testimony is found in the print series entitled *Españoles Ilustres con un epítome de sus vidas* (Illustrious Spaniards and the Epitome of their Lives), a collection whose development not only shows the scope of the state protection that this art enjoyed—to which the creation of the *Real Calcografía* (Royal Engraving and Print Factory) 1789 greatly contributed (Carrete 1987, 524–558)—but it also promoted historical memory and the defense of the Spanish contribution to European civilization (Molina 2016b).

The *Españoles Ilustres* series, besides being entirely male dominated, exalted each of the arts through its illustrations of important figures. The exaltation of drawing, the basis of the arts, is embodied by an illustration of Murillo with a pen, and instead of a painting, shows a study of a

human figure drawn from nature, the highest stage in this discipline. Juan de Herrera represents architecture: the solid pillars of science, theory and practice on which his art is based are represented by the centralized plan, the treatises by Vitruvius, and the compass. Diego Velázquez embodies painting, but in his portrait his position as a high member of the court is emphasized by the key he carries—the painter was Felipe IV's royal steward. Alonso Cano symbolizes sculpture and the problem of *paragone*,<sup>21</sup> a sensitive matter to these masters. Finally, José Ribera shows a print, the great medium of visual communication, asserting his status as a printmaker and not as a painter. Ribera is referential to printmaking and allows its history in Spain to be traced, legitimizing its nobility and its status as a fine art. Wise men and connoisseurs of the arts are also represented in the series by Pablo de Céspedes with writing tools, inkpot, and quill.

The change of attitude to prints was felt in the libraries and study rooms of the amateurs of science, crafts, and fine arts, as well as in the market, and in the decoration of rooms and public spaces—among which ministerial offices must be emphasized. Statesmen were aware of the importance of prints as a media agent for spreading those major changes that were taking place in Spain under Carlos III's rule. When the English diplomat Lord Grantham visited the Prime Minister, Count Floridablanca, in his office in 1778 (Glendinning, Harris, and Russel 1999, 601), the room was adorned with a selection of prints: *Vistas de Aranjuez* (1773–1775; Views of Aranjuez); *Trajes de España* (Clothing of Spain) by Juan de la Cruz Cano y Olmedilla (began 1777); and Goya's etchings after Velázquez paintings (1778). The first collection had been a royal commission, the last two were the artists' own initiatives encouraged by State policy, and all of them were intended to show to the world the new image of Spain. Floridablanca's office adornment was an ensemble of political propaganda. The selection was dedicated to the greater glory of the monarchy, showing its palaces, its people and its culture. Needless to say, Grantham's testimony proves the effectiveness of Floridablanca's strategy. Meanwhile, for Goya, to have etched Velázquez's paintings might well have been appreciated by the king, but his initiative brought him conflicts, since it could be considered a professional intrusion, as he was a painter not an engraver.

Finally, in 1789 the *Compañía para el grabado de los cuadros de los reales palacios* (Company for Engraving the Royal Painting Collection) was established and the work undertaken by professional printmakers, and Goya never carried out this kind of work again. However, this initiative was the very beginning of Goya's printmaking: first he learned how to etch, soon he introduced aquatint, and he became a master of both, but neither of them had a place among the Academy's preferences. By the end of the eighteenth century this institution was outdated. When the renovation of the curriculum was under consideration in 1792, it became clear that the institution was unable to formalize a project with any future: the balance between old and new, tradition and innovation, had vanished. This explained both Goya's failure in enforcing his ideas in the Academy, and his aesthetic position (*Real Academia* 1992).

In the document written by Goya, we see, again, a defense of painting as a liberal art, although now he is not confronting guilds, but rather the Academy. In the painter's opinion, that institution ended up demeaning and effeminizing painting, bringing about "the oppression or enforced servility of making everyone study or follow the same path."<sup>22</sup> The background of this debate is again Mengs as an authoritative figure and his concept of beauty formulated as the "taste of the Ancients" (*gusto de los antiguos*), that could be called the "taste of beauty" (Mengs 1780, 53; *gusto de la belleza*).

Goya was openly opposed to the way in which the academic institution had emasculated this "taste of the Ancients" without understanding that the excellence of ancient sculpture was testimony to both the greatness of the artists and the diversity and perfection of Nature. In Mengs' words: "notwithstanding that their works, as executed by men, are imperfect, nevertheless they

embody perfect taste” (Mengs 1780: 53).<sup>23</sup> Hence, Goya’s expressive lament: “What greater scandal can be imagined than hearing Nature disparaged before Greek statues, by those who know neither one nor the other”<sup>24</sup> (Glendinning 2017, 78).

The lesson of Antiquity was alive in Goya all his life. We recognize it in his prolific art, but never was it as present, nor as necessary to the painter, as in the most difficult period of his existence, the years of war against Napoleon (Vega 2014, 568–570). Recorded in Goya’s work of those years are the hardships and pains of that long struggle, which the painter called “bloody” (*sangrienta*); a unique and brutal adjective that refers to “absolute war,” the consequence of “pure hate,” where the fight is life or death (Santiáñez 2009: 39, 77, 84 and 109). During this brutal crisis, Goya gave birth to new iconographies by which he showed how the Enlightenment of modern life had turned to darkness. Nevertheless, there was also a prominent place for patriotism in that heroic struggle of the Spanish people against the French invaders. This subject is manifest in his drawings, prints and paintings. Goya, beacon of Modernity, created images that visualized patriotic writings and poems, such as the *Colossus*, and *The Eagle*<sup>25</sup>—probably its companion, whose whereabouts nowadays are unknown (Glendinning 2004). But above all, he left us compositions and scenes that still move us because he was able to portray the best and the worst of human nature in times of transition, in the modern day.

## Notes

- 1 Karl Christian Friedrich Krause (1781–1832) advocated doctrinal tolerance and academic freedom from religious dogma.
- 2 Leopoldo de Gregorio, Marquis of Squillace (hispanicized as Esquilache), was born in Messina (Italy). He arrived in Spain when Carlos III became King in 1759. He was the king’s confidant who helped usher in many Enlightenment reforms that were openly rejected by the nobility and the populace. High prices, a lack of bread and unpopular reforms provoked an uprising in 1766 causing Squillace’s fall from grace and exit from Spain.
- 3 The new Falange organization set up by Franco after the Civil War.
- 4 This and all translations are my own. “En España, los verdaderos discípulos de Erasmo viven en las postrimerías del siglo XVIII y en los comienzos del XIX. Son los ministros de Carlos III, que disuelven la Compañía de Jesús; D. Félix María de Samaniego y D. Francisco de Goya, con sus terribles sátiras antifrailunas; D. Bartolomé Gallardo, con su *Diccionario Crítico Burlesco*, y los periodistas de las Cortes de Cádiz y del trienio liberal [...] Con su laicismo elegante y cauteloso, con sus hábiles procedimientos pedagógicos y su escéptica ironía para todos los viejos ideales de España, la Institución Libre de Enseñanza ha sido el póstumo y acaso [...] el más fuerte de los brotes erasmistas [...] Como la ofensiva enciclopedista del siglo XVIII, la Institución Libre de Enseñanza, a pesar de su fría atención por el arte y por los paisajes de España, eran en absoluto opuesto al genio español.”
- 5 Molina saw the performance in 1958 and commissioned the film script from the author in 1986 (Massó Castilla y Deltell Escolar 2011, 238–243).
- 6 “Reconstrucción del imaginario de una Tercera España capaz de contribuir a la modernización cultural del país.”
- 7 “Podemos afirmar hoy que en España también se dio un notable movimiento ilustrado, que también nuestro país fue penetrado por las corrientes del pensamiento europeo [...] No se trata de recaer en una conmemoración retórica sino de contribuir a una mayor profundización de las investigaciones, y de forma muy especial, de comunicar a la sociedad española el significado y la trascendencia de una de las épocas más sugestivas tanto por las reformas en todos los ámbitos de la vida pública y privada como por el espíritu de optimismo histórico y de formulaciones utópicas [...] Finalmente, creo que la recuperación de las voces de nuestros grandes ilustrados [...] no solo nos reconciliarán con unos precedentes excesivamente olvidados sino que incluso podrán afirmarnos en las esperanzas modernizadoras de nuestra sociedad en estos momentos.”
- 8 “Agradezco a esta sociedad de Amigos del País la oportunidad que me brinda de manifestar mi perplejidad, porque señores soy casi un anciano y les puedo asegurar que ni la más casta de las doncellas me ha dicho no tantas veces como esa parte del pueblo español que se resiste a cualquier innovación.

- Si les pongo empedrado dicen no, porque el frío aumenta. Si les limpio las calles, dicen no porque el aire inmundado protege de la enfermedad. Si se apagan las hogueras del Santo Oficio, dicen no porque el demonio anda suelto [...] Amigos el rey y sus ministros soñamos con moderar una España nueva. Y vamos a poner todo nuestro empeño para que este deseo se convierta en realidad, no permitamos que unos cuantos asesinen el sueño de todo un país, porque el sueño como bien se dice en una tragedia inglesa, es el alimento más dulce que se sirve a la mesa de la vida ¡Viva la Ilustración! ¡Vivan las luces!”
- 9 “La causa de esta traducción Señor Excelentísimo, ha sido el ver a los Pintores de nuestra Nación opinar contra la Escultura, sin otro fundamento, que haber leído en Francisco Pacheco, Vicencio Carducho, Don Juan de Jáuregui, Don Juan Butrón y Don Antonio Palomino, que la Pintura es más digna que la Escultura [...] y presume demostrar [Palomino], que aún el ser la Escultura hermana menor de la Pintura, le vendrá muy ancho; pero con malicia, ocultando siempre la Carta de Michael Ángel, que decide esta cuestión a favor de la Escultura.”
  - 10 Similar and equally valuable, but referring to architecture, is his *Elogio de Ventura Rodríguez*, delivered at the Society of Friends of the Country of Madrid in 1788.
  - 11 Concerning the state policy on the fine arts and historical memory, it is essential to take into account the work developed by the Royal Academy of History, created by Felipe V in 1738.
  - 12 See Donato and Romero’s essay in this volume on the *Encyclopédie Méthodique* and the Masson de Morvilliers affair.
  - 13 On this matter, see Portús (2000, 97–114).
  - 14 Goya has become an international artistic phenomenon. Today, media interest centers almost exclusively on questions of authorship and market value.
  - 15 *Majos* were typically Madrid commoners, sometimes associated with bullfighting, who dressed in a traditional Spanish style. See Molina and Vega (2004), Zanardi (2016) and Rebecca Haidt’s chapter in this volume for more on this historically-based character type of popular art and theater.
  - 16 To approach Goya’s religious work without these prejudices it is enough to understand that it is not like that; this opinion was shared by his friend Martín Zapater and Francisco Sabatini, the architect.
  - 17 There is no space to discuss the debate on luxury, a topic that worried the Spanish Enlightenment—undecided between the morality and the benefits produced by manufacturing, on progress and civilization.
  - 18 “En cuanto a pinturas, es cierto que en Madrid las hay de muchos, y de clásicos Autores, fuera de las que tiene S. M. pero más hubo por lo pasado, hasta que entró en grandes, y chicos, la moda, por no decir la locura, de despojar sus casas de estos apacibles ornamentos, estimando en más una enfilada de piezas cubiertas de tejidos, y ridículas tallas, en que nada hay que alimente la imaginación, como en aquellos objetos maravillosos, ejecutados por ingenios peregrinos, los cuales representándonos grandes acaecimientos, y personajes famosos, no dejan que los hombres instruidos estén solos dentro de sus cuartos.”
  - 19 “La creación de nuevas artes solo puede ser un efecto de libertad. El ingenio, al favor de ella y estimulado por el interés, observa, ensaya, inventa, imita, produce nuevas formas, y crea finalmente objetos que al favor de la novedad, se buscan y recompensan con gusto por el consumidor. Pero las reglas técnicas de la legislación gremial, el ojo envidioso de los demás maestros, y la hambrienta vigilancia de los veedores y sus satélites, amedrentan continuamente el ingenio y lo retraen de estas útiles, pero peligrosas tentativas.”
  - 20 For the origin and development of the Academy, see Bédar (1989).
  - 21 This refers to the competition between the arts for supremacy, a debate started among the theorists and artists of the Italian Renaissance and that lasted, as can be seen, until the eighteenth century, above all in relation to the order of prevalence between painting and sculpture.
  - 22 “La opresión u obligación servil de hacer estudiar o seguir a todos por un mismo camino.”
  - 23 “No obstante que sus obras, como ejecutadas por los hombres, sean imperfectas, tienen sin embargo el Gusto de la perfección.”
  - 24 “Qué escándalo no causará, el oír despreciar la naturaleza en comparación de las Estatuas Griegas, por quien no conoce ni lo uno ni lo otro.”
  - 25 The Imperial Eagle was Napoleon’s standard that led his armies into battle.

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# “Open the door so that misery may leave”

## Artisan education and the Royal Academy of San Carlos in late-eighteenth-century Mexico City

*Susan Deans-Smith*

In his *Instrucción* to his successor in 1794, Viceroy Revillagigedo (r. 1789–1794) complained about the backwardness of the arts and crafts in the viceroyalty of New Spain due to the guilds’ inadequate training and their outdated methods of production. An exception to this criticism, however, was the silversmiths’ guild, which was thriving. According to Revillagigedo, one of Mexico City’s flagship Enlightenment spaces, the Royal Academy of San Carlos (hereafter RASC) “has provided many advantages [to this profession]. The silversmiths send their apprentices [to the academy] and this useful practice could be extended to other crafts for which an understanding of the basics of drawing would be very beneficial” (1831, n.p.).

Revillagigedo penned this optimistic assessment four years after the proclamation of an order that required certification in competency in drawing by the RASC before journeymen silversmiths could sit the guild exam to become master silversmiths as well as mandatory attendance by apprentices at academy evening classes for two years. His assessment, however, elides a much more complicated relationship between the silversmiths’ guild, the RASC and Spanish colonial government. In 1797, the silversmiths’ guild suspended enforcement of the mandatory attendance order, ostensibly a temporary measure, but which turned out to be permanent.

This case study of the silversmiths’ guild of Mexico City allows us to interrogate how artisans and colonial officials alike confronted the practical implementation of educational initiatives designed to improve the training of artisans based on Enlightenment principles, especially those that privileged the practical and the useful. Gabriel Sánchez Espinosa, for example, has emphasized “utilitarianism and utopian thought [as] characteristic of the best of the Spanish Enlightenment” (2009, 189). Improved training for artisans to encourage technological innovation, productivity and patriotism, as well as the elevation of their status lay at the core of Enlightenment principles (Benhamou 2009, 128). Diderot’s and D’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie* constituted a canonical expression of these impulses, a “campaign for a rehabilitation of the mechanical arts” (211). How artisans experienced and participated in the shaping of Enlightenment projects, however, is poorly understood (Miller 1998). Revisionist interpretations have emphasized the importance

of trying to capture the “lived” or “practiced” experience of Enlightenment projects and to challenge assumptions that privilege the *philosophes* and literary elites solely as enlightened subjects (Caradonna 2012). Bianca Premo, for example, reconstructs the development of a legal Enlightenment in the Spanish Empire through the lens of ordinary people—“even those who could not read and write” (2017, 9). Particularly important for my concerns is Paola Bertucci’s recent study of French artisans in which she makes the case for an “artisanal Enlightenment” (2017, 4). She suggests that the Enlightenment should be seen as “a work in progress to which a multiplicity of actors laid claims [...] and [to understand] the world of making in the development of key Enlightenment notions, such as improvement, useful knowledge, good taste, and progress” (2017, 7). Equally relevant are Richard Sennett’s reflections on the “enlightened craftsman” (2008, 86–106), material culture, and the relationship between the work of the mind and the hand; as he puts it: “making as thinking” (n.p.).

Building on these arguments, I consider how silversmiths’ engagement with Enlightenment influences is inextricably linked to the visual expression of them, that of neoclassicism, precisely the style through which the Bourbons desired their “modernity” to be fashioned. Shaped by the rejection of the Baroque’s ostentatious excesses and Rococo’s frivolity, neoclassicism espoused expressions of order, symmetry, rationalism, decorum, ideal beauty, and high morality. The silversmiths of eighteenth-century Mexico City left behind very little written testimony of their experience of Enlightenment-inspired initiatives. So, to try to capture, however imperfectly, their “lived” experience of the Enlightenment we must look to their actions and expressions in response to the new aesthetic of neoclassicism and academy training.

At the broadest level this particular case cautions us against an easy acceptance of the Bourbon reformers’ pejorative view of the guilds as regressive and disinterested in innovation (MacKay 2006, De Munck 2007). There may have been dissembling and disgruntlement among some silversmiths in relation to the new requirements and the RASC’s insertion into their traditional workshop practices. However, the individual and collective actions that supported both the relevance of academy instruction and the new standards of “good taste” suggest that the silversmiths’ guild was receptive to Enlightenment ideas that emphasized cultivation of knowledge, usefulness, and taste and contributed to the promotion of them. In doing so, the guild presented itself as a corporation capable of modernizing and responsive to changing aesthetic tastes and markets. The working relationships hammered out at the local level between guild and academy, moreover, produced a rather different outcome to the purported objective of undermining guild monopolies, the corporative *bête-noir* of Enlightenment thinkers. Although subjected to increased scrutiny of its operations and interventionist approaches to training precious metals craftsmen, the guild’s traditional control over the licensing of master silversmiths was not challenged by the RASC.<sup>1</sup>

The Spanish iteration of improved education for artisans can be found in the writings of two of Spain’s most influential Enlightenment thinkers: Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes and Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Campomanes in particular gave voice to prevailing perceptions about the guilds’ enervating impact and outdated training for artisans that obstructed the development of useful knowledge, design, and innovation. The solution to the learning of new technologies new ideas, and improvement in the quality of manufactures and “taste,” lay with the overhaul of the education system. The institutions to put such enlightened theories into practice—especially with regard to providing updated training in drawing and mathematics to artisans—consisted primarily of the *Sociedades Económicas de Amigos del País*, the *Juntas* and *Consulados de Comercio*, arts academies, and schools of drawing and design. Commenting on the critical need to reform artisans’ training as well as of their importance to the Spanish state, Pedro Pascual Moles, director of the School of Design in Barcelona, observed that there were few young men he would

advise to follow a career in the [fine] arts “because I am persuaded that a good shoemaker is more necessary and useful to the state than a bad painter or sculptor” (Ruiz Ortega 1999, 138).<sup>2</sup>

Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, Spain founded its matrix art academy, the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando in Madrid in 1752 with the subsequent foundation of five regional academies in Spain between 1753 and 1789. Royal approval of the first fine arts academy to be established in Spain’s most lucrative colony—New Spain—was granted in 1783. The RASC formally opened its doors in Mexico City in 1785 (Báez Macías 2009; Donahue-Wallace 2017). Despite a significant scholarly literature on these academies and schools of drawing little attention has been given to how artisans understood their significance and relevance for their livelihoods and professional training.

I begin with a brief context for the rationale of training artisans at the RASC and the targeting of the silversmiths’ guild in particular. The second section examines the process and problems of the implementation of the mandatory attendance order and its eventual suspension. Finally, I assess the silversmiths’ responses to the Bourbon state’s efforts to train enlightened artisans.

### **“Open the door so that misery may leave”: A blueprint for training the enlightened artisan**

In Campomanes’s *Discurso sobre el fomento de la industria popular* (1774) and *Discurso sobre la educación popular de los artesanos y su fomento* (1775), his developmental policies emphasized the importance of drawing and mathematics to facilitate new and useful inventions based on good design and the nurturing of “*buen gusto*” or “good taste.” Master craftsmen, according to Campomanes, did not know how to draw and emphasized replication rather than invention, “without rules, taste, or direction [of the apprentices]” (cap. XV, 1774). As Ruth Benhamou has argued, scholars have been reluctant to accept at face value the emphasis on the centrality of drawing and design as the basis for the development of the applied (for commerce and industry) as well as the fine arts. She suggests that if we accept the analogy that “drawing was to the ancien régime what computer literacy is to our own time—the graphic lingua franca of the professions, arts, crafts, and even pastime shaping society—it is easier to understand why both governments and individuals made a sustained effort ... to increase proficiency in this skill” (2009, 8).

The influence of theories of *ilustrados* such as Campomanes and Jovellanos on the rationale behind the Mexican academy’s foundation is made clear by comments made by the Minister of State, José de Gálvez. He observed that it was the king’s desire to provide “his beloved vassals with instruction in the noble arts and to those [artisans] who also depend on such training ... [so that] ... the artifacts and products of all the crafts will be perfected. It is with these measures that idleness will be banished; open this door [of the academy] so that misery can leave ... and individuals who will be well trained will be useful to themselves, to their families, and to the public. ... The useful employment of men ... is the only method by which to make the Treasury wealthy and the Nation powerful ... if the arts and the crafts depend on drawing, then herein lies the usefulness of the Academy for this capital.”<sup>3</sup>

Although initially the Madrid academy intended to make it mandatory for apprentices and journeymen from all guilds to attend drawing classes at academies or approved drawing schools in order to advance to the rank of a master craftsman, by the early 1790s such ambitions had been quietly discarded. The implications of such an order were numerous, not least of which was how to enforce such a requirement (an issue to which I shall return later) given the economic costs of allowing apprentices and journeymen time off to attend classes (hence the importance of night classes) as well as issues of adequate classroom space to teach such artisans. Skeptics queried whether the traditional

academy curriculum tailored to the fine arts could actually teach artisans skills relevant to their very diverse crafts. How exactly did repeated copying of a Corinthian capital by a tailor's apprentice advance that individual's skill (McTighe 1998; Leben 2004)? Ultimately, of seventy guilds in Madrid only carpenters and masons were required to attend academy classes in order to qualify as architects and masters of works (Bédard 1989, 363–369; 415–431; Úbeda de los Cobos 1992, 57–69).

The Mexican academy also left attendance at academy classes up to individual artisans and their apprentices with the exception of silversmiths and architects (and associated building trades).<sup>4</sup> The RASC offered night classes for free from 7–9 p.m. to facilitate artisans' attendance across ranks outside of the working day. As Sonia Lombardo observes: "the evening sessions taught students of all trades a general "aesthetic taste...consonant with the European classicizing style" as well as "discipline in the observation of nature, also with established classical rules" (quoted in Donahue-Wallace 2017, 263). Tellingly, attendance at academy night classes from its formal opening in 1785 until independence from Spain in 1821 in the drawing and mathematics classes—on average 150 students, on some nights amounting to as high as 335—suggest that Mexico City's artisans did not hesitate to take advantage of the academy's classes of their own volition.<sup>5</sup>

### Academy training for silversmiths in Mexico City

Given the key role played by silversmiths in the supply of a vast range of objects made of precious metals and gems that could be found in domestic, civic, and religious settings, as well as for personal adornment—and combined with their daily use of Spain's most lucrative and taxable resource, silver—it is hardly surprising that they were targeted for mandatory academy training. At the time of the RASC's foundation, the silversmiths' guild as the most important and wealthiest of Mexico City's guilds, was also one of the most regulated (Ruiz Medrano 2001; Esteras Martín 1989; Anderson 1956; Martín-Vegue 1951).<sup>6</sup> It also experienced something of a protected status in a political milieu that displayed antipathy to guilds; but not all guilds were equal in the eyes of the *ilustrados*. Indeed, shifting views on the relative utility/uselessness of the guilds can be found in Campomanes's own writings (Castro Gutiérrez 1986, 126–127). Viceroy Revillagigedo drew distinctions among guilds based on their relevance. He noted that some guilds such as those of the candymakers and candlemakers should be abolished since they were no longer necessary; other guilds, however, could be reformed based on sound principles. Important to keep in mind is that not all silversmiths were equal either. Colonial authorities in Buenos Aires, for example, rejected the silversmiths' petition to consolidate as a formal guild with its own constitution (Johnson 2011, 117–148).

In 1789, four years after the RASC's formal opening, the academy's governing board (*junta superior*) expressed concern over the lackluster attendance of silversmiths' apprentices at the evening classes in drawing. Represented by Bernardo Bonavia, a board member and also the Intendant of Mexico City, the board recommended to the viceroy that in order to ensure daily attendance, it must be made mandatory. The board also argued that neither apprentices nor journeymen should be allowed to take the guild exam in order to qualify as a master silversmith unless they could certify they had attended academy classes.<sup>7</sup> Bonavia also noted that academy training would not only benefit the apprentices' training but "also [that of] the *patria* since the professors of this art lack such rules and good taste (*buen gusto*)."<sup>8</sup> Finally, Bonavia recommended that this provision—no academy certification, no admittance to the guild exam—be incorporated into the silversmiths' guild ordinances.<sup>8</sup>

Ramón de Posada y Soto, the RASC's president (1789–1794) and *fiscal de Real Hacienda* (1781–1793), supported Bonavia's proposal. Posada advised the viceroy that silversmiths' apprentices needed training in drawing more than in any other craft and emphasized that even

a basic understanding of the principles of architecture was desirable so that important works such as altars, monstrances, frontals, and candlesticks would be designed and made with taste and elegance.<sup>9</sup> Posada also observed that in the Madrid silversmiths’ guild ordinances, master silversmiths were required either to teach their apprentices basic drawing skills or to allow them to attend classes at the Madrid academy (Cruz Valdovinos 1983, 147). At no point, however, was attendance at academy classes made mandatory as it was in Mexico. The chief assayer of the Mexico City Mint (or his deputy) provided the conduit between the academy and Bourbon officials on the one hand and the silversmiths’ guild on the other. Based on the extant correspondence, there appears to have been no direct consultation with the leading silversmiths of Mexico City to ascertain what they needed with regard to improvement in technique, training and design, if anything, from their perspective. Paramount for the Bourbon monarchy was the inculcation of the principles of neoclassicism, the cultural benchmark of “good taste,” and the replacement of the unfashionable Baroque regardless of the quality of craftsmanship exhibited by artifacts and ornamentation executed in that style.

The viceroy approved Bonavia’s proposal and on 23 November 1789, the order was sent to Francisco Arance y Cobos, the assistant chief assayer and inspector of the silversmiths’ guild. His task was to inform the guild members of the order’s key provisions: mandatory daily attendance at academy drawing classes for apprentices and that “[no silversmiths] can apply to be examined as stated in ordinance 37 [of the guild ordinances] of 2 July 1746 without first submitting a certification from the academy secretary [of their attendance] which will be free.”<sup>10</sup> There appears to have been a two-year window during which the guild and Bourbon and academy officials worked through assessments to determine who would be subject to the new order and who would be exempted and it is to this question to which I now turn.

## Enlightenment praxis and its problems

What may have seemed in theory a logical and efficient solution to ensure attendance at academy classes for silversmiths proved unexpectedly complicated to put into practice and generated two unanticipated problems. The first pivoted on the recognition of the order’s potentially adverse impact on journeymen silversmiths. If they could only sit the guild exam after they acquired certification of having attended academy drawing classes, that could delay their advancement to master status. The second problem focused on contradictory assessments about how many apprentice silversmiths there were in Mexico City and how they should be integrated into academy classes.

In response to the new order’s announcement that outlined the new requirements for mandatory attendance and certification, individual journeyman silversmiths began to request exemptions. Don Gregorio Gómez submitted the first request in 1792. Gómez had worked as an apprentice silversmith in Puebla in 1775, and as a journeyman for seventeen years. For the past seven years he had resided and worked in Mexico City but intended to return to Puebla and open up his own silver workshop. In order to do that, however, he needed to pass the guild exam. Gómez admitted that he had not attended academy drawing classes due to several illnesses including a vision problem that made it impossible to attend night classes (quite what that meant for his craftsmanship is unclear). He could not attend day classes because he could not afford the time away from the silver workshop where he was employed. Gómez requested that his past experience and training as well as the guild inspector’s testimony as to his competency be accepted as a substitute for the drawing certification requirement.<sup>11</sup> His request granted, Gómez sat his guild exam on 15 November 1792 and received his license.

Discussion of the precedent set by Gómez’s case and its ramifications produced a range of opinions and ultimately a compromise solution. Posada agreed that others in a similar situation

(which is to say journeymen whose advancement to master silversmith would be delayed by having to attend academy classes) should be exempted. He emphasized, nevertheless, the importance of enforcing mandatory attendance and reiterated his earlier views expressed to the viceroy that the silversmith's art required a competency in drawing much more so than did other arts and crafts. Posada cautioned that if master silversmiths evaded the order to send their apprentices to the academy, then they would never be able to present the required academy certification in drawing. Not only would this prevent them from sitting the guild exam but it would reduce the number of newly licensed master silversmiths trained in the "new style" (neoclassicism). Posada also speculated that some master silversmiths, fearful of the future competition from their academy-trained apprentices, would discourage their attendance at night classes which would produce the same adverse outcome.<sup>12</sup>

The new chief assayer of the Mexico City mint, Antonio Forcada y Plaza, supported the principle of exemption in appropriate cases. As a master silversmith himself he undoubtedly recognized at first hand the order's potentially negative impact on older apprentices and journeymen. For him the fairest solution would be that only newly contracted apprentices should have to attend academy drawing classes. Those individuals who were twenty-five and older as of 1789 (the year the order was promulgated) having "consumed the flower of their youth in the work of their art" should be exempt.<sup>13</sup> The crown attorney subsequently warned, however, that it would be detrimental to the public good to exclude the silversmith apprentices and journeymen from formal academy training. His solution: to require that those newly licensed master silversmiths who received exemptions from attending drawing classes *before* taking their guild exam, be required to attend classes at the academy for two years *after* their exam (or depending on their mastery of drawing, a graduated amount of time). The penalty for non-compliance would be suspension from their office and revocation of their licenses.<sup>14</sup>

The identification of those apprentices who should attend drawing classes, a seemingly straightforward exercise, proved to be quite the opposite. It is worth noting that this new requirement occurred at precisely the same time that the guild had recently come under renewed scrutiny focused on the enforcement of the formal registration and drawing up of apprenticeship contracts as well as the presentation of legal documentation such as birth certificates that would confirm a prospective apprentice's legitimacy, *limpieza de sangre*, and "good habits."<sup>15</sup> Other issues targeted by royal officials addressed the guild inspectors' enforcement of guild regulations (or lack thereof), as well as fraudulent practices.<sup>16</sup>

An initial listing identified thirty-three apprentices but a guild inspector pointed out that with an average of two apprentices per master silversmith of whom there were thirty-nine, the figure should have been closer to seventy-eight apprentices.<sup>17</sup> Two additional lists based on guild officials' secret testimony also revealed a discrepancy in the number of apprentices, with the first listing fifty-six, and the second, forty-three.<sup>18</sup> New lists were also compiled to determine which journeymen, taking into account the order's modification based on their age (twenty-five and older) as of October 1789, should attend academy classes or receive exemptions. Forcada y la Plaza and the guild officers submitted a report to the fiscal in 1792 with the names of eighty-four journeymen who should be exempted from the requirement to present academy certification of competency in drawing in order to sit the guild exam.<sup>19</sup> The report noted that the first eight journeymen listed would take their guild exam soon; the others were all capable of doing so, but had not yet applied to take the exam. The fiscal rejected the list since it lacked key information—the journeymen's ages. In a revised list of seventy-seven journeymen the guild officers declared that only four were eligible to attend academy classes.<sup>20</sup>

Despite the problems encountered in drawing up definitive lists of apprentices and journeymen, the academy's student registers indicate that silversmiths began to attend night classes

as mandated. The registers included a specific section for the silversmiths' attendance, unlike other artisans and students who were grouped together indiscriminately in the daily number counts of student attendance in the respective academy classes. In the first entry for silversmiths' attendance at academy night classes in December 1792, for that month a range of between forty-seven and seventy-two appeared on the registers.<sup>21</sup> The question of how to enforce the attendance of those non-exempt apprentices and supervise them, however, remained an issue. Initially, the chief assayer recommended that the master silversmiths should take turns each week to document which apprentices attended academy drawing classes and to compile a list of non-attendees whose masters would be fined. In late August 1793, Forcada y la Plaza noted that some masters had yet to comply with the order to send their apprentices to study drawing at the academy. He also complained that the guild inspector did not fine those master silversmiths who failed to comply with the order and “who look with disdain at such a useful establishment [the RASC].”<sup>22</sup> The crown attorney, however, observed—his previous criticisms and qualms notwithstanding—that apprentices' attendance at the academy was not a problem “since their *patrones* are enthusiastic about their improved training.”<sup>23</sup> The attendance registers for 1793 indicate that both interpretations could be supported: between 2 January and 24 December, silversmiths' attendance reached a high of fifty-five with an average of forty-five. However, from 18 July until the end of the year, the average attendance declined to around thirty silversmiths.<sup>24</sup>

The following year, however, Francisco Fernández de Córdoba, the RASC's newly installed president and superintendent of the Mexico City Royal Mint, also complained to the viceroy about some master silversmiths' reluctance to send their apprentices to academy classes. He suggested that the real reason for this problem was that they did not wish to be deprived of “two hours of useful work by their apprentices.”<sup>25</sup> By his account only ten or twelve of the forty or fifty silversmith apprentices were attending drawing classes and that “these youths, generally poorly educated, come and go without anyone to supervise them.”<sup>26</sup> It was precisely this issue of lack of supervision (as well as an implicit questioning of what exactly was being learned in the evening classes) on which the guild officials seized. They noted that a purported lack of order within the large evening classes contributed to erratic attendance as had the fear of having one's apprentice (who might also be one's son) arbitrarily picked up by the military levy in the nightly roundups. They recommended that apprentices should start attending afternoon classes held between 3 and 5 p.m. instead of in the evening. Not only would apprentices be protected from the problems posed by attendance at night classes but also afternoon classes offered a less crowded learning environment as well as better conditions given the quality of natural light in the classrooms in the afternoon.<sup>27</sup>

The change in hours of attendance, however, meant that master silversmiths could not act as the apprentices' supervisors at the academy since they could not leave their workshops in the afternoons. The solution: hire a supervisor, which is exactly what they did, paid for by weekly contributions of one half real by each silversmith (the solvent ones). And, as an added measure to both enforce and monitor apprentices' attendance, they would be given a number and little medals of copper or tin to wear. These would be distributed to those who attended classes and to avoid deception and fake attendance, the medals would vary by metal each day. Any absences would be reported by the deputy inspector to the chief assayer and the appropriate measures taken.<sup>28</sup> The academy warden eventually absorbed supervision of the silversmiths' apprentices as part of his duties for the stipulated sum of ten or twelve pesos.<sup>29</sup>

With the academy president's approval, beginning in August 1794, apprentices' attendance at the academy changed from the evenings to the afternoon classes held between 3 p.m. and 5 p.m.<sup>30</sup> The change proved to be unsuccessful, undoubtedly because the apprentices' absences for two hours each afternoon may have been too costly for many of the silversmiths' daily

production demands and who may have underestimated the consequences of the change. The academy attendance registers confirm the impact of shifting from evening to afternoon classes. For the first half of 1794, the registers indicate regular attendance with an average of thirty-eight silversmiths; in the second half of the year beginning on 4 August 1794, after the change was implemented, attendance figures decreased to an average of twenty, and a low of four. In 1795, the average attendance totaled around twenty. By 1797, between January and early March, the average attendance had plummeted to between one and three silversmiths.<sup>31</sup>

Almost three years after the change from evening to afternoon classes, the silversmiths' guild requested that apprentices' attendance at academy classes be changed back to the evenings. The afternoon classes, apparently, were "not convenient for the *patrones*."<sup>32</sup> On 6 March 1797, when the change from afternoon to evening classes occurred, forty silversmiths were registered with subsequent highs of forty-seven.<sup>33</sup> Despite such a promising response to the change, only four months later, the guild inspector and prominent master silversmith José María Rodallega informed the RASC president and superintendent of the Mint that: "I have today suspended attendance of silversmith apprentices at night classes at the academy due to repeated complaints from their mothers who fear that their sons will be apprehended by the current military forced draft."<sup>34</sup> That this was something more than a pretext is suggested by a separate letter of protest penned by José Antonio Alzate y Ramírez, the voluble creole intellectual, to Viceroy Branciforte. He described the atrocities being committed by *subalternos* as they caught young men "regardless of whether or not they are vagabonds and detaining at night anyone who happens to be in the streets."<sup>35</sup> The new levy had resulted in the "depopulation" of workshops since masters were required to declare their apprentices and journeymen; only those with financial resources could "buy" exemptions for their workers leaving those who could not pay without vital labor for their workshops. After Rodallega's temporary suspension of the mandatory attendance order, some silversmiths continued to attend at least for part of 1798 with an average of ten attending quite regularly between January and early July. After 9 July 1798, no more separate entries for silversmiths appear in the remaining extant academy student registers and so it is impossible to know how many silversmiths continued to attend academy classes since they became incorporated into the daily number count of students.<sup>36</sup>

In 1799, the guild minutes noted that apprentices' mandatory attendance at the academy could not be resumed until the issue of their exemption from the forced draft was resolved. The matter had been reported to the chief assayer for further discussion; the collection of monies to pay the academy warden to monitor the apprentices would be temporarily suspended.<sup>37</sup> Although I could not find any reference in the guild minutes or correspondence from the guild supervisors that explicitly requested and/or declared the permanent revocation of the mandatory attendance requirement, in practice that appears to have been the case. Evidence suggests, however, that the certification of attendance at academy classes and competency in drawing as a prerequisite to sit the guild exam remained in effect.

It would be easy to explain the problems experienced in the implementation of the mandatory attendance policy and certification in competency in drawing as the guild's rejection of further government regulation of an already tightly regulated body and of new methods of training and design. Such an explanation, however, is both simplistic and unconvincing. Many master silversmiths provided funding for their apprentices' supervision and supported their attendance at the academy between late 1792 and 1797—effectively four and a half years—in response to the viceroy's order. Furthermore, evidence of the silversmiths' lived experience of this enlightened reformist impulse suggests that many, including some of the most prominent silversmiths, saw the value in academy training for the development of their craft.

## The enlightened artisan-silversmith

In 1795 the RASC secretary observed that academy instruction had “remedied in a few years the gross defects noticeable in the works of the arts and crafts.... one sees pieces made with skill and taste especially in silversmithing and carpentry.”<sup>38</sup> What, however, do we understand about how silversmiths perceived the relevance of academy training? Based on the surviving material evidence of their craftsmanship, the training provided within the guild system appears to have been more than adequate to enable generations of silversmiths to cater to Baroque tastes prior to the RASC’s creation. But how did silversmiths learn their craft and how might academic instruction have changed their training? Formulaic apprenticeship contracts and summaries of guild exams are notoriously uninformative about training practices, knowledge, and skills. Did masters sketch their own designs or use those provided by painters and engravers (or both)? Did they facilitate the practice of drawing and modeling for their apprentices and journeymen? What sources, textual and visual, did they use? Or, as *ilustrados* such as Campomanes believed, were apprentices and journeymen trained in an environment that privileged what Richard Sennett has described as “tacit knowledge [where] people know how to do something but they cannot put what they know into words” (2008, 94)?

Fragmentary evidence suggests that “theory” was hardly absent from a silversmith’s training. The silver wiredrawers’ ordinances, for example, required that they must “have studied the writings on the subject under the guidance of a licensed master of the trade” (Martin-Vegue 1951, 119). The examination to be licensed as a silversmith included a “book of designs being placed on the table, a folder was inserted between the leaves and the drawing that was singled out in this way was the object the aspirant had to make” (120). Although indicative of the use of design books, how many master silversmiths used them and/or other sources for designs is unclear.<sup>39</sup>

Regardless of the relative sophistication (or lack thereof) in training that silversmiths experienced, entering the enlightened space of the RASC’s classrooms and galleries would have opened up a very different world from even the most modern workshop environment. Juxtaposed to representations of Antiquity’s ideal beauty appeared the most modern equipment for the students including the Argand lamps that illuminated the classrooms. Students were exposed not only to explicit, scaffolded methods of learning and mentoring (drawing from prints and drawings, moving on to study plaster casts, and then on to the live model) but also to academy rules and rituals (monthly and annual competitions and the culture of emulation and prizes) and expansive pedagogical resources. Kelly Donahue-Wallace astutely notes that “[the RASC] was more than just an academy for the preparation of artists and craftsmen: it was a metaphoric classroom and performance space...to learn of and participate in Spanish enlightened behavior” (2017, 228). Indeed, more than just a “performance” space, it was also an experiential one. For many students this may have been their introduction to the difference between tacit and explicit knowledge.

I have found no first-hand accounts by silversmiths of their experience of the RASC but applications to be admitted to drawing classes convey their individual desire for such training that transcends the coercive element inherent in the requirement of certification of academy instruction in drawing. Don José María Guzman y Cano, for example, a master silversmith, requested admission to academy classes in 1795 to practice drawing because he was “desirous of improving my work and art.”<sup>40</sup> Don Ignacio Sánchez completed his two years’ attendance at the academy in 1796, winning three prizes during his studies there.<sup>41</sup> In 1798, Ignacio Reyes y Torres, a journeyman, requested certification of his study at the RASC in order to sit his guild exam to become a master silversmith. He noted that he had taken academy classes since 1790 and studied for eight years during which time he also received several prizes.<sup>42</sup>

The careers of two master silversmiths demonstrate different interactions with the RASC as well as the models they may have provided for their apprentices and journeymen. Both allude to the advantages of the cultural caché of association with the RASC and its royal patronage. For the period under discussion only one silversmith was admitted to the RASC as an academican of merit, the highest qualification awarded by the institution. José Luis Rodríguez Alconedo (1762–1815) moved from Puebla to Mexico City in 1791, sat his guild exam shortly after on 22 October 1791, and opened up his shop with two apprentices. Three years later he was admitted to the RASC as an academican of merit in engraving with his submission of a neoclassical silver relief portrait of Charles IV.<sup>43</sup> A versatile craftsman and artist, Alconedo collaborated with fellow academicians on projects, especially Manuel Tolsá, the RASC's director of sculpture. His works included gilding bronze for the façade of the Mexico City cathedral, the lettering on the pedestal of Charles IV's equestrian statue, as well as the iron gates erected to protect it in the Plaza Mayor (now the Zócalo).

Alconedo was denounced to the Inquisition (several times in fact) for having heretical inclinations and French sympathies but also for possession of “obscene” prints and engravings. Such images included “academias” (drawings of the nude, and which lay at the core of academic training) that he used to practice his drawing of the human body, as well as a portfolio of 123 prints, also “useful for design.” Alconedo also used his silversmith shop to disseminate useful knowledge as evidenced by a notice that appeared in the *Gazeta de México* that informed readers that if they wished to understand the newest methods for the ventilation of mines they should go to his shop for the information (11 December 1805). A sonnet in homage to Alconedo—the “Divine Luis”—appeared in the *Diario de México* in which he was lauded for his “singular abilities” as an academican of merit, but particularly as a painter (“El Aplicado,” 29 January 1812).<sup>44</sup>

José María Rodallega (1741–1812?), one of eighteenth-century Mexico City's most prominent silversmiths, exemplifies the professional bridges that could be built between the guild and the academy. A major influence in the silversmiths' guild, he served multiple times as one of its inspectors in 1781, 1797, 1811, and 1812 (Esteras Martín, 1989; Lawrence 1956, 244–245). The chief assayer, Forcada y la Plaza, specifically requested that Rodallega be included in the discussions of how to improve apprentices' attendance at academy drawing classes based on his reputation as someone who has “dedicated himself to encouraging that which will benefit the practice of his art.”<sup>45</sup> He appears to have managed one of the largest workshops with five apprentices; the average was two (Tovar de Teresa 1995–1997; Esteras Martín 1989; Lawrence 1956). Surviving examples of Rodallega's works demonstrate his evolving use of the neoclassical style, moving away from Rococo (Esteras Martín 1989, 294; Toussaint 1967, 450–451). Like Alconedo, he developed important connections with academicians and academy officials, including Jerónimo Antonio Gil and Manuel Tolsá. Rodallega, along with Tolsá and Antonio Recarey y Caamaño (another eminent master silversmith and a guild inspector) acted as financial guarantors for the academy secretary Antonio Piñeiro.<sup>46</sup>

Unlike Alconedo, however, Rodallega never became an academican of merit. One possible explanation may be that academy statutes prohibited academicians from belonging to guilds (Statute 30, article 7, 1785). As one of the preeminent silversmiths and guild officials in Mexico City, it would have been difficult for him to relinquish such position and influence, even for the minor nobility status that an academy degree would have conferred upon him. Rodallega's example raises an important question, however, about how artists and artisans evaluated the professional advantages of being admitted to academy membership (or not).

Rodallega may not have garnered an adulatory sonnet as did Alconedo, but his portrait painted by the RASC's director of painting Rafael Ximeno y Planes testifies to his status in his

profession (Figure 14.1).<sup>47</sup> Presumably Rodallega commissioned his own portrait but for what occasion is unclear. Given an attributed date of circa 1793 it may have been prompted by his important role in encouraging apprentices' attendance at academy classes and his association with the RASC combined with his own flourishing career. It is also unknown where the large portrait was displayed (or its cost) but most likely in his home or shop. It is an effective advertisement of status (portrayed by a royal academician) and superior craftsmanship (portrayal of his silverware and versatility of taste and style). The three-quarter-length portrait shows a confident and animated Rodallega completing the delicate task of chasing the lid of an incense burner. He wears a rich brown jacket with fur trim, an open-neck white shirt, no headdress and what appears to be a protective leather apron over his right leg. On his simple two-drawer workbench stand a copper beaker that holds his engraving, punching, and chasing tools and a large silver fluted vase in the neoclassical style with its angular *goût-grec* style handles. Its highly polished and reflective surfaces exquisitely portrayed contrast with the pink and blue fresh flowers, and the pop of a single red blossom, that the vase contains. This also hints at a clever way to convey to a client what the new style would look like in their dining or drawing room and raises another question about how academy studies for silversmiths may have affected their shops' design and display of their silverware to promote the contemporary style.

Suggestively, there is also something studious about the portrayal of Rodallega's workshop. In addition to the depiction of the silversmith's tools (making), emphasis is placed on sources of design (thinking): the two-dimensional—the print on the wall (with Ximeno y Planes' signature visible)—and three dimensional—the low-relief and plaster cherub's head hanging on the wall in the top left hand corner, as well as the luxuriant flowers in the elegant silver vase. These allude to materials used in academy classes to instruct students in design and botanical illustration as well as to the knowledge the silversmith's art required based on preparatory drawing and design. The implication is that Rodallega's apprentices and journeymen would receive instruction in his workshop that complemented what they received in academy classes. The overall impression of Ximeno y Planes's celebratory portrait is that of Rodallega as a prosperous enlightened artisan-silversmith who has embraced reformist impulses inspired by Enlightenment principles as well as the ideal of “good taste” and which captures Richard Sennett's concept of “making is thinking.”<sup>48</sup> It is precisely the kind of “enlightened” workshop envisioned by Gálvez that would be nurtured by academy instruction and facilitate “Misery's” departure.

If Rodallega's portrait made a potent, visual statement about the enlightened artisan, the redesign in the neoclassical style of the silversmiths' chapel of the *Purísima Concepción* in the Mexico City cathedral made an equally potent visual collective statement about the guild's acceptance of the “modern style” as well as its ability to work with academy artists. As the guild inspector, don Alejandro Antonio Cañas, reported in 1804:

although the altars that adorn our chapel are not in disrepair or even very old and could last a long time, they are voluminous and made of very heavy wood that obstruct the commodiousness of the chapel's [design] and expose it to fire... To remedy this we have resolved unanimously to remove them completely and replace them with a firm and incombustible material of a simple and modern taste; also to give a better view and more light, an elegant iron balustrade will replace the existing wooden one. The work will be directed and designed by the sculptor and architect of the Royal Academy don Manuel Tolsá.<sup>49</sup>

The redesign of the silversmiths' chapel also necessitated new “adornments” in order to match the new style. Both Rodallega and Cañas were commissioned to make them in the “modern form.” Significantly, the makeover of the silversmiths' chapel in the neoclassical style symbolized



Figure 14.1 Rafael Ximeno y Planes, c. 1795. *The Silversmith José María Rodallega*. Oil on canvas; 63 3/4 × 49 × 4 1/2 in. Dallas Museum of Art; Collection of Felipe Siegel, Anna and Andres Siegel. 25.1993.1.

a broader shift in tastes as silverwork by the early nineteenth century in Mexico City began to demonstrate the academy's significant influence on silversmiths' designs (Esteras Martín 1989).

## Conclusion

At first glance, the silversmiths' decision to suspend the mandatory attendance order for apprentices could be interpreted as confirmation of Bourbon reformers' dismal view of guilds' insularity and backwardness and the need to liberate, educate, and elevate artisans to unleash their productive energies to benefit themselves as well as the *patria*. However, the guild's decision appears to have been provoked by circumstances that had nothing (or very little) to do with resistance to academy training and the replacement of an outmoded Baroque style with that of neoclassicism. Although the Spanish colonial authorities' efforts to implement the mandatory attendance order at drawing classes failed in the long term, that did not preclude the development of generative relationships that could be forged between individual silversmiths and the academy as well as with that of the guild as a corporate body. The evidence suggests that many silversmiths welcomed the opportunities offered by the RASC for training in design and drawing as a creative complement to their own workshop training rather than as its replacement. Silversmiths availed themselves of the RASC's "usefulness" but they did so on their own

terms and, eventually, on their own time, not that dictated by academy and Bourbon officials. In so doing they shaped their own lived experience of Enlightenment principles of personal improvement, usefulness, and the creation of tasteful objects expressed in the visual language of neoclassicism.

## Notes

- 1 The Mexican silversmiths' guild was abolished in 1861.
- 2 ARASE, 38-1/1, Moles to Floridablanca, 12 April 1786.
- 3 AGN, Mexico, Instrucción Pública y Justicia vol. 5, ff. 147–151, Gálvez to viceroy of New Spain, 18 November 1784.
- 4 The case of architects and the building professions is beyond the scope of this chapter but similar problems of enforcement occurred.
- 5 Attendance rates are calculated from the extant student registers: AASC-UNAM-FAD, *LA*.
- 6 The location of the silversmiths' confraternity chapel—the Mexico City cathedral—testifies to the guild's prestige and prominence.
- 7 AASC-UNAM-FAD, *MJSG*, 20 July 1789. Bonavia participated in the deliberations about the academy's foundation and served on its governing board from 1789–1796.
- 8 This suggestion was not implemented. AGN, Industria y Comercio, vol. 5, exp. 5, Bonavia to Revillagigedo, 22 July 1789; AAASC, 852, Revillagigedo to academy president, 30 October 1789; AASC-UNAM-FAD *MJSG* 16 November 1789).
- 9 AGN, Industria y Comercio, 5, exp. 5, Posada to Revillagigedo, 3 October 1789.
- 10 AAASC 852, Revillagigedo to RASC president, 30 October 1789.
- 11 AGN, Industria y Comercio, vol. 5, exp. 5, ff. 244–5, s/f [March, 1792]; AGN Casa de Moneda, vol. 271, ff. 346–347v.
- 12 AGN, Industria y Comercio, vol. 5, exp. 5, Posada to Revillagigedo, 22 August 1792.
- 13 Ibid., Forcada y la Plaza to Ex. Sr., 22 November 1792.
- 14 AHCMM, 1790–93, fiscal de lo civil to viceroy, 8 September 1793.
- 15 Ibid., Revillagigedo to chief assayer, 1 March 1790.
- 16 AGN, Industria y Comercio, vol. 23, ff. 12–58v, 1793–1794; vol. 5, exp. 5.
- 17 AGN, Industria y Comercio, vol. 5, exp. 5. Francisco Palacios, 23 November 1789. A 1788 census indicated that the silversmiths' guild was composed of two inspectors, thirty-four masters, 190 journeymen, and forty-four apprentices, a total of 270 craftsmen (BNM, Fondo Reservado mss 1388, “*Relacion de los Gremios, Artes y Oficios...*”).
- 18 Ibid., José María del Castillo, inspector, 29 December 1792, *Lista secreta de los aprendices*; Forcada y la Plaza to Revillagigedo, 8 January 1793.
- 19 AHCMM 1790–93, José María del Castillo to chief assayer, 29 December 1792; Revillagigedo to Forcada y la Plaza, 4 December 1792.
- 20 AGN, Industria y Comercio, vol. 5, exp. 5, *Lista que comprende las oficiales de arte de platería ...* 23 February 1793.
- 21 AASC-UNAM-FAD, *LA*, 1792–93. The category of “silversmiths” did not distinguish between apprentices, journeymen, and masters and only registered the number in attendance. My assumption is that the majority of them were apprentices but based on other evidence it is clear that journeymen and master silversmiths attended classes as well.
- 22 AGN, Industria y Comercio, 5, exp. 5, Forcada y la Plaza, 23 August 1793.
- 23 AHCMM 1790–1793, fiscal de lo civil to viceroy, 8 September 1793.
- 24 AASC-UNAM-FAD, *LA*, 1792–1793.
- 25 AAASC 852, Fernández de Córdoba to Ex Sr., 2 July 1794.
- 26 AAASC 852, Fernández de Córdoba to Ex Sr., 2 July 1794.
- 27 BLAC, *Libro de autos*, minute 21, August 1794; AGN Industria y Comercio, vol. 23, Forcada y la Plaza to viceroy, 31 May 1794; AHCMM 1790–1793, Revillagigedo to Forcada y la Plaza, 7 July 1794; AAASC 852, Revillagigedo to RASC President, 7 July 1794.
- 28 AGN Industria y Comercio, vol. 23, Forcada y La Plaza, Alexandro Cañas, José María Rodallega, *Mesa de plateros*, 19 May 1794.
- 29 Ibid., Forcada y la Plaza to viceroy, 31 May 1794.
- 30 Ibid., RASC President to Ex. Sr., 2 June 1794.

- 31 AASC-UNAM-FAD, *LA* 1794, *LA* 1795, *LA* 1797.
- 32 AASC-UNAM-FAD, *LA* 1794, *LA* 1797.
- 33 AASC-UNAM-FAD, *LA* 1794, *LA* 1797.
- 34 AAASC 971, Rodallega to Fernández de Córdoba, 28 June 1797.
- 35 AGN Historia, vol. 44, Alzate to Branciforte, 8 July 1797, f. 451.
- 36 AASC-UNAM-FAD, *LA*, 1798.
- 37 BLAC, *Libro de autos*, 16 December 1799.
- 38 AGI Mexico, vol. 2793, Piñeiro, 25 April 1795, f. 505.
- 39 López-Yarto discusses potential design sources that silversmiths in Spain worked with including architectural treatises, sculptural models, engravings, literary sources, and the Old and New Testaments (2008). Based on many design elements that appear in Mexican silverware, silversmiths most likely drew on a similar range of sources.
- 40 AAASC 906, Guzman y Cano to Ex. Sr., 28 April 1795.
- 41 AAASC 915, Forcada y la Plaza to academy governing board, 19 July 1796.
- 42 AAASC 1004, Reyes y Torres, 1798.
- 43 AAASC 838, Branciforte, 15 July 1794.
- 44 Where the self-portrait was displayed is unclear. Alconedo portrays himself with a bust of a young woman about to be adorned with a floral wreath. This alludes to his original request to be admitted as an academician of merit in sculpture. Suggestively, this may reference silversmiths' conception of themselves as "sculptors" based on architectonic elements and/or figures that appear especially in monstrances, missals, and crosses (López-Yarto 2008). The portrait can be viewed at <https://archive.is/20120624090558/www.museo.buap.mx/autoretrato.html>.
- 45 AGN, Industria Artística y Manufacturera, vol. 23, ff. 59–71v. Rodallega owned a copy of Campomanes's *Educación popular* and of Antonio Ponz's *Viaje de España* (1772–1794) (AGN Inquisición, vol. 1559 A, exp. 20).
- 46 AGN, Casa de Moneda, vol. 661, exp. 104.
- 47 Ximeno y Planes's father was a prominent silversmith in Valencia (Cots Morató 2005, 890–891), a background which would have given him both familiarity and sensitivity to silversmiths' workshop practices and craftsmanship.
- 48 See Cuadriello (2014) on the possible influence of Jean Charles de Lafosse (1734–1789) on the portrait's composition.
- 49 BLAC, *Libro de autos*, 8 August 1804.

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AASC-UNAM-FAD Antigua Academia de San Carlos-UNAM-Facultad de Artes y Diseño (Mexico)

AASC-UNAM-FAD, *LA* Antigua Academia de San Carlos-UNAM-Facultad de Artes y Diseño, *Libros de Asistencia*

AASC-UNAM-FAD, *MJSG* Antigua Academia de San Carlos-UNAM-Facultad de Artes y Diseño, minutes of the *Junta Superior de Gobierno*

AGI Archivo General de Indias (Seville)

AGN Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico)

AHCMM Archivo Histórico de la Casa de Moneda de México

ARASF Archivo de la Real Academia de San Fernando (Madrid)

BLAC, *Libro de autos* Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin, MSS Misc. #1, Gremio de Plateros, Tiradores, y Batihojas de Oro de México. *Libro de autos, cabildos y elecciones del Gremio*, vol. 2

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## Part III

# Interactions, exchanges, and circulations

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# The Enlightenment and its interpreters\*

## Nobility, bureaucrats, and publicists

*María Victoria López-Cordón Cortezo*

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### Introduction

The Spanish monarchy under the Bourbons was subject to the principles of what was called the “new art of kingcraft” (*nuevo arte de reinar*). Did Bourbon reformism carry enough weight to make the Spanish monarchy an enlightened one? The term is controversial and recalls the perennial dilemma of absolutism versus Enlightenment, two concepts as opposite as they are interdependent, and that operate across Europe according to a similar logic. Not even in its most paradigmatic French representation was absolutism irrational or omnipotent. Nor were the *philosophes* the only representatives of the Enlightenment; rather, it fell to men of letters, artists, jurists, economists, scientists to a lesser degree, and the so-called organic intellectuals to give body and social awareness to what was but a “spirit” of Enlightenment (Masseau 1994; Todorov 2008).

It is true that where material prosperity and literacy rates increased, new ideas spread more freely, although there also were original contributions in areas where this did not exist (Munck 2013), as in the so-called peripheral areas where the tensions and contradictions inherent in the Enlightenment itself were more evident (Venturi 2014). As the social foundations of the Enlightenment are revealed, the importance of “obscure” authors, intermediaries, and institutions themselves becomes more obvious when it comes time to select, refine and disseminate its designs (Outram 2009; Darnton 2006).

Thus, the Enlightenment cannot be considered a single current, nor be reduced to a series of models, negating the existence of less purist or less recognizable variations. The adaptation of its ideas took on a selective character, such that each country assimilated them in a unique way, according to its circumstances. This was the case in Spain, almost always described with qualifiers that appear to contradict the Enlightenment: limited in both time and social impact; directed, because of the Monarchy’s prominent role; pragmatic, because of the nature of its reforms; confessional, despite criticisms of religion and the advance of secularization; inadequate. Today the Spanish Enlightenment is no longer considered to be limited to the reign of Carlos III, but rather extends throughout much of the century. Nor is it expressed in terms of contrast between outdated and modern, but rather in terms of the circulation of ideas, people, and projects. It was stimulated from positions of power, but also from active local and regional centers at the margins of the court with interests in scientific and economic matters, in historical critique, and

in the century's newest developments. Moreover, although its effect was limited, the Spanish Enlightenment promoted initiatives and inspired debates in which enlightened forms and topoi were present.

The Enlightenment implied a way of seeing the world, a shared mindset that allowed for the expression of the heterogeneity that was Europe. In the Hispanic world, as in any other, it acquired its own historical baggage that contributed to its definition. To understand it, we must know its protagonists, both those who are canonical in the fields of philosophy, literature and politics, and lower-profile men and women, whose role as transmitters and adapters was essential. Their convictions were not always obvious, nor even original; their modes of expression were sometimes borrowed and more hesitant than their readers and fellow thinkers might have liked. But they contributed to creating the public opinion that was necessary for new ideas to take root.

## **An enlightenment of dignitaries**

As in the rest of Europe, the Enlightenment in Spain was known at court and in the palaces. There were nobles of both sexes, of renowned lineage, cosmopolitan, who through necessity or preference drew from its sources, exhibited their knowledge, and promoted agrarian or industrial initiatives in line with the new theories. A good number of the upper ranks of the Bourbon administration were recruited from among them, especially diplomats and military men, both fields that were increasingly becoming long-term careers. New titles were added to the nobility in response to the new dynasty's search for influential families to provide services and economic support to the Crown. Also contributing to the growth of the noble class was the assimilation of people from the previous territories Flanders and Italy, and of foreigners (French, Jacobite Irish, and English) who had participated in the War of Succession. Among this cultured aristocracy is the Count of Aranda, don Pedro Abarca Bolea (1719–1798): military officer, diplomat, and politician, whose royalist politics and determination to expel the Jesuits during his time as president of the Council of Castile (1766–1773) made him a European model. His measures in support of maritime navigation and commerce, his new curricula for universities, and his support for the new settlements in Andalusia and for their governor, Pablo de Olavide, confirm Aranda's reformist politics. No less important are the limitations he placed on the reach of the Inquisition to cases related to religion and faith, and his support for the press (Olaechea and Ferrer 1978; Albiac 1998).

Aranda was wrapped in a mistaken aura of Voltairian encyclopedism and even of Freemasonry. In fact, he was an enlightened aristocrat, a devotee of French culture, and faithful servant of the monarchy, although he was not always in agreement with its direction. He built an important network, the Aragonese Party, which included nobles, scholars, diplomats, and bureaucrats not only from that region, but from others as well. He maintained a genuine friendship with the diplomat José Nicolás de Azara, as well as with some of his subordinates, such as his secretary Heredia (Albiac 2002; 1773–1802), Bernardo de Iriarte, and José Clavijo y Fajardo, a group to which he entrusted theater reform (Rubio 1999, 331–366). He developed a range of enterprises, from the porcelain factory in Alcora to the construction of the Imperial Canal of Aragón and was a founding member of the Royal Aragonese Economic Society.

Aranda was not the only aristocrat who combined noble lineage with intellectual curiosity. There were others who were equally open to new ideas and willing to make friends without regard for social class: members of academies, patrons of artists, and owners of important libraries, including the Duke of Béjar, don Joaquín López de Zúñiga y Castro (1715–1777); the Count of Torrepalma, don Alonso Verdugo (1706–1767); the Duke of Osuna, don Pedro de Alcántara

Téllez-Girón y Pacheco, who also happened to be Francisco Goya y Luciente's best client; and the Count of Fernán Núñez, don Carlos Gutiérrez de los Ríos (1742–1795), author of the well-known *Vida de Carlos III* (*Life of Carlos III*; Fernán Núñez 1988). Of course, the qualities and efforts of these and other personages are not enough to make an enlightened man of an erudite nobleman or a patron. But as the saying went in those days, “they lived enlightened lives” (“vivieron ilustradamente”); that is, they traveled, read, enjoyed the theater and fine arts, concerned themselves with the education of their progeny, and practiced a sociability in which ingenuity or knowledge equated people of different social pedigrees. They were not committed intellectuals, but rather, served as a means for disseminating such ideas and promoting those who defended them.

Don Pedro Francisco Jiménez de Góngora y Luján, sixth marquis and, starting in 1779, Duke of Almodóvar del Río (1727–1794), was more deeply involved. His fondness for reading and traveling enabled him to know most of Europe (García Regueiro 1982; Lafarga 1990, 123–134; Tietz 1991, 99–130). An ambassador in Saint Petersburg from 1760 to 1762 and in Lisbon until 1778, he favored contacts among the scholars of both countries (Mestre 1989, 175–198). Later, he went to London and Paris, combining diplomacy with literary work. Inspired by *Los tres siglos de la literatura francesa* (The Three Centuries of French Literature) by Sabatier de Castres, in 1781 he published under a pseudonym the *Década epistolar sobre el estado de las letras de Francia* (Epistolary Decade on the State of the Literature of France), and between 1784 and 1790, under the pseudonym of Eduardo Malo de Luque, he wrote a translation/adaptation of the *Historia filosófica de las dos Indias* (Philosophical History of the Two Indies) by Raynal, of which series he only published five volumes. The appendix of the second volume, entitled “Constitución de Inglaterra” (Constitution of England), shows his favorable opinion of that system and of the limitation of power.

Peripheral but related to Madrid was the Marquis of Peñaflorida, Javier María de Munibe e Idiáquez (1729–1785), who, together with José María Eguía, Marquis of Narros, cofounded an academy, the *Caballeritos de Azcoitia* (Young Gentlemen of Azcoitia), from which would arise in 1763 the Royal Basque Society of Friends of the Country. Approved by Carlos III, it served as an example to Campomanes for the Economic Societies of Friends of the Country. In 1767 he was a driving force behind the Seminar of Vergara, aimed at “employing the talent of individuals” (emplear el talento de los individuos) on behalf of both the society and themselves. The Seminar was a project founded on the scientific and cultural advancements of the era that sought to train suitable personnel for the administrative Bourbon monarchy who met the demands for a new sociability of nonbinding affiliation, open to discussion and critique, and expressive of a changing mindset (Chaparro 2011).

Spain did not lack newly wealthy businessmen who joined the enlightened nobility. Such was the case, for instance, of Francisco Cabarrús (1752–1810), a count of the same name since 1789. The son of a tradesman from Bayonne, he settled in València in 1771 and moved to Carabanchel de Arriba. There, he soon started a company and, thanks to the War of Independence in the United States, obtained a contract to provision the allied troops. In 1782, together with other financiers, he started the Bank of San Carlos, the first Spanish national bank, which granted so-called royal promissory notes. He was a member of the Madrid Economic Society of Friends of the Country and a frequent figure at court. A man of very free ideas and habits, he ran afoul of the Inquisition, although it was an accusation of embezzlement that sent him to jail in 1790.

When he was released, he continued his activities, and Carlos IV entrusted him with some diplomatic missions until he was exiled from court in 1800. He returned to Madrid in 1808 as José I's Finance Minister, dying in this post in Seville in 1810. The ever-changing trajectory of his life is not incompatible with his personality, which was clearly enlightened, as was easily

discerned in his economic writings (Zylberberg 1993, 375–378). He was a true encyclopedist, admiring Rousseau and his *Social Contract*, although he conceded to the absolute monarchy a significant role in the modernization of the state. His *Elogio de Carlos III* (*Eulogy of Carlos III*, 1789) is a work that is as expressive of enlightened thinking as that of his friend Jovellanos. In 1792 he dedicated to his friend *Cartas sobre los obstáculos que la naturaleza, la opinión y las leyes oponen a la felicidad pública* (*Letters about the Obstacles that Nature, Opinion and Laws Present to Public Happiness*, Maravall 1990).

The panorama of the Spanish elite would not be complete without speaking of enlightened female aristocrats. They were active members of the cultural life of the period, and beyond their personal commitment, were agents and promoters of enlightened ideas. Decision, capacity for movement, and intellectual curiosity marked their careers, making them open to the changes that were taking place, one of which was an increase in their social sphere of influence. It is true that in many cases, their personal achievements were limited, and that their education, activities and reading material depended excessively on the indulgence of others, but their drive to improve themselves, to choose their own friends and express themselves on their own terms, for their own satisfaction and general “usefulness,” was a common denominator.

One of these women was the Countess of Montijo, María Francisca de Sales Portocarrero (1754–1808). She surrounded herself with the best intellectuals of the time, whose Jansenist views were well represented by her ecclesiastical colleagues at her *tertulias* (salons). But these views were balanced by the significant secular leanings of many other participants. There are many testimonies to her hospitality and the freedom that reigned in her gatherings, at which books were discussed, plays were recited or read, and which began to take on a certain political significance that eventually cost the hostess her place at court and in the country, and she died in exile (Demerson, 1975).

The Countess-Duchess of Benavente, duchess consort to Osuna, María Josefa de Alonso-Pimentel, had no reason to envy her more enlightened male peers. As the President of the sister civic organization to the all-male Economic Society, the *Junta de Damas*, she was the hub that united the most brilliant and heterogeneous society of Madrid, both before and after moving the meetings to her country estate, *El Capricho*, in the Alameda de Osuna. The Englishman Townsend described them as very open; he was surprised by the familiarity displayed among women and men. The Countess-Duchess’s enlightenment was not simply a nod to fashion, as proven by her library and by her tenacity in continuing to hold meetings and maintain her patronage until her death in 1834 (Yebes, 1955; Fernández Quintanilla 2017).

Others followed in her footsteps: María Francisca Dávila, for instance, the Countess of Torrepalma and of Truillas (1753–1808), who joined the *Junta de Damas* in 1787, was vice president twice, and died exiled from court for opposing Godoy; or María Lorenza de los Ríos, Marchioness of Fuerte-Híjar (1761–1821), a woman of letters and a translator, who held various positions in the *Junta de Damas*, including vice president, and authored an *Elogio a la Reina* (*Eulogy to the Queen*) in 1798, as well as poems, two plays, *La sabia indiscreta* (*The Indiscreet Learned Woman*) and *El Eugenio* (*Eugene*), and a translation of the *Life and Works of Count Rumford* (1802) (Jaffe 2009, 653–660). María Rita Barrenechea, Countess of el Carpio (1750–1795), presided over meetings of a lighter tone and less cosmopolitan attendees, but at which both she and her husband showed themselves to be cultured and sensitive, devotees of the theater and of spending time with their intimates. She wrote a play and many letters, now scattered or lost.

The Marchioness of Sonora, Concepción Valenzuela de Fuentes, third wife of Minister José Gálvez, and their daughter María Josefa, also enjoyed such meetings. Especially brilliant were those of their relative, Marie-Félicité Saint-Maxent, the widow of a Louisiana Creole and wife of Bernardo de Gálvez, the nephew of the Minister and the first Count of Gálvez. Her *tertulia*

preceded that of María Teresa Montalvo O’Farrill, Countess of Jaruco (1770–1812), a lady from Havana who, with her husband Joaquín de Santa Cruz, became established at court after a long sojourn in Europe, opened her house to the literati, artists, and distinguished personages (Beerman 2000, 349–362; Franco Rubio 2013, 1259–1280), and later joined José I’s cause after the Napoleonic invasion in 1808 (López-Cordón 2011, 113–116).

As in the case of the men, where erudition was not enough to make one enlightened, presiding over *tertulias*, sponsoring literati or artists, or belonging to the *Junta de Damas* did not make these women true enlightened ladies. Only some of them transcended the culture of sociability to assume intellectually the legacy of the Enlightenment, but their determination and their activity, in any case, marked their lives and their time.

### The institutional network: Magistrates and bureaucrats

An intermediate sector was that of the administrators of the Bourbon monarchy. Constituted of untitled nobility, members of the lesser nobility, or commoners, what defined their status was not their privileges or their fortune, but the ability to perform a specific intellectual activity. Among them were men of culture and talent who knew how to give consistency and continuity to cultural institutions, who participated in intellectual networks, and who hosted the *tertulias* and debates of the era. In addition to their specific functions, they shone as academics, literati, and scientists, and acted as spokespersons for new ideas and as opinion makers. Their common denominator was working with a pen and having a royal appointment. All institutions were not equally favorable in terms of the changes their members experienced. In the same way as the administration of the Bourbon monarchy was not imposed homogeneously, such changes occurred more slowly in institutions of a more horizontal, collegial nature than in those characterized by more individual, hierarchical activity that required expertise, either formal or discursive, for its performance.

This was the case with the magistracy, which had its own style that burdened its language and its members with entrance requirements and a regulated series of duties. Its ranks were filled from universities, whose curricula did not begin to be updated until 1770. But even before this, many high magistrates flaunted juridical knowledge not learned in their classes. As Jovellanos illustrates in his melodrama *El delincuente honrado* (*The Honorable Criminal*), in those days the conflict between the two types of judges, traditional and modern—the latter having a preference for the new legal doctrines—was already obvious. Montesquieu was not taught, but he was read; the same was true of Beccaria, Filangieri, and Tamburini, especially at the University of Salamanca, which, as of 1771, had a new curriculum that made the university the most advanced in the instruction of national law (Álvarez Morales 1988, 137–185; Alonso Romero 2012, 299–345). There, in a more open climate where Inquisition barriers seemed not to exist, its library had obtained a good number of prohibited books that students could read almost completely at will. According to a 1776 catalogue, there were works by Bayle, Vattel, Grocio, Montesquieu, Puffendorf, Raynal, Rousseau, Pope, Robertson, Swift, and Voltaire (Addy 1966; Rodríguez Domínguez 1979). One of the university’s most influential professors was Ramón de Salas (1753–1837), who developed an Academy of Law, where in 1788 and 1789 he explained political economy and handed out Genovesi’s work. His work was interrupted by an Inquisition trial between 1792 and 1796, but he participated in the Courts of Cádiz, and in 1821 he published *Lecciones de Derecho Público Constitucional* (*Lessons of Constitutional Public Law*, Astigarraga 2011).

Other universities and some educational centers, like the *Reales Estudios de San Isidro* (Royal Studies of San Isidro) in Madrid, also incorporated the new legal disciplines (Peset Reig and Peset Reig 1974; Simón Díaz 1992). From their classrooms came three generations of magistrates

who personified the evolution towards liberalism (Elorza 1970, 992–118). The first generation, represented by Pedro J. Pérez Valiente (1713–1789), still took an essentially scholarly approach (Fernández Albadalejo 2007, 245–286). Manuel Lardizábal (1739–1820), of New Spain, belonged to the second generation, participating in the development of the *Novísima Recopilación de las Leyes de España* (*New Code of Spanish Law*), and focusing his attention on penal law, under the influence of Cesare Beccaria. Although his political frame was always that of absolute monarchy, he defended the concept of proportional punishments and the abolition of torture (Molas 2000, 95–97). Lázaro Dou y Bassols (1742–1832), who graduated from the University of Cervera, Francisco Martínez Marina (1754–1733) of Oviedo, and Juan Sempere y Guarinos of Valencia (1754–1839) believed utterly in enlightened ideals. Their contributions to the history of institutions and Spanish law were notable, before and after the Courts of Cádiz, in which the first two men served as representatives, while Sempere opted to support Napoleon’s brother José I (Rico Jimenez 1997; Molas 2000, 93–98). The third generation, which Jovellanos called the generation of the “young democrats” (*jóvenes demócratas*), was made up of Álvaro Flórez de Estrada, Agustín de Argüelles, and Toreno y Canga Argüelles, among others, and became well-known in the Cádiz assembly.

Two other famous magistrates were Juan Meléndez Valdés (1754–1817), whose *Dictámenes* (Rulings) do not overshadow his poetry, and Melchor G. de Jovellanos (1744–1811), who left evidence in his *Diarios* of the determination, doubts, and difficulties faced by many of these magistrates in the years prior to the crisis of 1808. Two others who combined law and poetry were Juan Nicasio Gallego and Manuel José Quintana. It is no coincidence that in Madrid, a good number of these important people were in the Countess of Montijo’s social circle, nor that the war divided professional and intellectual careers that had run parallel until then (Corona 1993).

The magistrates took part in local magistrate courts, regional district courts (*audiencias*), and chanceries, culminating their careers on the councils. Thus, with the reformation of the *Colegios Mayores*, or residential colleges, after the expulsion of the Jesuits, not only was the collegiate monopoly on supplying candidates for positions broken, but also the criteria for recruitment changed. Two *manteístas*,<sup>1</sup> Manuel de Roda, Secretary of Justice, and his right-hand man, Francisco Pérez Bayer, tutor to the nobility, were key to a reform that enabled many magistrates to fill the highest positions, through advocacy or through different services to the state. Floridablanca, who did not attend a *Colegio Mayor*, mentored many *manteístas*, and so ultimately formed a wide network (Molas 2000, 71–74). Were they all enlightened? Not everyone adopted the full range of that ideology, but before the revolutionary crisis, few could resist the allure of wrapping themselves in its prestige. The case of Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes (1723–1802) is significant, as there can be little doubt of his enlightened spirit. As a lawyer, an author of books on history, economics, and philology, a devoted attendee of the *tertulia* of the illustrious polymath Father Martín Sarmiento, and promoter of the Economic Societies, he was a true supporter of Carlos III’s reforms (Castro 1996; Corona 1993). It is in his legal work where we can best appreciate the importance of the new ideas and the evolution of the legal science of the time.

Among the bureaucrats of the royal institutions there were also enlightened men in the fullest sense of the word, especially among Ministry officials, due to their ubiquity in the primary cultural institutions of the time and their importance in social and political life. Slowly they evolved from simple scribes into officers of the King, delegating the bulk of the record-keeping and writing to others, and taking on more complex tasks or writing reports on the areas they managed.

The Ministry offices were organized in 1714, and their number was set at five shortly thereafter: the Ministries of State, Finance, War, Justice, and of the Navy and the Indies. This number

did not change until between 1787 and 1792, when the Ministry of the Navy and the Indies was split in two. In 1754, the necessary areas of competencies for each ministry were detailed, and they searched for professional staff who could fulfill them. A small group of perhaps thirty people worked in each ministry, recruited from the administration itself, or through a process of clientele-based recruitment that involved training. This was a necessity, since its praxis was not taught in Latin schools (a college preparatory secondary school) or at the university, but rather it was learned through daily practice. They continued to be positions involving considerable paperwork, but also requiring other abilities to progress through the ranks. These abilities included “being seen” in and out of the workplace, having a good reputation in other fields, and frequenting influential circles, since it was not impossible—and had happened—that a highly qualified functionary became the minister of the office.

The appointment of these staff members was public and required stability; hence their status as “permanent, regular” positions. The result was a long, forced cohabitation among the employees, whose term in the institution varied from twenty to thirty years, until it was decreased drastically under Carlos IV. This was an amount of time that allowed for the development of friendships and feuds, family ties, support, and not a few entourages. From the beginning, promotion was hierarchical through the ranks, so when someone was promoted *per saltum*, passing over intermediate ranks, protests and hostility against him were immediate.

Undoubtedly, one’s situation was improved by proximity to royal power, which resulted in an increase in one’s institutional and personal prestige, paving the way into court life. Since a part of their duties was to “put in writing the will of the kings” (Prado y Rozas 1755, 15), it was essential that the offices be located within the Royal House itself—first on the ground floor of the old *Alcázar*, until it burned down in 1734, then in the *Buen Retiro*, and finally, under Carlos III, in the New Palace. A consequence of this closeness was that the employees gained privileges unique to court personnel: the rank of *servant to the King*; the possibility of certain honorific appointments, such as royal secretaries; filling certain posts, such as presenter of ambassadors; and membership on some administrative or treasury commissions (López-Cordón 1996, 11–130). All of this, by increasing their status, also transformed their public image, as confirmed by the granting of uniforms, per the Royal Order of October 31, 1744. Meanwhile, within the office they continued their own habits of socialization, which reinforced the corporate feeling and the ties of friendship.

Due to the demands of service, a certain specialization of knowledge began to be imposed: for the Ministry of State, an “exacting education” and “foreign languages” were recommended; for the Ministry of Justice, legal studies; military degrees for the Ministries of War and of the Navy and the Indies; and accounting experience for the Ministry of Finance. In the process, university studies were gaining importance, such that “enlightened bureaucrats” began to enter all the ministries. Thus, with no change in family background, the increasing demands contributed to the improvement of the officials’ social position as well. But whether they were clerks or learned men, educated at home or at the university, their intellectual curiosity was not the fruit of their studies, but rather of “the spirit of the times.” Private libraries, friendships, and activities related to learning, translation or editing all confirm that more than a few moved up through the administrative ranks while simultaneously contributing to the formation of the cultural framework of the century (López-Cordón 2017, 191–228).

The career of Agustín Montiano y Luyando (1697–1764), an officer of the Ministry of State, is a good example of the enlightened bureaucrat. A friend of Nicolás Fernández de Moratín and a collaborator of Father Sarmiento, he was the founder and secretary of the *Academia del Buen Gusto* (Academy of Good Taste) in the Countess of Lemos’s home, and the first director of the Academy of History (Fernández Cabezón 1989).

Another notable figure was José Nicolás de Azara (1730–1804), who began as a public servant in the Ministry of State in 1763. Two years later, in 1765, he was sent to the Roman Embassy, and he remained there for thirty-three years, first as general counsel, then from 1785 to 1798 as ambassador; in 1798, he was sent to Paris as ambassador. His friend and companion in the ministry and in diplomacy was Bernardo de Iriarte (1735–1814), who rose all the way through the ranks and was active as both an author and a translator, and simultaneously a member of the Royal Spanish Academy, the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, and the Madrid Economic Society. He was the secretary of the Spanish embassy in Rome in 1778 and returned to Spain to be a Counselor of the Indies, while also serving as vice president of the Philippine Company and a member of the Board of Commerce. A regular attendee of the Marquis of Iranda's *tertulia*, in 1789 he was brought to trial for a plot against Floridablanca, and again in 1803 for criticizing Godoy, ending in his exile from Court. He acknowledged José I as King of Spain, and was a member of his Council of State, a role for which he was later forced to emigrate to France in 1813 (Cotarelo 2006; Jordán de Urriés 2007, 259–280).

With a law degree from Salamanca, Mariano Luis de Urquijo (1768–1817) came to the Countess of Montijo's *tertulia* in 1791, through the auspices of Meléndez Valdés. Thanks to Aranda, he entered the Ministry of State as a public servant in 1792 and rose to senior officer after spending some time as a secretary of the Spanish embassy in London. In 1798 Carlos IV made him Minister of State, a position he held for just over a year. He promoted enlightened reforms and capped his royalist policies with a decree that made Spanish bishops subject to the king. He was a member of José I's government and died as an exile in Paris (López-Cordón 2013).

There were many such public servants who combined an administrative post with learned works, in the Academy of History, in the Spanish Academy, and the Academy of Fine Arts. More than a few worked in the Royal Library, with which the ministries shared librarians and translators. But beyond these specific cases, what is most interesting is how these functionaries, cloaked in the social prestige of knowledge, learned how to navigate both the hierarchical relations of the administrative staff and the more horizontal relations typical of boards of directors of learned societies, drawing support from the authority gained from one or the other to advance their careers. The opposite phenomenon was also seen: well-known literary figures who sought administrative posts that would enable them to live at court, as in the cases of the Moratín brothers and Tomás de Iriarte. Others, like Tomás López and Juan B. Muñoz, were able to advance their scientific work, thanks to the institutional framework of the ministries.

Cultured, educated, and curious, the bureaucrats of the royal offices were men of the *Ancien Régime*, and respected its conventions. But they were also open-minded individuals who knew how to combine professional and social values in their own favor, as well as to the benefit of a renewed state that began to transcend the intangible, and yet mortal, figure of the king. Their politicization arose from the confluence of both elements.

## Enlightening through dissemination

It is worth asking whether the efforts and commitment of the groups considered above transcended the boundaries of their social and intellectual circles, enabling enlightened ideas to reach a wider audience (Marías 1963, 200). While their activities varied, as well as the strategies used to distinguish themselves, the goal was the same: to reach a wide enough audience to gain authority, because academies, economic societies, *tertulias*, and the pen were instruments for both dissemination of ideas and self-promotion.

As in the rest of Europe, in Spain the eighteenth century belonged to the press, although it would have to wait until midcentury to take off. Cheaper than books, and more widely

distributed, from the first it sought to move beyond habitual readers, with the intention of building a loyal public made up of “all professions, all interests, all purposes,” which included “those who form their own opinions and who influence the opinions of those who don’t read” (*Correo de Cádiz*, 3 Feb. 1765, 1: 2; por todas las profesiones, todos los intereses, todas las miras [...] los que forman opinión por sí y la hacen formar a los que no leen).

Of course, subscribers, whether collective or individuals, were the most faithful readers. But they were never enough to guarantee the continuity of an enterprise subject to many difficulties. Some newspapers were hawked on the streets by newsboys crying out the headlines; some were sold in bookstores. In Spain there were also reading rooms, a later development, as there was less demand for them than in areas with higher literacy rates. Despite this, it was not only the social elites who were the natural consumers of the press, but also a more modest audience inclined more towards news of a strictly informative or educational nature. This was perhaps the longest-standing, although the least enlightened, audience for the press (Larriba 2013, 49–54). With regard to publicists, owners, and editors, it is not easy to establish a typology because every periodical genre privileges a different type, and the boundary between the man of letters and the publicist is less than clear. Nor is it easy, apart from some well-known names, to measure their commitment to the Enlightenment, even if they did adopt its language (Guinard 1973; Urzainqui 2003, 295–320; Larriba 2012, 323–350; Larriba 2013, 237–325). In general, their traits resembled those of their readers: “average” men who practiced the liberal arts, were public servants, military men, educators, lesser known literati, or lively clerics. Likewise, some were curious noblemen, or prestigious businessmen *cum* writers who, after initially rejecting the notion, decided to collaborate in the pages of the press. Many of these traits converged within a single person. A distinct disjunction arose between the self-declared purists, defenders of stylistic norms, and those who changed them, seeking a different style, because “by superficially touching on trivial matters that had neither any special adornment nor erudition, the public could be pacified” (*Academia de los ociosos*, 12 enero 1764: 20; con tocar superficialmente asuntos triviales, sin especial adorno, ni erudición, se podía contentar al público).

From these foundations, the number of periodicals in Spain grew in the second half of the century, especially between 1780 and 1791; their genres and their geographic distribution increased, and their contents began to shift from an initial enlightened reformism to more critical stances towards existing political and social realities. It is true that the print runs of the informative press and the official press were greater, but as the press continued to be incorporated into the different circles of sociability of the era (academies, *tertulias*, etc.), it began to have an influence on the issues discussed in these circles, involving its editors in debates that transcended their status as lesser-known writers.

The career paths of some of them illustrate this process. There are three who are true prototypes. Francisco Mariano de Nipho (1719–1803) was an early model of the true journalist, and author of more than twenty publications (Enciso 1956; Alvarez Barrientos 2006, 205–228). He is responsible for the first Spanish daily: the *Diario Noticioso, Curioso-Erudito-Comercial, Público y Económico* that appeared in February 1758 under a pseudonym and continued until 1918 under different titles and printers. Nipho was Aragonese, a translator, occasional writer, moralist, and indefatigable worker. He dedicated his life to founding newspapers and then selling the rights to them to create others, supporting himself with the earnings from these transactions and his investments. More than an intellectual or a man of letters, he was an entrepreneur who faced many economic problems at the beginning. Strictly speaking he was not an enlightened man; as he wrote in issue 17 of the *Diario Noticioso*, he never claimed to “set himself up to be a teacher” (Feb. 20, 1758; erigirse en maestro). He was also criticized and branded as a bad writer. Sempere y Guarinos, however, acknowledged that he had “considerable merit” (*bastante mérito*) and

considered him “the primary author of periodical papers” (el principal autor de los papeles periódicos) to whom “economic politics owes great efforts and a large collection of data, which is what [politics] needs most” (Sempere 1788, IV, 145–146; la política económica le debe muchos esfuerzos y un gran acopio de datos, que son los que más en ella se necesitan). He has been called a vulgarizer, copycat, and plagiarizer, but through him enlightened topics reached places they never would have otherwise.

José Clavijo y Fajardo (1726–1806), of the Canary Islands, aspired to greater intellectual heights. He came to Madrid in 1749, and through the influence of Minister Grimaldi, he was placed in the Ministry of War Office, where he began to write the *Estado general, histórico y cronológico del ejército, y ramos militares de la Monarquía* (*General, Historical and Chronological State of the Army, and Military Branches of the Monarchy*; Espinosa 1970; Arencibia 2003, 319–355). In 1755 he published *El tribunal de las damas* (*The Ladies’ Court*) and *Pragmática del zelo* (*Pragmatics of Zeal*), precedents to his journalistic work, and later, he traveled throughout Spain and France.

Upon his return, he began publishing the weekly *El Pensador* (*The Thinker*), which ran from August 1762 to December 1763, and again from 1766 to the end of 1767. His model was Addison’s *Spectator*, and like Addison, he hoped to promote enlightened ideals pertinent to the family, marriage, courtesy, the Baroque theater, and religiosity, including “Satire of the Nation” (*Sátira de la Nación*), done as “legitimate and laudable” criticism (Guinard 1973, 178–187). Published in Madrid and printed by Joaquín Ibarra, it enjoyed great success, eventually being collected in six volumes, with eighty-six “thoughts.” From 1763, when he was named officer of the Archive of the Ministry of State, he was in charge of the *Estado militar de España* (*Military Condition of Spain*), which was published annually and appeared with a guide to foreigners (*Calendario manual y guía de forasteros de Madrid*).

An affair with Beaumarchais’s sister, Lisette, caused his exile from court, the loss of his position, and suspension from the newspaper between 1764 and 1766. He became a translator, and in 1770, with the theatrical reforms, he was named director of the Theaters of the Royal Palaces. Three years later, Minister Grimaldi granted him the directorship of *Mercurio Histórico y Político de Madrid*, which belonged to the Ministry of State, and which he converted from a translation of the *Mercure historique et politique* that was printed in the Hague into an original publication. In 1771, he joined the Royal Cabinet of Natural History, where he developed a dictionary of natural history (*Diccionario castellano de historia natural*) and a translation of Buffon’s *Historia Natural*. Named vice-director in 1786, he was friendly with Humboldt, and was made a member of the Academies of Natural History of Berlin and of Copenhagen (Riera and Riera Climent 2003, 50–55). It was his idea to establish the Royal Study of Mineralogy or Systematic Cabinet, and to publish the *Anales de historia natural* (*Annals of Natural History*) in 1799.

The Majorcan Cristóbal Cladera (1769–1816) had studied theology and law and was a dedicated supporter of scientific progress and a thoughtful reader of Rousseau, Beattie, Buffon, and Gessner (Varela 1966; Jüttner 2009). He was the primary author and editor of the *Espíritu de los mejores diarios literarios que se publican en Europa*, a periodical aimed at disseminating scientific and literary news through either translations of foreign articles or through original texts. It appeared in July 1787, incorporating images to make it more appealing to its readers (Larriba 2010). It was published in nine volumes and it was an excellent business. Its pages contained not only science written for the average man and literary criticism, but also current events—such as demographic growth, the slave trade, and mendicancy—and other matters of a territorial or religious nature. The latter tended to run along hazy lines between Jansenism and laicism. After the press shut down in 1791, Cladera became a translator, publishing Brisson’s *Universal Dictionary of Physics*; between 1796 and 1802, he practiced law, and in 1808 he chose to join the French cause.

The editors of *El Censor*, the lawyer from Granada Luis García Cañuelo (1744–1802) and the Galician jurist Luis Marcelino Pereira (1754–1811) continued the tradition of *El Pensador*. *El Censor*, a publication critical of Spanish society, defended education, merit-based positions, and the value of work (García Padavanes 1972; Sáiz 1983, 203–215). Despite its success, it was canceled three times, the last in 1787. Shortly thereafter, Cañuelo was tried by the Inquisition and had to recant. With the end of the publication, he also lost his means of earning a living, and he died in October 1802, penniless and mentally ill. His colleague, Luis Marcelino Pereira, was luckier. He built a career as a magistrate, and in the 1780s he participated in the founding of the Economic Society of Santiago and sponsored the creation of a chaired professorship of Civil Economics, offering himself as the professor. To that end, he wrote a series of memoirs, close to economic liberalism (García Padavanes 1972, 20–23). He was friends with both Meléndez Valdés and Urquijo, and like them, he acknowledged José I in 1808 and became Counselor of State.

*El Censor* had many imitators, such as *El Corresponsal del Censor*, published between 1786 and 1788 by Manuel Rubín de Celis (1743–1793?) and *El Apologista Universal* (1786–1788) by the Augustinian priest Pedro Centeno. Two who were also ecclesiastics and journalists were José María Beristáin, who between 1787 and 1788 published in Valladolid the *Diario Pinciano*, and Pedro Estala, who collaborated with the *Diario de Madrid* between 1795 and 1798 (Larriba 2004, 19–42).

Revelation and erudition were the foundation of the *Semanario Erudito*, which was published by Antonio Valladares de Sotomayor (1737–1820) in Madrid between 1787 and 1791 in thirty-four volumes, and of the *Diario de las Musas* by Luciano Comella (1751–1812). Both men were also successful playwrights. And a certain collective authorship is behind the *Memorial Literario Instructivo y Curioso de Madrid*, founded by two Aragonese men, Joaquín Ezquerro (1750–1820), professor of Latin in the Royal Studies of San Isidro, and Pedro Pablo Trullenc, (portero de la Cámara de Castilla, manager of the Chamber of Castile). It was published in installments until 1791 and reappeared between July 1793 and December 1797 as *Continuación del Memorial Literario, Instructivo y Curioso de la Corte de Madrid*, and from 1801 to 1808 with the title *Memorial Literario o Biblioteca Periódica de Ciencias, Literatura y Artes*. It included articles on science, technology, and literature, theatrical criticism, bibliographic changes, and cultural or official institutional news. It also included figures and the occasional engraving (Guinard 1973, 252–264; Larriba 2009, 389–414; Checa Beltrán 2009, 497–524).

The early years of the nineteenth century were difficult for the press, due to the war and the political crisis (Urzainqui 2009, 87–114; Larriba 2012, 19–42). But then a new generation of journalists, who were no longer publicists, started joining the editorial offices not only as writers, but as agents and directors of the newspapers themselves and radically changed the genre of journalism.

## Epilogue: Between ideology and a way of life

The debate about the Spanish Enlightenment cannot be settled here; we can only recall that it is a recurrent theme among the figures discussed earlier in this chapter. The opinion held of it, even then, was varied, if not contradictory, and ran from satisfaction with progress made, to Jovellanos's lament over "the small amount of enlightenment that there is among us" (Deacon 2009, 235; lo poco que hay de ilustración entre nosotros). The problem, according to *El Censor*, was its scope, because "there is little use in having a few enlightened men in the State if the ideas are not widely distributed" (1989, 91; de poco sirve que haya en un Estado algunos pocos hombres ilustrados, si las luces son poco generales). Nor were the so-called enlightened men all enlightened in the same way, or with equal conviction: there were committed men, but also

lukewarm adherents, and others who were instrumental in the dissemination of enlightenment, or who adopted its forms more than its content. Many “lived enlightened lives,” but without many intellectual implications. The nobility, old and new, played an important role in its dissemination, as well as the social group of administrators. We cannot know whether the combination of experience and practice that formed their training produced a certain bureaucratic style that directed their intellectual curiosity more towards the knowable, scientific, or economic, than to the strictly systematic. It is no coincidence that empiricism and sensualist philosophy were easily disseminated in Spain, although the open, critical nature of Enlightenment philosophy also took root (Sánchez Blanco 2002, 162–169). In any case, when it came time to analyze the equation between enlightenment and reform, it is important to understand as part of the same process both the decisions taken from the seats of power and the actions set in motion by the secondary players, well-established in the administration of the monarchy and possessing the instruments and the necessary conventions for their public projection.

Overcoming the obstacles that they had to confront, publicists learned how to set in motion a relationship of exchange with their readers that benefited not only the circulation of topics about current affairs, but also others of moral and ideological interest through which the values of that century were expressed. Among them were social criticism, praise for free thinking, and a commitment to a thoughtful, tolerant faith, thus promoting a new social model educated not only through books, but by the ability to “correr cortes” [travel], as Clavijo said (*El Pensador* 19, 184–188), useful to society and not idle, because “a citizen of this type is, in my opinion, the greatest flaw and the heaviest burden that [society] can suffer” (*El Censor* 9: 130; un ciudadano de este jaez es, a mi parecer el mayor gabarro y la carga más pesada que puede sufrir). The writers neither wanted, nor were able, to scandalize their readers, but they did want to guide them towards ideas behind which beat the strength of reason and the conviction of progress.

## Note

★ Translated by Linda Grabner, University of Pennsylvania

- 1 *Manteístas* were members of the lesser nobility who generally attended public schools, who at one time wore the traditional cassock (*sotana*) and cape (*manteo*; hence *manteístas*), and who opposed the privileges of those attending the *Colegios Mayores*.

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# Circles of Enlightenment

## *Goya y sus amigos* in the 1790s<sup>1</sup>

Janis A. Tomlinson

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The final decade of the eighteenth century was a pivotal one in the life of the artist Francisco Goya y Lucientes. Its markers are well-known: his appointment as court painter (1789); his report on curricular reform in the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando (1792); an illness that left him deaf for life (1793); his first known paintings created without a commission (1793–4); his appointment as director of painting in the Real Academia (1795); a year-long trip to Andalucía (1796–7); his resignation from the directorship of painting in the Real Academia (1797); the sale announcement of *Los Caprichos* (February 1799); and, at the decade's end, his appointment as first court painter (October 1799).

During these years Goya also came into contact with leading reform-minded men, historians, and writers. Beyond his lifelong friend from Zaragoza, Martín Zapater, he made, or renewed, acquaintances with Sebastián Martínez, Leandro Fernández de Moratín, Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, Juan Meléndez Valdés, and Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos. Their relationships with the artist—as patrons, acquaintances, and friends—are usually discussed as discrete friendships, often in connection to a portrait by Goya. To be considered here are the interconnections among these men within social and political networks of the decade.

On February 28, 1792, the count of Floridablanca, who had served as secretary of state for fifteen years, was relieved of his duties. To replace him, King Carlos IV appointed as interim the count's longtime adversary, Pedro Pablo Abarca de Bolea, count of Aranda, whose experience as ambassador to France from 1773 to 1787 made him a viable candidate to improve relations with revolutionary Paris that had suffered under the intransigent Floridablanca. Aranda's appointment was celebrated in his native Aragón and particularly by the members of the Economic Society of Friends of the Country in Zaragoza, including Goya's friends, Martín Zapater and Juan Martín de Goicoechea, and, after October 22, 1791, Goya himself. At the time of Aranda's appointment, a main concern of the society was the formation of a royal academy of fine arts in Zaragoza. The poet and jurist Juan Meléndez Valdés, who had arrived in Zaragoza in 1789 to serve as court judge, contributed briefly to this effort but left Zaragoza for a new assignment in Valladolid after attending only one meeting of the committee charged with writing the statutes. Goicoechea then drafted the statutes once Meléndez returned the minutes to him (Demerson 1971, 283; Ansón 1993, 129–30). Approved in Zaragoza on January 20, 1792, these were submitted to Floridablanca, who opposed the creation of another royal academy, thinking that advanced

students should come to Madrid to study. Eleven days before his dismissal, he wrote to the director of the Economic Society saying that the king had never approved the project and the title of “Real Academia” would not be given (Ansón 1993, 133).

Advocates for the Zaragoza academy were quick to realize the opportunity offered by Aranda’s appointment, and their efforts help to explain the extended stay in Madrid of Martín Zapater from March to August 1792 (Ansón 1995, 277). Although Goya’s first reference to his friend’s upcoming visit in a letter dated February 17, 1792 shows that it had been planned prior to Floridablanca’s dismissal (Goya 1792), Zapater’s correspondence with Goicoechea, today in the Museo del Prado, leaves no doubt that he took advantage of his stay to promote the cause of the Zaragoza academy. On April 7, as Zapater was planning to go to the court at Aranjuez to make his case, Goicoechea wrote asking him not to do anything without consulting the senior court painter Francisco Bayeu (Goya’s brother-in-law), who had written to Goicoechea that he was going to speak to the king and give him an extract of the petition (Museo del Prado, ODZ 16). Two weeks later, in response to the unexpected royal order elevating the drawing school of the Economic Society to the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Luis (named in honor of the Queen María Luisa) Goicoechea wrote to Zapater:

I do not find the words with which I can express my happiness, my personal joy, and even madness caused by the news of the triumph that has been achieved in favor of all the Kingdom with the elevation of this School to a Royal Academy with the name, or title of San Luis, in truth it surprised me...

(Museo del Prado, ODZ 017)<sup>2</sup>

The members of the Royal Academy in Madrid had still to approve the proposed statutes, and on April 24 a calmer Goicoechea wrote that it was essential for Zapater “to continue his efforts to achieve this” (Museo del Prado, ODZ 018). Through May, June, and July Goicoechea expressed his frustration with the procrastination of the Madrid academicians, worried that the statutes would not be in place by the beginning of the term; on June 26 he resigned himself to the fact that the statutes will be addressed “when those Men feel like it” (Museo del Prado, ODZ 024; *quando les dè la gana a esos Señores*). Approval was finalized on October 19, 1792 (Ansón 1993, 135).

Another visitor to Madrid that spring was Sebastián Martínez, an art collector and businessman from Cádiz who made his fortune lending money and in trade with the New World (Gil-Diez 199–200). One possible motivation for his trip may have been to make himself known to the new powers at court, where in July 1796 he would be admitted as a member of the Royal Academy, and in 1799 appointed *tesorero mayor del reino*, or first treasurer of the kingdom (Gil-Diez 202, 208). Martínez was no stranger to court circles, having corresponded over three years earlier with the academy’s secretary, Antonio Ponz, and Floridablanca in regard to an overly zealous Inquisitional official who had threatened sequestration of paintings he considered indecent in his collection. Martínez first appealed to Ponz, who in August 1788 made Floridablanca aware of the case; the following spring, Floridablanca promised to speak with the Inquisitor General once he returned from Aranjuez (Cruz 1989, 311–319). At this point, the correspondence lapsed, although Martínez continued as a suspect of the Inquisition, not only for the works of art in his collection, but also for his books (Gil-Diez 2014, 201). Ponz subsequently visited Martínez in Cádiz and wrote at length of the collection “of my good friend Don Sebastián Martínez” which “should especially call the attention of connoisseurs” in volume seventeen of the *Viaje de España*, advertised for sale in the *Mercurio de España* (March 1792, 262) shortly before Martínez’s arrival in Madrid. In writing of the collection, Ponz noted that two of figures in a *bodegón* (still life, in

this case, with figures) by Velázquez had the same physiognomies as those in “the comic *Triumph of Bacchus* that don Francisco de Goya etched.” Upon the collector’s arrival in Madrid, Ponz possibly provided a personal introduction to the artist (Ponz 1947, 1587–88).

Self-made and learned, Martínez was a new kind of client to whom Goya responded with a groundbreaking portrait (Metropolitan Museum, New York) showing the sitter poised and confident as he looks up from the paper in his hand, apparently a print. Painting to impress a wealthy connoisseur of art, Goya exploited color and handling in a manner that anticipates his greatest portraits of the coming decade, using highly diluted blue pigment to define his silk coat, allowing the ground to show through to create a painterly equivalent for the shimmer of the material; narrow green stripes help to define form. Seeing the portrait 125 years later, after its 1906 acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the American artist Kenyon Cox—no fan of Goya’s—commented:

The head is soundly and quietly executed but the most remarkable thing in the picture is the painting of the steel-blue coat...Go up close and look at that coat and you will find that over a warm ground it has been painted with almost infinitesimal draggings of fluid semi-opaque color, so thin as to be almost transparent. These little cool blue upper paintings are laid on with the utmost delicacy and the whole coat is one shimmer of light.

(Cox 1917, 150)

On the verso of the print in Martínez’s hand, Goya wrote: *D. Sebastián Martínez, by his friend Goya* (1792). The coincidence of Zapater and Martínez in Madrid may have offered Goya the opportunity to introduce the two businessmen, and explains how the artist became the subject of their correspondence between Cádiz and Zaragoza the following year.

As Goya followed the progress of the proposed Royal Academy in Zaragoza, he also became involved with reforms in the academy in Madrid. As secretary of state, Aranda served as the protector of the academies in Madrid, and thus influenced the appointment of a new vice-protector to the royal academy, Bernardo de Iriarte. Iriarte was well-versed in the ways of the court, having worked for eighteen years in the office of the secretary of state prior to his appointment as director of the Council of the Indies in 1780; he held the Order of Carlos III as well as various roles as a member of both the Spanish Royal Academy and the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, where he had served as counsellor since 1786 (Jordán 261–2). Goya attended the session of the royal academy on March 18, 1792, at which Iriarte was presented (RABASF 1792, Fol. 191r).

On July 30 Goya also attended a meeting of directors and other officials summoned by Iriarte to undertake a review of the academic curriculum, a project possibly inspired by Aranda, whose interest was recognized at the time of his death in 1798: “Whenever the subject of the meetings turned to the progress of study, the opinion of the Señor Consiliario the count of Aranda was sought” (García 1992, 17). On August 19, Iriarte asked each member of the committee to contribute a proposal and suggested topics to consider: the collection of drawings available to students; how to arbitrate disputes; requisites for promotion of students; recommendations for dealing with students who disturb the silence in class and, finally, pedagogy. Goya attended the meeting on October 14 in which the professors’ proposals were to be read; however, Iriarte deviated from the agenda and the meeting was spent in discussion of monthly prizes. The presentation of proposals took place on October 28, when all but three reports were read (Tomlinson 1992, 40–41).

Goya’s recommendations could not have been further from the topics proposed by Iriarte and may well constitute the most anti-academic proposal ever presented within the institution. He proclaimed that the academy should not serve any purpose beyond “offering help to those

who freely with to study in them, doing away with all servility of a grammar school, mechanical precepts, monthly prizes, stipends, and other trivialities that vilify and effeminate an Art as liberal and noble as that of Painting.” He would illustrate with facts that “there are no rules in Painting and that the oppression, or servile obligation of making all study or follow the same path, is a great impediment for the Young who practice this very difficult art, that approaches the Divine more than any other.” After decrying those who placed Greek statues above nature, Goya pleaded that the Arts not be “dragged down by the power or knowledge of other sciences, but rather governed by their own merit [...]: then the despotic enthusiasts cease and prudent lovers are born, who appreciate, venerate and encourage those who excel, providing them with work that can further advance their ingenuity, helping them with the greatest force to produce all that their inclination promises: this is the true protection of the Arts.” We almost sense his tone changing, his pulse slowing, as he concluded the first draft or dictated to the amanuensis of the document today in the Royal Academy archive:

In conclusion, sir, I do not see any better means of advancing the Arts, nor do I believe there is one, than to reward and protect the one who shows a talent for them; to hold in esteem the true Artist; and to allow full freedom to the genius of the students who wish to learn them, without oppression, nor imposition of methods that twist the inclination they show for this or that style of painting.

(Tomlinson 1992, 194)

Although Goya’s address was summarized in the minutes of the October 28 meeting, the only known reaction to it is in the diary of the academician and engraver Pedro González Sepúlveda, who considered it similar to the report of the painter Luis Paret: “Goya, the same, and does not speak of Geometry, saying that there have been great men without such lessons” (González 180–81). When the committee met again in November, Goya was absent. The review of the curriculum had little impact, with the exception that monthly prizes for students were no longer given (RABASF 1792, 203v). But Goya had gained an important ally in Bernardo de Iriarte.

From November to December 1792, Goya was bedridden, suffering from what he described as “cólicos.” After fulfilling his teaching obligations in January, he traveled to Andalucía and by March 1793 was at the house of Sebastián Martínez, recuperating from a serious illness (Maurer 2010, 74–76). Among Zapater’s correspondence in the Museo del Prado is a draft of a letter written by Martínez on March 19, which was perhaps never received by its addressee, Pedro Arascot, secretary to the head of the royal household (whether this is an unsent draft or a copy of a letter sent remains unclear). In it, Martínez requested an extension of Goya’s leave, and offered the sole surviving account of his arrival in Cádiz:

My Dear Sir and Master: My friend don Francisco de Goya left that court, as you know, with a desire to see this city and those en route during two months he had on leave, but fortune had it that he would fall ill in Seville, and believing that here he would have more help, he decided to come with a friend who accompanied him, and he entered my door in a very bad state, in which he still finds himself without having been able to leave the house.

(Sambricio 1946, doc. 160)

The friend who brought Goya from Seville is often identified as the art historian Juan Agustín Ceán Bermúdez, a protégé of Jovellanos who had been posted to a position in the Archive of the Indies in Seville, following Jovellanos’s fall from favor in Madrid in 1790. Support that Goya and Ceán had been together in Seville is offered by Ceán himself in his *Diccionario histórico de*

*los más ilustres profesores de las bellas artes en España* (1800). Writing of the terracotta sculpture of Saint Jerome by Pietro Torregiano in Seville as “not only the best piece of modern sculpture that there is in Spain, but we also doubt that there is better in Italy or France,” he states that he would not offer this judgment, had he not heard it from Don Francisco Goya, who “in our presence examined it, climbing to the niche in which it is placed on two separate occasions, staying there each time for more than five quarters of an hour” (Ceán 1800, vol. 5, 68–9). The second occasion that would allow Goya to examine the sculpture would come in 1796.

Martínez also wrote to Zapater with updates on their mutual friend. Responding to letters from Martínez (today lost), Zapater commented in a letter long misdated, “the nature of his illness is one of the most feared, it forces me to think with melancholy about his recuperation,” and thanked Martínez and his family for their care of Goya, offered to help in whatever way he could, and sent his warmest regards to Goya (Maurer 2010, 74–7). Zapater also corresponded with Bayeu, whom he thanked for helping obtain the extension of Goya’s leave and —perhaps in agreement with Bayeu—opined that Goya’s troubles were the result of his poor judgment (Sambricio 1946, doc. 162). This probable reference to Goya’s decision to undertake the journey from Madrid to Seville in winter following two months in bed with colic illustrates Zapater’s awareness of his friend’s propensity for impulsive, and sometimes not well-considered, actions.

Goya returned to Madrid by May and the following January 4 submitted to the Royal Academy a group of cabinet paintings, or small works intended for the *cabinets* or *gabinetes* that had become an essential room in late-eighteenth-century aristocratic palaces. With them, he sent to Bernardo de Iriarte the frequently quoted letter in which he stated that these works allowed him to go beyond the restraints imposed on his “*capricho e invención*” (whim and invention) by commissioned works. In that letter, he also confided:

I thought to send them to the Academy for all the ends that Your Most Illustrious Honor knows that I can hope for in exhibiting this work to the judgment of the professors, but to assure myself of these ends, I thought it fitting to send the pictures first to Your Most Illustrious Honor so that you see them and, because of the respect with which they will be regarded given Your Honor’s authority and singular intelligence, there will be no place for bad feelings. Protect them, Your Most Illustrious Honor, and protect me in a situation in which I most need the favor that you have always shown me. God protect Your Most Illustrious Honor for many years.”

(Goya 1794)

Thus, Goya trusted Iriarte to serve as an advocate for his works and to protect against the criticism of other academicians. Iriarte apparently did so, for the minutes of the meeting record that the members had seen eleven paintings of “various subjects of national pastimes” (*varios asuntos de diversiones nacionales*), and that the membership was very pleased to see them and celebrated the merit of the artist (RABASF 1794, fol. 279v). Iriarte would again serve as Goya’s intermediary following the death of the court painter Francisco Bayeu in August 1795 by endorsing Goya’s request to be assigned those commissions that Bayeu had not yet completed; the request was denied (Loga 166–7, note 191). Goya’s respect and gratitude for Iriarte is recorded in the inscription of his portrait, “painted by Goya in testimony of mutual esteem and affection, in the year 1797” (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Strasbourg).

We do not know what eleven paintings Goya delivered to the royal academy in January 1794. A widely accepted reconstruction (Wilson-Bareau and Mena Marqués 1994, 191–209) includes six bullfight scenes and another of strolling players, both of which could well fit the description on “national pastimes” in the meeting minutes. It is, however, difficult to justify within that

rubric paintings of a fire at night, an attack by bandits, a shipwreck, or a prison scene included in the reconstruction. On January 7, Goya wrote again to Iriarte describing a painting of a yard with lunatics, then in progress, to complete the series; this author has argued for interpretation of that as a reference to contemporary theater—and thus, a national pastime of sorts (Tomlinson 1989, 222–225). Whether that last painting ever arrived at the academy is not known, since two days later Goya requested that the paintings be released to the Marqués de Villaverde, so that his daughter, gifted in drawing, might see them. More significant here is the recognition of these paintings as a new departure in Goya's art, one that would soon be valued by contemporary collectors such as Léonard Chopinot, who owned fourteen “sketches” (*borrones*) representing bullfights, shipwrecks, bandits and fires and other unnamed, and the Marqués de la Romana, who owned “eleven small paintings in gold frames that are *caprichos* of Goya” (Glendinning 1994, 108–109). Goya also showed two small paintings of his invention at the annual exhibitions of the Royal Academy in 1797, and in 1799 exhibited six *caprichos*, although it is unclear whether these were paintings or etchings from *Los Caprichos*, announced for sale in February of that year (Tomlinson 1992, 49). How many such paintings Goya created will never be known; given their small size and private ownership those that survive are probably only a fraction of his production in this genre.

Having found patrons for his innovative subjects, Goya expanded his subject matter far beyond “national pastimes,” to include natural disasters and bandits, as well as cannibalism, rape, and other scenes of brutality. One patron who encouraged such dark fantasies was the duchess of Osuna who commissioned six *asuntos de brujas*—witchcraft subjects—invoiced by Goya on June 27, 1798. In one, a witch offers an emaciated child to the devil while another holds a stick strung with infant corpses; in a second painting, a man is haunted by the presence (or vision) of witches with a basket full of such corpses (Museo Lázaro Galdiano, Madrid; Wilson-Bareau and Mena Marqués 1994, pls. 46–47).

Another outlet for Goya's unbridled invention were the drawings he began to create in the mid-1790s, inspired by (but not necessarily drawn from) contemporary life. Through the rest of his life, using pencil, chalk, pen and ink, brush and ink, and crayon he continued to record invention on paper. He valued these works sufficiently to order them in numbered sequences and leave them to be inherited by his son; missing numbers imply drawings lost, reminding us of their vulnerability.

After 1793, as a man newly deaf, Goya looked at the world around him and realized that his understanding of situations could only go so far; the world had become a series of mute images. Perhaps for this reason, no later than 1796 he began to add captions to his drawings. Ironically, these function like the note that a friend with hearing might have scribbled to explain a scene for Goya, only now it is the deaf man who elucidates the scene of his invention. Representations of pretty women on the streets might not require commentary, but Goya felt other subjects did, and he added captions in brush and ink as his subjects became more complex. He identified three women, hair shorn, conservatively dressed and spinning, with the annotation, “S.<sup>a</sup> Fernando,” a reference to the institution to which wayward women were sent to learn a trade; subsequently he added in pen and ink, “How they spin!” Elsewhere, he offered the plot summary: as two men draw swords, a third a pistol, in spite of the pleas of a kneeling and distraught woman, Goya explains, “Her brothers kill her lover and she kills herself after.” Did Goya's deafness inspire these glosses? For without them we share his experience of the world, witnessing an interaction, but never quite sure of its meaning. Captions served to communicate Goya's invented plots to others and suggest that they were shared. Whether through drawings or paintings, Goya's originality was, I suggest, recognized by thinkers and writers of the day, including Leandro Fernández de Moratín with whom he became acquainted—or possibly re-acquainted—in December 1796.

In late spring, 1796, Goya again travelled to Andalucía, where he would stay for almost a year. Although no request for leave is known, the marquis of Santa Cruz noted in a letter of June 17 that Goya appeared to be unable to paint, due to his “usual ills” (*males habituales*) (Mena Marqués and Maurer 2006, 254), which might have led to a sympathetic reception had such a request been made. Goya was still in Madrid in February when he turned in his report of expenses for the second half of the previous year, and in early May, when he received a letter from Jovellanos asking him to paint a portrait of the Prince of Asturias for the Royal Asturian Institute in Gijón. Ceán had also written to Goya from Seville, asking him to relay a request to Goya’s long-time acquaintance, the sculptor Joaquín Aralí. Aralí’s response to Ceán in late July offers some clues to Goya’s whereabouts: “My dear Sir and Master: I will satisfy the commission that my friend Goya made to me on May 25 telling you about my life, although it would be better to keep quiet for it is of no benefit to anyone.” After offering his own biographical details, Aralí signed the letter and added in a postscript: “Please give my regards to Goya, if by chance he is in Seville on his return from Sanlúcar.” In a second letter written in September, Aralí added a postscript: “From news we have received it seems that Goya is not doing at all well, which all of his friends and all who know him regret” (Salas 1964, 320). Goya thus left Madrid sometime after May 25; by September, rumors of his illness had reached Madrid.

By late December, Moratín’s diary confirms Goya’s presence in Cádiz. It is unclear whether Moratín and Goya had previously met; having begun his career at court in 1787 as secretary to the count of Cabarrús, whose portrait Goya would complete by April 1788, they may have known one another, although the connection is admittedly tentative. In 1792 Moratín travelled to Paris sponsored by Manuel Godoy; when the political situation cut short his stay, he continued to London and eventually to Italy where in August 1796 he received word from Godoy of his appointment as “Secretary of the Interpretation of Languages.” An eventful passage from Italy brought him to Cádiz, where on Christmas day he dined with Sebastián Martínez, as he did frequently during his stay in Cádiz; how and when Moratín came to know Martínez is not known. That same day, he visited Goya, who was sick (“*quia aeger*”). He noted other visits, sometimes made in the company of Martínez, simply as “chez Goya” on December 29, January 1, 2, and 3, and again on January 8 (Fernández de Moratín 1973, 174–175; Baticle 1971, 111–113). Five days later, Moratín traveled to Seville where he enjoyed daily visits and art excursions with Ceán, dined with the Duchess of Alba on January 19; and wrote to Jovellanos from Ceán’s house on January 21: “The honorable Ceán is the same as always: I write this from his house and at his side...” (Fernández de Moratín 1973, 218).

Between Goya’s return to Madrid by April 1797 and the end of 1799, Moratín recorded twenty-one visits with Goya in his diary, usually visiting the artist in his home, including a visit on July 16, 1799, noted with the word “Portrait” (in English), suggesting that Moratín sat for him. Another guest in Moratín’s house during the spring of 1797 was the jurist, poet, and friend of Jovellanos, Juan Meléndez Valdés, who aspired to a position at court (Fernández de Moratín 1967, 182, 187). From Madrid, Meléndez corresponded regularly with his longtime friend Jovellanos, who wrote a recommendation for Meléndez on April 23. As Meléndez persisted, Jovellanos advised in a letter of July 27 that his friend “run from the Court to enjoy your good reputation in Valladolid,” advice Jovellanos himself would soon ignore (Demerson 1971, 326–335). In April and again in July 1797, Meléndez visited Moratín, perhaps to discuss literature or to seek Moratín’s assistance in gaining the goodwill of Manuel Godoy, the Prince of Peace, to whom he dedicated the first edition of his poems published in April.

Meléndez’s persistence was rewarded on October 3 with an appointment as a judge, soon followed by a trip to Valladolid for personal matters where he fell ill, allowing him to assume his position only in February of the following year. Goya’s portrait of him is an intimate close-up,

offering a subtle study of the character of the forty-three-year-old jurist, executed in a harmony of cool gray, white, and warm brown (Barnard Castle, Bowes Museum). Apart from the richness of applied paint, there is nothing in his simple attire or lightly powdered hair to distract from Goya's rendering of his careworn, perhaps jaded, gaze. Dated 1797, it was probably painted before his early October appointment, given Meléndez's departure from Madrid soon after: it is a stunning likeness of a dedicated and tired man, painted with little embellishment. The gray parapet bears the inscription, "To Meléndez Valdés his friend Goya 1797."

What might have brought these men together? Goya's attendance sixteen years earlier at a general session of the Royal Academy where Meléndez read his "Ode to the Fine Arts," hardly justifies such a sympathetic rendering. Moratín offers one connection, since he maintained his relationship with Goya through ten visits between June and December of this year. But another overlooked connection with Meléndez might have been through Zapater, whom Meléndez knew from his time in Zaragoza (1789–1791) and his membership in the Economic Society to which Zapater also belonged. Zapater was in Madrid by early April 1797, a visit that offered Goya the opportunity to again paint him, now fifty years old (Museo de Bellas Artes, Bilbao). Zapater also was apparently seeking the attention of those in power, and although his objective is not known, the advice offered by Goicoechea in a letter of May 16 suggests that it was not easily achieved: "I have already written you, and I tell you now again, do not bother yourself with those people who find themselves with an abundance of vanity, pride, presumption, and that you treat them with this knowledge..." (Museo del Prado, ODZ 27).

After seven years, Jovellanos returned to court, meeting his old friend Francisco de Cabarrús at the Puerto de Guadarrama en route to the Escorial, where they arrived on November 22. He now renewed his acquaintance with Francisco de Saavedra, the newly appointed minister of finance, whom he had first met in Seville in 1770. The brief tenure of Jovellanos as minister of grace and justice (November 1797—August 1798) also brought Ceán Bermúdez back to Madrid in December 1797; he visited Moratín on December 12. Ceán later wrote that he gifted to Goya several etchings by Rembrandt as he was working on *Los Caprichos*, and another art historian reported a note on the verso of a print from Ceán's collection (today unlocated): "Goya took eight prints by Rembrandt on May 21" (Santiago Páez and Wilson-Bareau 1996, 59, note 64). Given that Ceán returned to Madrid in December 1797, and *Los Caprichos* were announced for sale in February 1799, it must have been on May 21, 1798 that Goya visited Ceán and borrowed the prints. Goya returned the favor with a series of small red chalk portraits of artists, presumably to illustrate the dictionary of artists active in Spain upon which Ceán was working; he also made a drawing of Ceán, intended to serve as a frontispiece. Ultimately, no portraits were included in the dictionary, published by the Royal Academy in 1800; all that survives of the project are seven firmly attributed drawings (Santiago Páez and Wilson-Bareau 1996, 96–97).

By February 1798 Meléndez Valdés had returned to Madrid to assume his appointment position as judge, joining his friend Jovellanos, now minister of grace and justice; Meléndez's wife recalled their visits twice a day (Demerson 1971, 346). This did not hinder his productivity, evidenced by eloquent arguments for the prosecution that offer some insight into events of Goya's world long forgotten. The first of these, presented in court on March 28, 1798, dealt with the murder the previous December of Francisco Castillo by his wife, María Vicenta Mendieta and her lover, Santiago de San Juan, a case that fascinated Madrid and is also thought to have inspired plate 32 of *Los Caprichos*, because she was susceptible (Glendinning, 1978). Between March and July, Meléndez also wrote arguments pertaining to a husband's murder of his wife, a father and daughter accused of incest, a man accused of stealing jewels from the image of Our Lady of the Almudena and another of stealing livestock, as well as ruling in response to women

who audaciously wore *basquiñas* (overskirts) in colors other than black during Holy Week (Meléndez 1821).

Well-known is Goya's account of his meeting at Aranjuez with Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos in a late March letter to Zapater:

I arrived from Aranjuez the day before yesterday for which reason I haven't responded. The Minister went beyond himself in the attention he gave me, taking me with him in his coach, making the greatest gestures of friendship that one can make, he gave me permission to eat with my cape on because it was very cold, he learned to sign and stopped eating to speak with me, he wanted me to stay until Easter, and to paint the portrait of Saavedra (who is his friend) and I would have been happy to do so but I had neither canvas nor a shirt to change, and I left him unhappy and came home: here is a letter that proves it, I don't know if you will be able to read his writing that is worse than mine: Do not show it or say anything and return it to me in the mail.

(Goya 1798)

Although the letter is dated only March 27, Goya's mention that the "minister" was a friend of Saavedra's (the minister of finance, Francisco de Saavedra) allows us to establish a date of 1798 and identifies Goya's companion as Jovellanos. Within days of this meeting, a major—and for many, a long-desired change—took place in the government. As reported in the *Gaceta de Madrid* on March 30, Carlos IV gave in to the "repeated pleas" of the Prince of Peace to be relieved of his duties, and, on March 28 had named Saavedra as interim secretary of state. We do not know if Jovellanos knew of this imminent change when he asked Goya to paint the portrait of Saavedra.

Two days after their shared meal, Jovellanos forwarded to the controller of the royal household a petition from Goya for reimbursement of payments made to his color grinder and assistant, Pedro Gómez, and for materials purchased during the two previous years. Goya's earlier request, made the previous October, had been refused, with the sound justification that the only expenses covered were those for works painted in service to the king, which Goya could not claim, especially in light of his absence from court "for the full year of 1796." Jovellanos intervened with a request for information; arguments were repeated, and by mid-April, the case was resolved in Goya's favor "at the order of the king" and presumably with the minister's intervention (Sambricio 1946, docs. 181–190). The indulgence shown the artist is surprising in light of Spain's increasingly critical financial situation, for by May 1798 the predicted national deficit was 800 million *reales*. On June 5, the *Gaceta de Madrid* announced that the king would cede half of his private purse to the Treasury in June, sacrifice silver from the palace and royal chapel that was not essential to worship or service, and asked all palace officials to make all possible cuts in spending.

The government appointments made in late 1797 that brought well-known figures associated with the *Ilustración* to court were short-lived. Jovellanos and Meléndez were relieved of their positions in August 1798 and required to leave court, Ceán would remain until 1801 when he was forced to return to Seville as Jovellanos was exiled to Mallorca. Moratín remained in his position at court, and visited Goya twice in 1800, once in 1801, and six times in 1802. No other meetings are recorded until 1806, when Moratín visited the artist with Simón Viegas, jurist, author, and member of the Royal Academy of Law, whose portrait, today lost, Goya had exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1797. Sebastián Martínez died in Murcia in November 1800 (Gil-Diez 2014, 202). Zapater died in January 1803.

Many of the men who were reunited at court in 1797 and 1798 had met Goya in the 1780s, as a young and healthy artist on the rise. Their friendships—and of course that of Zapater—pre-dated

the onset of his deafness in 1793 and are thus founded on years when conversations flowed easily; after 1793, their established relationships compensated in part for limited conversation. With their departures, Goya found himself well-known at court, having been appointed as First Court Painter in October 1799, and the foremost portraitist of Madrid society. Absent documentation of his relationships with powerful men at court, we might ask if Goya found himself fulfilling his duties amid changing ranks of government officials who had neither the time to befriend the aging and stone-deaf artist, nor the patience to communicate with him.

Four pre-publication sets of *Los Caprichos* were purchased by the duke and duchess of Osuna on January 17, 1799, shortly prior to their departure in late January to assume the post of ambassador to Vienna: given their well-known preference for England, the duke and duchess were best distanced from court as diplomatic relations warmed between Madrid and Paris. The announcement of *Los Caprichos* appeared on February 6 in the *Diario de Madrid*, suggesting that Goya had worked on the etchings through much of the previous year; we do not know where, by whom, or precisely when the etchings were printed. Moving beyond the social satire and witchcraft subjects of the *Sueños* drawings, he expanded the original concept to include images more emblematic in nature. One of these, in which a uniformed man with his hair ablaze is lifted by Pan as other men fall in front and behind, was published with the title *Subir y bajar* (*To Rise and to Fall*) and interpreted in two contemporary manuscripts as a reference to the Prince of Peace elevated by lust. However, the rise and fall of government officials between November 1797 and October 1798 justifies a broader interpretation, as a commentary reflecting Goya's first-hand knowledge of the ephemeral nature of political power.

## Epilogue

Following the proclamation in March 1808 of Fernando VII as king, Jovellanos, Meléndez Valdés, Iriarte, and Ceán Bermúdez returned to Madrid; Moratín had never left. Jovellanos, loyal to the Spanish government, died in 1811; having supported Joseph Bonaparte, Iriarte, Meléndez Valdés, and Moratín left Madrid by 1814. Iriarte died in Bordeaux in 1814, and Meléndez Valdés in Montpellier three years later. But Goya's friendships with both Ceán Bermúdez and Moratín endured. Living quietly in Sarriá, then a village outside of Barcelona, Moratín wrote a letter on February 8, 1817, in which he imagined a gathering of his friends in Madrid:

To the honorable Ceán, to Goya, the Padre Jacinto, to Don Santiago and Mr. Valverde, whatever you wish on my behalf. So now, that establishment has become a gambling den of cheats and those ladies the keepers of the barrack's gaming tables? I always knew they had a certain inclination toward the card of clubs and sword; but I never imagined that the disorder would come to this, and that, presided and authorized by Doña María Ortiz, a native of Rin de Campos, they would spend entire nights robbing money from one another, and exposing to the chance of a card the bars of gold that came from Mexico... I don't remember the year. ... Preach to them all against this awful vice ...

(Moratín 1973, 358)

Moratín's inclusion of Goya among those to whom his feigned outrage is directed implicates him as a participant in the debauchery. This is entirely feasible given that Don Santiago (Santiago Muñoz) and his wife María Ortiz had since 1803 owned an inn on calle Valverde, the street where Goya had lived since 1800. Also mentioned is their son-in-law Francisco Valverde, husband of their daughter Francisca; Conde—the recipient of the letter—was a lodger as well as Moratín's cousin.

Moratín's mention of the "honrrado [*sic*] Ceán" suggests that Ceán Bermúdez was also part of the Valverde circle in 1817, by which time he was a self-appointed advisor/editor to Goya. He recommended Goya to paint the altarpiece of Saints Justa and Rufina for the Cathedral of Seville that same year, and also advised the artist on the captions added to the etchings of the *Tauromaquia* (1816) and to those published posthumously as the *Desastres de la Guerra* (1863). He also collected Goya's prints, and by November 1819 owned 227 etchings by the artist (Santiago Páez and Wilson-Bareau 1996, 57). The presence in Ceán's collection of Goya's four lithographs of the bullfight, today known as the *Bulls of Bordeaux* and published in that city in 1825, with pencil titles and/or numbers added, suggests he remained in contact with Goya, now settled in Bordeaux (Santiago Páez and Wilson-Bareau 1996, 260–262).

Following this cited letter, six years passed with no mention of Goya in Moratín's correspondence, as the playwright travelled to France, returned to Barcelona, and in 1821 left Spain for the last time, settling in Bordeaux. It was not until the politically charged summer of 1823, as French royalist forces occupied Madrid and citizens awaited the return of Fernando VII, that Moratín recalled the artist in a letter to their mutual friend, Juan Antonio Melón, in reference to the volume of works of Nicolás Fernández de Moratín, published by his son in 1820:

On my part there is no problem that you have given a copy of the *Posthumous Works* to my old friend Goya, and I believe that it wouldn't have bothered the author. You will tell Goya that I greatly appreciate his praises, dictated by friendship; I have always loved him well, and the news you give of his good health pleases me no end. Commission him on my behalf to paint, to take great care of his health, and wish that he lives even half of what his works will live.

(Fernández de Moratín 1973, 563)

Within a year, Moratín welcomed Goya to Bordeaux where the artist settled in September 1824 after a brief trip to Paris. Moratín's correspondence is a fundamental source for our knowledge of Goya's final years, and attests to his friendship with Goya's partner, Leocadia Weiss, who, with her two children, joined Goya in Bordeaux in September 1824.

Leocadia remained with Goya through his final illness and death on April 16, 1828. His son Javier arrived only after his passing, removed valuables from the apartment leaving Leocadia the linens and furniture, gave her a thousand franc note and allowed her to stay with her children in the apartment until the end of month. On May 7, 1828, Moratín wrote to Leocadia, acknowledged her letter relating the details of Goya's death (Canellas López 1981, 512), and expressed concern about provisions made for her in Goya's will. It was a situation that Moratín had tried to prevent: "For this reason, I insisted that he do that paper, written and signed by his hand (which a notary would then authorize), and you, in a moment of fury, tore it into pieces" (Reuter 2008, 71; *Por eso le exorté a hacer aquel papel escrito y firmado de su mano [que un escribano hubiera autorizado despues] y V. en un momento de cólera le hizo pedazos*). Thus, Moratín took great care not only of Goya, but also of Leocadia, trying to protect her after Goya's death. But neither could keep Goya's temperamental friend from undermining the best of intentions.

## Notes

- 1 The chapter is excerpted with revisions from the author's forthcoming biography: *Goya: A Portrait of the Artist* (Princeton University Press, 2020).
- 2 All translations are by the author.

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# British impressions of Spain and its empire in the Age of Enlightenment<sup>1</sup>

*Gabriel Paquette*

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As Spain undertook the reform of its peninsular and overseas kingdoms in the latter decades of the eighteenth century, its statesmen often emulated the practices and policies of both rivals and allies. Given Britain's emerging maritime and colonial supremacy, it is not surprising that Spanish observers pointed to their long-time rival's policies and institutions with a combination of envy, loathing, admiration, and curiosity (Paquette 2008; Paquette 2013b). In the Age of Enlightenment as well as the Revolutionary epoch that followed it, Peninsular Spaniards as well as American creoles would gaze toward Britain's political history as they experimented with models of constitutional government (Racine 2010). British science and political economy attracted a wide if furtive following in Enlightenment Spain. In some cases, Spaniards who ran afoul of Fernando VII upon his restoration in 1814 sought refuge in Britain, where they observed first-hand British institutions. The development of policies, the genesis of constitutional forms, and the evolution of modes of governance in the Spanish Atlantic World never occurred in isolation; rather change often was spurred by the emulation of rival states in the ultra-competitive realm of geopolitics. Even if, in the final reckoning, the British Atlantic amounted to little more than a "Spanish periphery," the asymmetry of territory and population did not prevent Spanish officials from fretting, admiring, imitating, or rejecting British institutions, piracy, technology, and global ambitions (Gould 2007; Cañizares-Esguerra 2007).

The preoccupation was far from one-sided. To be sure, British perceptions of Spain in the period c. 1750–1830 were influenced strongly by the still-ubiquitous "Black Legend," the accusation that it was an aspirant to universal monarchy, a barbarous destroyer of America's indigenous peoples and, in the words of historian Anthony Pagden, an "inflexible, illiberal, and ultimately corrupting tyranny" (Maltby 1971; Pagden 1995, 87, 116). Yet intermittent warfare between Spain and Britain, the proximity of their colonial possessions, British commercial ambitions in Spanish American markets, and the perceived efficacy of Spain's colonial reforms in the period after 1760, among other factors, meant that Spain's merits and demerits were chronicled, debated, and discussed in British public life with great frequency and ferocity after 1760. This interest carried into the nineteenth century. In the period after 1808, first British involvement in the Peninsular War and then the public interest in the struggles culminating in both Spanish American independence and Peninsular liberals' (ultimately thwarted) simultaneous quest to

establish a constitutional monarchy renewed Britain's fascination with the Spanish Atlantic World. This interest was maintained and abetted by the rise of Romanticism that renewed infatuation with Spain, until at least the mid-1830s. The persistent, intense, multi-faceted, and reciprocal engagement meant that the intellectual and policy histories of Spain and Britain were entangled, and remained inextricably entangled, well after the Age of Revolutions, which dismantled much of both Atlantic empires, and the concomitant cooling of religious fervor that had produced the initial impetus for entanglement.

This chapter offers a brief survey and analysis of British observers' perceptions and conceptions of Spain and its overseas dominion in the Age of Enlightenment (c. 1750–1830) and how those understandings and perceptions insinuated themselves in British debates about population, effective colonial governance, trade, and domestic politics. As scholar Mónica Bolufer has pointed out for European travelers to Spain more generally, perception was marked by ambivalence. To be sure, tropes of “political despotism,” “religious obscurantism,” the “cruelty of its [New World] conquest” and the “archaism and poverty of its intellectual life” could be found in abundance, but these views were never overwhelming or homogeneous (Bolufer 2016, 452). The present essay builds on existing scholarship to establish that British interest was ubiquitous and that some of it was surprisingly favorable toward Spain in this period. Some British political writers' treatment of Spain transcended old canards associated with the Black Legend, though plenty of the anti-Spanish prejudices that would coalesce later into “Prescott's Paradigm” percolated, too (Kagan 1996). Some even engaged with the works of the Spanish Enlightenment, while others looked favorably upon the Bourbon reforms in a looser, more generalized way. The rich diversity of opinion in Britain ensured that the image of Spain was never monolithic, even if Spain often was deemed inferior to Britain in Albion's eyes. The diversity stemmed in part from the proliferation of images of Spain in Britain during the later decades of the eighteenth century. As scholar Elizabeth Franklin Lewis has explained, the sheer number and variety of travelers to Spain increased as the “aristocratic Grand Tour gave way to upper middle-class travelers in search of intellectual refinement and adventure,” to say nothing of more urbane travelers, like Swinburne and Holland, who wished to retrace Don Quixote's footsteps (Lewis 2017, 43). Nor was the panoply of images static, but rather they morphed in reaction to geopolitical shifts, aesthetic preferences, and intellectual trends.

Material, intellectual, and cultural exchanges between Spain and Britain had been ubiquitous from the medieval period (Bullon-Fernández 2007). Politics, dynastic links, confessional clashes among other factors much ensured that Spain and Britain would watch and emulate each other constantly. Mary Tudor's marriage to Philip II and the latter's dispatch of the invincible Armada were merely two of the most spectacular of a centuries-long series of interactions which determined the subsequent trajectories of both countries. Rivalry simmered just beneath the surface and manifested itself in myriad ways: the 1605 Gunpowder plot, for example, in which thirteen men conspired to blow up Parliament, is linked indelibly to Guy Fawkes, a Catholic who had fought with Spain's army in Flanders. In drama and literature, too, mutual influence was rampant (Cruz 2008). As scholar Barbara Fuchs recently has pointed out, “Early Modern English writers looked to Spain for inspiration and relied heavily on Spanish originals” (Fuchs 2009, 151). The English colonial enterprise, particularly in Puritan New England, it has been demonstrated, owed much to Spanish models and precedents (Cañizares-Esguerra 2006).<sup>2</sup>

Such borrowings were often surreptitious or unacknowledged for several intersecting reasons: geopolitical circumstances; sectarian rivalry; linguistic chauvinism; and proto-nationalism, amongst others. For this reason, it is common to find English political and economic writers of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries deploying disparaging images of Spain in order to define the English nation against a despised “other.” An emphasis on Spain's difference (and

inferiority) was one of the many tactics employed to consolidate English identity. “Difference” could take many forms, from an emphasis on excessive religiosity to an “Orientalizing” of Spain and its culture (Griffin 2002). By the seventeenth century, apologists for British colonization of lands claimed by Spain deployed an argument that asserted an English capacity to improve Nature as opposed to a Spanish predilection to spoil it, part of a broader trope of Spanish incapacity to improve Nature (Botella-Ordinas 2010). Rhetoric aside, John H. Elliott and Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra have documented just how much the colonial projects of Spain and Britain in the New World owed to each other (Elliott 2006).

Imperial Spain offered eighteenth-century British commentators more than a fantasy of lucrative, untapped markets and mines and, alternatively, the albatross of despotic government. The often-maligned but recurrent and widely-invoked image of Spain was a continuity in British political thinking, especially with regard to population and colonial commerce. The image of Spain as a tyrannical and commercially-backward empire figured into the calculations as Britain reassessed its own empire in the last decades of the eighteenth century. The period between c. 1760 and 1790 was especially crucial because there was a growing awareness in Britain, confronting its own recalcitrant colonies in North America, that Spain’s empire, through comprehensive reform, had gained strength and reversed its purported decline.<sup>3</sup> Rising interest was noted by contemporaries. In 1779, for example, English antiquary Richard Gaugh remarked that “The Kingdome of Spain is at present a favorite object of *Recherche* with our people and I trust both nations will benefit by it” (Howarth 2007, xii). The second half of the eighteenth century witnessed a veritable explosion in the number of British travelers to Spain, though most of these were not of the “Grand Tour” variety undertaken by scions of aristocratic families, but rather the workaday peregrinations of soldiers, merchants, and diplomats whose occupations brought them to Spain (Robertson 1976; Guerrero 1990; Lewis 2017). Most of these British travelers “produced an image of a decadent and backward empire for British readers,” replete with religious fanaticism and outdated political and economic institutions and practices (Hontanilla 2008, 121, 123, 134). Yet for others, especially the Irish, Spain and its American dominions was a land of opportunity. Not only did Irish Catholics emigrate in significant numbers, but Irishmen and those with Irish ancestry found ample opportunities for advancement in state service, both civilian and military, opportunities largely foreclosed to them in Britain and its ultramarine colonies (Recio Morales 2010).

The image of Spain played a crucial role in several British debates in the late eighteenth century. One of the most important influences of Spain on British thought may be found in debates over the causes of population increase, stagnation and decline, the central assumption being that a large and growing population indicated a society’s well-being and was a precondition for its economic prosperity (Glass 1973). Territorial expansion played a crucial role in British population debates. The fear that emigration to North America was draining the population of the mother country and attenuating its strength was so pervasive that Parliament contemplated a ban on emigration in late 1773 (Bailyn 1986, 73). These transatlantic population movements encouraged comparisons with Spain: British writers wrestled with the notion that Spain’s seventeenth-century political (and population) “decline” had been caused by its imperial expansion. David Hume attacked Montesquieu’s assertion that empire had siphoned off Spain’s strength. He drew attention to Spanish political economist Jerónimo de Uztáriz’s ideas in a footnote. Uztáriz was fairly well known in Britain, as his 1724 *Theorica y Practica de Comercio* had been published in English translation in London in 1751, as *The Theory and Practice of Commerce and Maritime Affairs*, and then in Dublin the following year. Using Uztáriz, Hume refuted the claim that imperial expansion had depopulated Spain, noting that “the provinces of Spain, which send most people to the Indies, are populous; which proceeds from their superior riches.” Instead, Hume suggested,

Spain's depopulation was a more complex matter. After all, Hume remarked, though Spain might be "decayed from what it was three centuries ago," it supported a larger population than it had when it was merely a "restless, turbulent, and unsettled" outpost of the Roman empire (Hume 1987, 382, 419, 420, 448, 455).

Writing after Hume, Robert Wallace disagreed, asserting that the earth's population was smaller than it had been in previous centuries, attributing modern "paucity" to a confluence of physical restraints and moral causes. For Wallace, territorial expansion was less important than the mode of production operating in the colonies and he blamed the pernicious effects of gold and silver for Spain's purported demise. Wallace championed "simplicity and taste among private citizens" and criticized Spain's "dependence" on bullion. Like Montesquieu, he attributed population fluctuation to arbitrariness and political despotism. He derided the expulsions of the Jews and Moors as "a remarkable instance of cruelty, folly and madness" and he blamed "despotism" for being inimical to population growth. In Spain, he contended, "peace commonly degenerates into indolence; order is nothing but dread of the tyrant's power; as there is little security, industry seldom flourishes ... how can populousness be expected in nations destitute of industry and activity?" (Wallace 1753, 11–12, 17, 22, 60, 220, 250).

Other influential commentators latched on, to a greater or lesser extent, to the explanations and arguments proffered by Hume and Wallace. Arthur Young, perhaps the late eighteenth-century's most important proponent of agricultural improvement, depicted Spain as an albatross, foreshadowing the perils of non-agrarian, mineral-dependent empire. Like Wallace, Young believed that specific types of economic activity would encourage population growth. Young contrasted Great Britain and Spain: "those mountains of precious metals most indubitably tended greatly to dispeople [*sic*] Old Spain" because the "inducement is so shining, the idea of speedy and immense riches so bewitching that numbers go who could well maintain themselves at home, exchanging the small profits of industry for the imaginary ones of idleness." British emigrants, by contrast, "do not change industry for idleness" because of the labor-intensive nature of their agricultural work (Young 1772, 434–435).

By the 1780s, however, the specter of overpopulation, instead of depopulation, was ubiquitous. Thomas Malthus's *Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798) transformed the terms of the population debate and rendered obsolete the notion that imperial expansion was detrimental to population size. He re-examined Spain's population history, diminishing the relevance of such factors as economic and political system. While repeating unflattering stereotypes of Spanish imperialism ("no settlements could have been worse managed than those of Spain in Mexico, Peru and Quito"), his population theory exonerated Spanish policy from responsibility for having depressed population. Environmental determinants were far more influential in his view (Malthus 1970, 86, 105, 107, 129, 133, 197). A sketch of the purposes to which the Spanish example was put in British population debates suggests that while crude, Black Legend-inspired stances were taken by some participants, others espoused more nuanced views, even discarding old canards.

The reform program undertaken by the Spanish state, which commenced in the immediate aftermath of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), also excited the imagination of British observers, pushing contemporaries to revise their accounts of the Spanish empire's development (Kuethe and Andrien 2014). Of course, perceptions changed very slowly. Images of Spain's rapacious conduct in the New World were sustained and fortified by anti-Spanish sentiment arising from religious antagonism and ever-simmering imperial rivalry. In the eighteenth century, the British attitude was more complex than it previously had been, contrasting Spain's supposed decline with its still potent resources. In a widely-circulated tract written during the War of Jenkins' Ear (1739–1742), John Campbell warned that Spain's decline was attributable

to “errors in government, which should incline other nations to beware of falling into a like condition.” He noted, however, that Spain remained a viable “potentate possessed of mighty advantages” that only “wanted a ministry capable of using and improving them” (Campbell 1972, 79). In other words, Spain’s imperial muscle had atrophied, but it still posed a credible threat to burgeoning British power in the New World. Yet Campbell’s cautious assessment would have been dismissed out of hand by many other observers, some of whom disparaged Spain and Spanish America as beyond irredeemable. For example, the prospect of British dominion over some part of Spanish America was rejected as misguided, even after Britain’s capture of Havana and Manila in 1762 made the prospect of true inroads plausible. As one anonymous pamphleteer wrote, “the possession of South America would be our bane,” for Britain would not be immune to the forces that had rendered Spaniards “slothful, wretched, enervated, their parent country a desert, their colonies in a manner a sepulcher” (Anonymous 1763, 35–36). It is unclear from this 1763 pamphlet whether climatological and geographical determinism alone was the blame, or whether other factors specific to Spanish colonialism (e.g., “degradation” through ethnogenesis) was culpable.

Throughout the latter decades of the eighteenth century, moreover, Spanish economic and colonial policy continued to come in for harsh criticism from British writers, from travelers and diplomats to political economists. The chief complaint was that Spain had failed to exploit the prodigious natural wealth of its ultramarine possessions. In the 1780s Joseph Townsend remarked that “no country ever invented a more ruinous system of finance, or one less friendly to manufactures and to commerce.” Indeed, the reforms undertaken were deemed defective or outmoded and Spain’s “best political writers resemble lag hounds hunting the stale scent whilst the fleetest are already in possession of the game” (Townsend 1792, II, 226, 394). Adam Smith’s depreciation of the Spanish colonial system added yet another voice to the chorus, certainly among the most learned. He repudiated colonial monopoly as a “dead weight,” retarding the prosperity of the colony by raising the price of its products abroad. In this way, colonial monopoly “cramps and encumbers the industry of all countries.” Furthermore, it “renders less secure” the long-term prosperity of the metropole because “her commerce, instead of running in a great number of small channels, has been taught to run principally in one great channel.” The costs of military defense, Smith argued, were exorbitant, profligate burdens on home taxpayers and consumers. Smith employed Spain as a test case for monopoly’s defects that “have nearly overbalanced the natural good effects of the colonial trade” (Smith 1976, II, 592–604; I, 609–610). His observation encapsulated the pervasive notion that Spain’s empire was improperly acquired and maintained, certainly contrary to the British self-perception, to borrow David Armitage’s description, of an “oceanic empire of trade and settlement, not an empire of conquest” (Armitage 2000, 3, 8).

Despite this intellectual as well as military belligerence, however, Anglo-Spanish trade largely continued unabated. In the 1780s, Britain remained Spain’s largest customer while Spain was Britain’s fifth largest continental trading partner (Ehrmann 1962, 18). With such commercial intercourse came a modicum of intellectual rapprochement. Although the decades following the peace settlement of 1763 were marked by bitter disputes over the Falkland Islands (Malvinas) and the Mosquito Coast, British policy-makers and intellectuals modified their previously hostile stance toward Spain, at least until 1779, when Spain joined France in allying itself with Britain’s rebellious North American colonists. Such a positive view originated in Spain’s economic and administrative revival, often associated with Carlos III’s reign. The softening of attitudes toward Spain was best represented by William Robertson, Royal Historiographer of Scotland and Principal of Edinburgh University, whose *History of America* appeared in 1777 and reinterpreted the history of the Spanish empire in light of the reforms undertaken by the government of Carlos III. In his preface, Robertson bemoaned Spain’s “impolitic” and “illiberal” concealment of

her “transactions in America,” but noted that an important change was afoot (Robertson 1792, I, v, x). He delineated a rigid boundary separating metropolitan Spain’s benign intentions and the “destructive rapacity of private adventurers.” Employing this image of the Crown’s inefficacy, Robertson disputed the underpinnings of the Black Legend. Distance also served as an alibi to exculpate Spain from responsibility for the failure to increase population, promote commerce, and encourage agriculture in America.

In the eighth book of his *History*, Robertson traced the economic progress of Spain’s New World colonies. Though he frequently cited, and quoted liberally from, Adam Smith’s arguments, Robertson defended the early economic policies of Spain as “natural, and perhaps necessary” in its specific historical context. Spain’s pioneering efforts as a colonial power rendered excusable its early missteps. He leniently forgave the lust for “immediate wealth” and lauded the commercial monopoly that fastened Spain’s colonies in a position of “perpetual pupillage” and maintained the “supremacy of the parent state” for 250 years. Robertson explained away the Spanish empire’s economic problems, attributing slow growth to the “diseases of unwholesome climates” and the burden of “bringing a country, covered with forests, into culture.” To be sure, Robertson criticized the persistence of certain features of Spanish colonialism because they detracted from the “sober, persevering spirit of industry.” But he praised Spain for having resisted the temptation to form an exclusive trading company, like Britain’s contemporary East India Company. Robertson concluded his narrative with a vindication of the Bourbon reforms, which he claimed were inspired by “sentiments more liberal and enlarged.” He lauded Carlos III for having repudiated “narrow prejudices,” embraced limited free trade, and overseen an “arduous effort to revive the spirit of industry where it has declined” (Robertson 1792, I, 158, 210, 229, 253, 277; III, 98–100, 256, 270–275, 288, 303, 314, 320, 337).

Robertson’s tepid praise of Spain was a harbinger of a further thaw in British perceptions in the early nineteenth century. The Napoleonic invasion and occupation of the Iberian Peninsula, of course, touched off a wholesale revaluation of Britain’s relations with Spain, doing more than Robertson and his fellow travelers could have done with their pens. British support for the Spanish (and Portuguese) patriots and its military intervention, decisive in driving French troops from Spanish territory, brought many young Britons into contact with Spain’s culture and landscape. It is estimated that at least 200,000 British soldiers served in Iberia during the Peninsular War (1808–1814), of whom 40,000 perished during the conflict (Daly 2013, 2). Support for the Spanish patriots took many forms beyond military succor, from the moral and material sustenance furnished by Lord and Lady Holland to the provocative articles by Lord Brougham published in the *Edinburgh Review* (Moreno Alonso 1997). It was in the pages of that venerable and influential journal that the 1806 French translation of Jovellanos’s great 1795 *Informe sobre la Ley Agraria* was reviewed (purportedly by James Mill). In this review, the originality of Jovellanos’s work is emphasized and he is compared favorably to British statesmen: “how many years have gone by since we received a book of this nature and utility from any statesman or minister of justice in our own country?” (*Edinburgh Review* 1809, 39). Even such an inveterate reactionary as poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge asserted that “it was not until the Spanish insurrection that Englishmen of all parties recurred, in toto, to the Old English principles, and spoke of their Hampdens, Sidneys, and Miltons, with the old enthusiasm” (Howarth 2007, 31; Colley 2014). The debates at the Cortes of Cádiz, culminating in the 1812 Constitution, also aroused great interest about Spain in Britain, and there is some evidence the English nineteenth-century usage of the word “liberal” owed much to the ideas and projects pursued by the Spanish *liberales* (Hay 2008; Paquette 2015). This is not to suggest that the image of Spain was unblemished and that heroic and favorable depictions were the norm. British soldiers in the Peninsular War often expressed competing, conflicting views, while some prominent Britons, notably William

Wilberforce, were disappointed by the failure of the *liberales* of the Cortes of Cádiz to embrace the abolition of the slave trade and, ultimately, slavery (Murray 1983, 28–30; Schmidt-Nowara 2013, 158). Experience in Spain, whether civilian or military, underpinned the surging tide of publications in the first decades of the nineteenth century, including the influential accounts penned by Robert Southey and Sir Charles Napier.

The restoration of Fernando VII in 1814 prompted a new type of interaction with Spain: Liberal exiles flocked to London, initially between 1814–20, where their plight and political aspirations were the object of sympathy (although they themselves were not spared the perils of penury). After the Congress of Vienna, many Spanish exiles, “the martyrs of truth and freedom” (in John Bowring’s phrase), converged in Britain’s capital to plot and scheme, where they enjoyed the hospitality of the staunchly Whig Holland House,<sup>4</sup> though British subjects were forbidden from joining the conspiracies hatched due to the 1819 Foreign Enlistment Act. Bowring 1819, 13; Alonso and Sampere 2011). The exiles’ efforts contributed to the wave of Southern European revolutions launched in 1820—in Naples, Piedmont, Spain, and Portugal—which established (or, in the case of Spain, re-established) constitutional monarchies to be governed in accordance with the Constitution of Cádiz (the 1812 Spanish Constitution) (Davis 2006; Paquette 2013b). Largely forgotten now outside of the countries in which they occurred, the 1820–23 revolutions which swept across Southern Europe inspired those elsewhere who drew dismal contrasts with their own nations, as far afield as British and Portuguese India, and Russia (Bayly 2012, 43–46; Stites 2013). At the outset of the *Trienio Liberal*, the brief revival of constitutional government between 1820 and 1823, Bentham wrote “Magnanimous Spaniards! For years to come, not to say ages, in you is our best, if not our only hope! To you, who have been the most oppressed of slaves, to you it belongs to give liberty to Europe. ... As to our liberties—our so much vaunted liberties—inadequate as they always were, they are gone: corruption has completely rotted them” (Bentham 1821, 16). Bentham was not alone: the London-based Italian liberal exile, Giuseppe Pecchio, congratulated a friend for learning “the Castilian idiom,” adding that “you could not employ your time better than in acquiring the language of liberty. May it become universal!” (Pecchio 1823, 192). Edward Blaquiére, a collaborator of both Bentham and Pecchio, and great promoter of liberal revolution and “regeneration” in Southern Europe, called the 1820 Spanish Revolution “one of the sublimest instances of forbearance, magnanimity and self-denial, that History will have to record” (Blaquiére 1822, 349; Rosen 1992, 127–147). Countless plays depicting revolutions, conspiracies and regime changes in Southern European locales graced the London stage in the early 1820s (Saglia 2000, 30–32; Saglia 2005). Spain and Spanish culture became a stock feature of British Romanticism (Almeida, 2010).

The *Trienio Liberal*, together with its ideologically allied regimes, collapsed by 1823, leading to Fernando VII’s second restoration. It is estimated that between 12,000 and 20,000 émigrés left Spain in 1823, most of whom would return only after the “ominous decade” had passed, with death of Fernando VII in 1833 (Kamen 2007, 189; Fuentes 2008). London and Paris again became the chief destinations and, following the July Revolution, Paris became the epicenter of political refugee activity. In London and Paris, they joined with other exiles to form what one historian recently, and felicitously, christened “the Liberal International” (Isabella 2009). The Spanish exiles who flocked to London were received warmly by the radical sectors of the British public, a solidarity that extended to political and military action. Not a few Britons joined in ultimately failed conspiracies to restore constitutionalism to Spain, including the plot planned by the unfortunate General Torrijos, whose execution on the beaches of Málaga in 1830 following a botched *pronunciamiento* symbolized the dashed hopes of his generation (Castells 1989). Thomas Carlyle, in *The Life of John Sterling*, vividly and poignantly related the impact of Spanish exiles’ conviction on the impressionable young Britons, some of whom joined Torrijos’s doomed

expedition. As Carlyle recalled, “we can understand too well that here were fervid young hearts in an explosive condition; young rash heads, sanctioned by a man’s experienced head. Here at last shall enthusiasm and practice become practice and fact; fiery dreams are at last permitted to realize themselves; and now is the time or never!” (Carlyle 1851, 89).

The restoration of constitutional monarchy in Spain after 1834 did not lead to a decline in British interest. In 1835, following the repeal of the Foreign Enlistment Act in the previous year, a 12,000-strong British Legion was raised to fight in the Carlist Wars on the side of the constitutional monarchy, an effort described by a recent historian as “the last, the most disorganized and the most eccentric government-backed military intervention in Spain” (Howarth 2007, 57; Brett 2005). To this strenuous military effort was joined a revived cultural interest in Spain. British painters flocked to Spain and one of them, David Wilkie, famously described Spain in 1828 as “the wild unpoached game-preserve of Europe.” Some artists, like David Roberts, made a small fortune off lithographs of Andalusia in the early 1830s and a whole spate of books catering to the British public’s taste for the “exoticism” of Spain’s landscape and cultural forms proliferated in the 1830s and 1840s. To this broader popular interest, of course, should be added the upper-class British taste for Spanish art, especially painting, which led to the accelerated acquisition of Spanish paintings in the 1830s and 1840s. George Villiers, later fourth earl of Clarendon, and British ambassador to Spain in the latter half of the 1830s, was one of the driving forces behind this interest (Howarth 2007).

Britain shared its infatuation with Spanish culture with the Continent, of course. Even before the struggle against Napoleon, there was something of a “Spanish craze” in European culture (Kagan 2010). Already in the eighteenth century, the Spanish medieval ballad was heralded by Herder and others as a prime example of popular poetry. This interest continued after the French Revolutionary Wars. Grimm, in 1815, called the Spanish Romance the exemplar of extinct primitive poetry. The poet Heine, in *Almansor* (1821), demonstrated deep interest in culture, especially the history, of Southern Europe. Victor Hugo’s sensational *Hernani, ou l’Honneur Castillan*, set in sixteenth-century Spain (1830), and his *Ruy Blas* (1838), set in late seventeenth-century Spain, to say nothing of his self-acknowledged debt to Calderon and Tirso de Molina, is evidence of this broader engagement with Iberian culture (Navas Ruiz 1982, 26). In 1838, King Louis-Philippe put 400 Spanish paintings in the Louvre, forming the *Galerie Espagnole* while Prosper Mérimée’s 1843 *Carmen* depicted Spain as a land of primitive culture and sensualist enjoyment. To these examples, many more could be listed, including Verdi’s adaptation of various Spanish and Spanish-themed plays, including Rivas’s *D. Álvaro, o la Fuerza del Sino* (1835).

It cannot be said, however, that British attitudes toward Spain were overwhelmingly positive at the start of the nineteenth century. The favorable attitudes discussed in the preceding paragraphs did not preclude the percolation of negative views. Spain’s alliance with Revolutionary France after 1796 meant that Britain and Spain were at war thereafter until the events of 1808 transformed matters entirely. The British Navy largely cut Spain off from its New World colonies from 1797 and, of course, much of the Spanish fleet was routed at Trafalgar (1805), exacerbating an already dire economic situation. Whatever sympathy may have been felt for the exiled *liberales*, Fernando VII’s heavy-handed tactics upon his restoration and resurrection of the Bourbon alliance in the arena of foreign policy clearly produced a chilling effect on Anglo-Spanish relations. But British attitudes toward Spain also were shaped decisively by the clamoring for South American markets and mines. This may have been the most important factor. Spanish American Independence movements led to a repackaging in Britain of the Black Legend, brilliantly and succinctly summarized in Bolívar’s *Jamaica Letter* (1816), now mobilized to provide justification for the agitation that sought to sever the Old World from the New.

Contraband trade with Spanish America increased sharply after 1796 and some British observers believed that Spanish America might pass from Spanish to British hands. Such excitement reached its frenzied apogee with Home Popham's temporary capture of Buenos Aires in 1806, though subsided soon after. Still, Latin America's share of Britain's overall overseas trade grew significantly in the following decades. The conviction that British industry and technological ingenuity could generate wealth from the ample resources that Spain's primitive methods and indolence had squandered became ubiquitous in the 1820s, although it was built upon earlier tropes and perceptions (Paquette 2004b).

Yet not all British images of Spanish America were animated by visions of economic exploitation. Many British liberals were excited by independent Spanish America's political prospects, and this led them to malign Spain or cast it as unworthy of imperial dominion, even as they rooted on Spanish liberals struggling against Fernandine despotism in the Peninsula. Bentham, for example, conceived of Spanish America as a laboratory for his ideas. After conversations with the cosmopolitan Venezuelan revolutionary Francisco de Miranda, whom he met through James Mill, Bentham fleetingly aspired to relocate to Spanish America in order to draft constitutions for the new polities coming into existence after 1808. He continued to correspond with leading revolutionaries into the 1820s, including Bolívar, bombarding them with (sometimes unsought) legislative advice (Williford 1980; Armitage 2011). Broader cultural movements and trends, especially the political dimension of Romanticism, prodded some British observers to justify the dissolution of Spain's empire. Depicting Europe as ossified and decayed, they gazed beyond Europe for regeneration and reconnection with its ancient ideals (Heinowitz 2010). Thousands of young men from the British Isles flocked to South America to fight in the revolutionary armies, with many remaining in South America after independence (Brown 2006). Spanish America thus proved a perfect canvas for British fantasies, at least for a time.

Such favorable opinions of Spanish American independence, of course, were tempered, as noted previously, with sympathy for the Spanish patriots fighting against foreign occupation (first, 1808–1814, and then 1823–1824), and this convergence provoked seemingly inconsistent responses. There was reluctance to recognize the independence of the nascent Spanish American polities, for such an act would effectively repudiate Spain's sovereignty and set a horrendous precedent. Ultimately, the pecuniary interest of the City of London and the geopolitical balance of Europe prompted the British government to break from its earlier policy and to recognize Latin America's independence from Spain's tutelage.

While the impact of the image and example of Spain in sixteenth and seventeenth century Britain has long been recognized, both the persistence and transformation of that image in the Age of Enlightenment seldom has been appreciated. As this essay sought to establish, Spain remained a touchstone in British debates—about empire, political economy, population policy, *inter alia*—and the object of enquiry for British travelers, statesmen, and cultural observers. Far from a monolithic, static image, British commentators were sensitive to enlightened reforms and other developments in Spain, though their analyses often remained stained by the residual prejudice of the Black Legend. Figures such as William Robertson set the stage for this revaluation, but efficacy of Carlos III's reforms—both military and civil, both Peninsular and American—and the efflorescence of economic societies<sup>5</sup> caught the attention of British observers. As both the British and Spanish empires entered into periods of transition and transformation c. 1750–1830, the level of borrowing, imitation, and mutual interest intensified, sometimes creating intellectual space for explicitly stated admiration, though often contaminating opportunities to begin afresh with ancient, hackneyed prejudice.

## Notes

- 1 The author thanks Professors Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra and Alan Tully for astute and constructive comments on an early version of this chapter, as well as the helpful insights offered by participants in the “Entangled Histories” Workshop held at University of Texas–Austin in November 2014. This chapter follows closely, though with significantly greater evidence, previously published articles (Paquette 2004a and Paquette 2004b).
- 2 As historian Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra pointed out, “British Protestants and Spanish Catholics deployed similar religious discourses to explain and justify conquest and colonization: a biblically sanctioned interpretation of expansion, part of a long-standing Christian tradition of holy violence aimed at demonic enemies within and without” (Cañizares-Esguerra 2006, 9).
- 3 I should make clear that I do not necessarily adhere to this model of causality or historical explanation; I merely record the dominant interpretation of contemporaries with regard to the Spanish Atlantic Monarchy’s program of reform.
- 4 See the chapter on the Hollands by Sally-Ann Kitts in this volume.
- 5 See Astigarraga’s chapter in this volume for more on the economic societies in Spain and its colonies.

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# The role of Holland House in the diffusion, exchange, and transformation of Spanish enlightened ideas, 1793–1845

*Sally-Ann Kitts*

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“I sailed for Spain with the Spanish Admiral Gravina in an English frigate on March 30th 1793” (Add MS 51873, f.27r.). So begin the *Memoirs* of Henry Vassall Fox, 3rd Lord Holland (1773–1840) as they relate to Spain, documenting what will become a lifetime’s fascination and passion for the country, its history, culture and people. It is one that he would go on to share with his closest life companions: his wife Elizabeth Vassall Fox, Lady Holland (1771–1845), and family physician and intimate friend Dr John Allen (1771–1843), both of whom accompanied him on his second and third extended journeys to the Iberian peninsula, from November 1802 to March 1805 and from October 1808 to July 1809. These visits occurred at one of the most troubled and complex periods of Spanish and, indeed European history. All three documented their experiences of these times in memoirs, diaries and letters that now form a major part of the extensive Holland House collection at the British Library (Add MSS 51623–52244). In so doing, they created what has become a rich and vivid record of their impressions of the places they visited and the people they met, their conversations and written exchanges with them, the books that they read, plays that they saw, the art and architecture that they admired. Once back in England, their interest in and support for the like-minded individuals that they had met on their travels, saw the three of them make their London home, Holland House, a safe haven for the many Spanish intellectuals, writers and politicians forced into exile at various points over the first three decades of the nineteenth century (Ilchester 1937; Mitchell 1980; Moreno Alonso 1983, 1997; Kelly 2013; Muñoz Sempere and Alonso García 2011; Llorens 1951 and 1968). Quickly becoming established as “a friendly home that was always open to those who fought for liberty in Spain” (Moreno Alonso 1997, 29) it became a nexus for the diffusion, exchange, and transformation of Enlightenment ideas for more than four decades, its role in this only ending with the deaths of the occupants.

This chapter begins with an exploration of the Hollands’ and Allen’s engagement with Spanish Enlightenment ideas, considering the nature and extent of their knowledge of Spain at this time. It then discusses the ways in which we might seek to understand and interpret their perspectives and motivations, foregrounding their role as mediators supporting multidirectional communicative practices and processes of cultural transfer. This is explored and exemplified in



Figure 18.1 "The Hollands and Allen in Holland House Library." Charles Robert Leslie, *The Graphic*, October 12, 1889.

the remainder of the chapter in two sections. The first focuses on the nature, significance and impact of their four-month stay in 1809 at the *Casa Liria* in Seville, when they "recreat[ed] Holland House, as it were, on Andalusian soil" (Murphy 1989, 52), with a particular emphasis on their relationship with the writer and statesman, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744–1811) (Moreno Alonso 1997, 2017; Álvarez-Valdés 2012; Various 2012) and the poet and civil servant Manuel José Quintana (1772–1857) (Quintana 1833; Derozier 1978). The second focuses on their residence in London and discusses the role and impact of Holland House, both as a much-valued center for the exchange of ideas and in providing support and encouragement for exiled Spanish liberals, in particular the intellectual priest, and editor of numerous periodicals, José María Blanco White (1775–1841) (Moreno Alonso 1993, 1998; Murphy 2013, 1989). It will conclude with some thoughts on the contemporary significance and lasting impact of these transnational cultural engagements and exchanges.

### The Hollands and John Allen: *¿ingleses españolados?*<sup>1</sup>

Holland was the nephew of the renowned Whig politician, Charles James Fox, and according to Moreno it was his uncle who encouraged him to visit Spain in 1793 (1997, 77; Wardropper 1947; Alberich 1955). Fox was a self-taught Spanish linguist and exchanged a number of letters with his nephew during the year which included mention of his enjoying the *Pseudoscholars* (*Eruditos*

*a la violeta*) by José de Cadalso (1741–1782) and looking forward to reading the works of Benito Feijoo y Montenegro (1676–1764), examples of several books that Holland sent to his uncle (Russell 1854, vol.3, 74–75). Both interlocutors include sections in competent Castilian and, given that no Spanish teacher was appointed at Oxford, Holland’s *alma mater*, until 1858, Holland must also have been largely self-taught through his own reading and efforts with dictionaries and grammars (Murphy 2013, 230, n.19). This early visit is the first of three, the experiences of which will see him become better acquainted with Spain and Spanish affairs than with those of any country but his homeland (Holland 1851, 53). His second and third visits were shared with his wife Elizabeth, whom he met in Florence in 1794 and married in London in 1797 (Keppel 1974; Schmid 2012), and Scottish physician Dr John Allen, appointed to be their family doctor in 1802 and who became an intimate friend, living with them at Holland House for the remainder of his life (Brougham 1844; Vincent 1949; Jacyna 1994; Durán 2012; see Figure 18.1). Both were also enthusiastic hispanophiles and, with tutors employed to teach the whole party, quickly became fluent in Spanish. All three kept journals which provide a fascinating record of the places they visited and their impressions of and conversations with the people they met (Holland Add MS 51862; Lady Holland Add MSS 51930–37 and 1910; Allen Add MS 52199, Add MS 52200; Calvo 2004; Kitts 2005a and b).<sup>2</sup> Lady Holland’s entry of 23 February 1803 tells of all three of them fully occupied with Spanish texts: Lord Holland working on his *Life of Lope de Vega* (published in London in 1806 and dedicated to Quintana), Allen, “devoted to his political economy” and she reading *Don Quixote* in Spanish, noting the value of reading in the original language:

I always thought till now that nothing was more pedantic than to say Don Quixote could not be relished out of the original. Nothing is so true, and to the assertion must be added that it cannot be completely so unless the reader knows Spain, its manners, customs, looks of the inhabitants, their tones of voice, dress, gestures, gravity, modes of sitting upon their asses, driving; their *ventas*, *posadas*, utensils, vessels for liquor, skins, etc. In English I thought it a flat, burlesque work; now I think it without exception much the most amusing production of human wit. It is the only book which ever excited my *risible* faculties, as when I read it, I cannot refrain from bursting out into a loud laugh.

(1910, 31)

All three individuals were very widely read, able to converse knowledgeably on a wide range of subjects and could reasonably be described as early Hispanists, with deep and well-informed interests. Between them, they read extensively from an impressive range of publications by Spanish authors from the middle ages to the most up-to-date publications of the late Enlightenment: works of legal and constitutional history, of political economy, of botany and geography, multi-topic collections of essays and periodicals, poetry, plays, and novels. Two sets of manuscripts, the first belonging to Allen and the second the property of Lady Holland, reveal the wide range of reading that they undertook (Add MS 52243 and Add MS 51629). There are plenty of Golden Age classics of fiction and history, however what stands out from the works recorded in these sources is the number and variety of eighteenth-century authors. In the case of the manuscript in Allen’s hand, these include works by Campomanes, *Discourse on the Popular Education of Artisans* (*Discurso sobre la educación popular de los artesanos* 1774) and *Treaty on Privilege and Amortization* (*Tratado de la regalía y amortización* 1765), Capmany’s *History of the Maritime Activities, Trade and Arts of the Ancient City of Barcelona* (*Memorias históricas sobre la marina, comercio y artes de la antigua ciudad de Barcelona* 1779) and Lardizábal’s, *Discourse on Punishment* (*Discurso sobre las penas* 1782), as well as the collected proceedings of several Economic Societies, and even

Spanish translations of seminal Enlightenment texts, such as Alonso Ortiz's versions of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1794) and *Essays on Paper Money* (1796).<sup>3</sup> It is clear from an example such as the annotated copy of Jovellanos's *Report on Agrarian Law* (*Informe sobre la Ley Agraria* 1795), with copious marginalia by Allen, that this is not simply a case of a bibliophile collecting texts for a library (Add MS 52244). These works were of genuine interest to and read by him and the Hollands and contributed to what was widely seen by their Spanish friends as their profound knowledge of Spanish history, politics and literature.

A leather-bound notebook of around A6 size with E.V. Holland written across the front, similarly lists a wide range of eighteenth-century publications, including dictionaries, grammars, the three-volume reprint of the *Collection of Laws* (*Leyes de recopilación*) from 1775, the complete works of Feijoo, and of Valladares y Sotomayor's periodical *The Erudite Weekly* (*Semanario erudito* 1787–90) (Add MS 51629). This notebook, with entries in at least three different hands, is particularly rich in works of Spanish theater and poetry, many by Golden Age authors but also with numerous eighteenth-century examples including Nicasio Álvarez de Cienfuegos (1764–1809), Vicente García de la Huerta (1734–87), Tomás de Iriarte (1750–91), Juan Meléndez Valdés (1754–1817) and Quintana. In her *Spanish Journal* Elizabeth writes frequently of attending the theater and of the poets she has met, reflecting a particular and lifelong interest in these genres.

Holland was very well read and he was appreciated both in Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States as a Hispanist with wide-ranging and profound knowledge. The Holland House library's collection of Spanish works made it the most extensive resource outside the British Library and Americans George Ticknor (1791–1871) and Washington Irving (1783–1859) both sought him out when visiting Europe and were welcomed into Holland House (Ticknor 1878, vol. 1, 264; Add MS 51953). Irving was researching on Columbus and the Conquest of Granada while Ticknor was the first Smith Professor of the French and Spanish Languages and Literatures at Harvard (1817–35), and the latter recorded how much he appreciated the sociability and intellectual exchanges that Holland House afforded him:

The one [house] to which I went the most frequently in London, and where I spent a part of many evenings, was Lord Holland's, and certainly, for an elegant literary society, I have seen nothing better in Europe. Lord Holland himself is a good scholar, and a pleasant man in conversation; [...]. I do not well know how dinners and evenings could be more pleasant.  
(1878, vol. 1, 264)

As well as the works mentioned in Allen's and Lady Holland's manuscripts, we know that they were all involved in the regular exchange of key books, pamphlets, newspapers and journals with their Spanish friends, sending British publications to them, such as *The Annual Register*, a wide-ranging reference work first established in 1758 by Edmund Burke (1729–1797), and receiving many back, including the gift of a manuscript of the uncut version of Leandro Fernández de Moratín's (1760–1828) *The Female Hypocrite* (*La mojigata* 1804), and such publications as the new critical edition of the *Seven Divisions* (*Siete Partidas*) published by the Royal Academy of History in 1807 and the much sought-after *Weekly Patriot* (*Semanario patriótico* 1808–12) (Kitts 2006; Moreno 1987). Allen reviewed Spanish-language publications in the prestigious and widely-read *Edinburgh Review*, including Martínez Marina's *Historical and Critical Essay on the Legislation and Principal Legislative Bodies of the Kingdoms of Leon and Castile* (*Ensayo histórico-crítico sobre la legislación y principales cuerpos legales de los reinos de León y Castilla* 1808), and the twelve volume Lima periodical, *The Peruvian Mercury* (*Mercurio Peruano*) (Allen 1807; Allen 1813).

In a period where, following the uprising of 1808, Spain increasingly becomes the Romantic creation of English imperial eyes, it is important to understand the nature of the intellectual

and cultural relationship that existed between the Hollands and Allen, on the one hand, and the people, history, culture and politics of Spain, on the other (Moreno Alonso 1997, Saglia 2000, Pratt 2008). Saglia has argued that the Hollands and Allen held a patronizing attitude to Spain and treated the country as a personal project for their Whig ideologies (2000, 26–27). Such an assessment presents them as indulging in what Bourdieu has termed “private sociologies [...] in a sort of condescending amusement” (1999, 227). Yet an in-depth review of a wide range of their journals and correspondence reveals that far from having a romanticized, self-indulgent and unrealistic perspective on Spain, all three held between them a profound and wide-ranging knowledge of Spanish history, politics, literature, and culture, and were only too aware of the significant and long-standing challenges that the country faced. There is ample evidence from the hundreds of letters written to them and about them that their interest and support was experienced by their Spanish friends as genuine and well-informed, and that their opinions and assistance were sought again and again during this most turbulent and dangerous time (Add MSS 51623–51628; Add MS 52243 C). If they sought to spread liberal ideas, rather than through imposition or as a result of economic or political self-interest, it was in response to their encounters, extensive discussions, and verbal and written exchanges of ideas with like-minded individuals.

At a time when an orientalised Romantic image of Spain is being created and reinforced by a number of their contemporaries, the Hollands and Allen stand out as having a different relationship with Spain, one that is profoundly impacted and influenced by the Spanish Enlightenment, rather than the myths of the past or present. Their own reading and experiences, their exchanges with so many of the key political and cultural figures of the late Spanish Enlightenment, placed them uniquely in a position to appreciate the reality of Spain’s situation. As Bolufer has said of the foreign writers recounting their travels in Spain in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, “all of them had to face the evidence of a reality more complex than the literary stereotypes: that of a country in the eighteenth century immersed in a process of economic growth, political reform, and social and cultural change” (2016, 460). This could equally be applied to the experience and engagement of the Hollands and Allen, as could the term “cultural mediators” to describe their roles in the complex transmission and transformation of enlightenment ideas (Bolufer 2009). Another useful approach is to think of them and the intellectual and social spaces they created as forms of the “contact zones” explored by Mary-Louise Pratt, physical and intellectual spaces which “shift the center of gravity and the point of view”:

the term “contact” foregrounds the interactive, improvisational dimensions of imperial encounters [...] [and] emphasizes how subjects get constituted in and by their relations to each other [...] in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices.

(2008, 8)

Pratt’s concept focuses on how ideas flow between interlocutors, shifting the perspective from the narrow idea of a linear imposition of a set agenda to focus instead on the relational and improvisational context in which cultural exchanges take place and friendships develop. While on the one hand, it could be argued that Allen’s *Suggestions on the Cortes* (1809), while well informed by a knowledge of Spain, can be read as culturally imperialist, telling the Spanish how to put their house in order, it was also the case that the British parliamentary system was one of the key points of reference for Spanish liberals in the complex deliberations that led to the final convocation of the Spanish parliament, or *Cortes*, in 1810, part of the “*anglomanía*” that had existed in Spain for the last half century (Villamediana, 2019). Allen was appreciated as a

constitutional and parliamentary expert and, as we shall go on to see, during the time that he and the Hollands spent in Seville, their residence and Spanish equivalent to Holland House, the *Casa Liria*, became a much-valued key “contact zone” where the leading figures involved in this debate are co-present, interact and develop “interlocking understandings and practices” (Pratt 2008, 8). The *ilustrados* come to the relationship with their own ideas and perspectives and the Hollands and Allen seek to learn about them and from them. Each is changed by the other. Once back in London, the role transferred to the actual Holland House which provided a welcoming social and networking space for a wide variety of Spanish exiles.

## Seville and the *Casa Liria*: The Spanish Holland House

The detailed and meticulous work of Manuel Moreno Alonso, in particular his seminal study *The Forging of Liberalism in Spain* (*La forja del liberalismo en España* 1997) has explored the many connections and activities of Holland and his numerous Spanish acquaintances. In particular, Moreno throws light on the Holland House trio’s involvement in and attempts to influence the key constitutional debates from 1808–10, especially during their stay in Andalusia from January to June 1809 (Moreno 1997, 161–187). Much has been written about the influence of the Hollands on their Spanish friends, in particular Jovellanos, Blanco, and Quintana. There is evidence to suggest that the ideas of all three about the composition of the *Cortes* are influenced by the British models with which their visitors were so familiar (Tomás 1996; Moreno 1997, 2012; Fernández Sebastián 2006). However, the direction of travel was far from unidirectional and, while not as straightforward to document as such a particular and hugely significant topic of the time—the subject of numerous well-documented and detailed exchanges—the records of verbal and written exchanges between the Hollands, Allen and their friends, in the form of journals, notes, and letters, reveal a continuous two-way flow of influence and exchange of ideas (Quintana 1833; Somoza 1911; Jovellanos 1990). This was an intense period when *ilustrados* were working to translate Enlightened ideas into practical political, juridical and institutional outputs under the most challenging of circumstances. Of all the people the Hollands and Allen engaged with, the most significant was Jovellanos. Deputy for Asturias in the *Junta Suprema Central*, the executive and legislative body that deputized for the King from September 1808, he was one of five members appointed to a special Commission charged with deciding on the exact nature, composition and remit of the constitutional *Cortes*.

Holland was just nineteen when he first met the forty-nine-year-old Jovellanos in Gijón in 1793 and from his first meeting with him, Holland found him to be a kindred spirit, a “remarkable man” whose conversation delighted him and which he found “elevated and instructive” (1905, 369). Lady Holland too benefitted from the wisdom of her husband’s Asturian friend, as this entry from her *Spanish Journal* for 11 February 1809 tells us:

he spoke in the most open and frank manner possible, [his] dispassionate and benevolent character [...] such a mixture of dignity and mildness that it is impossible to avoid feeling the strongest inclination towards him of love and admiration.

(1910, 278)

In his *Life of Lope de Vega*, Holland included an appendix with a eulogy to his friend, at that point “languishing in the dungeons of Palma; imprisoned without an accusation, and condemned without the form of a trial,” and his own translations of sections of Jovellanos’s *Report Given to the Academy of History on Games, Spectacles, and Public Entertainments* (*Informe dado a la Academia de la Historia sobre juegos, espectáculos, y diversiones públicas*; Holland 1806, 181–214). Jovellanos shared

with the Hollands and Allen a fundamental belief in the need to operate in the world not in an isolated way that abandons the past and focuses only on the here and now—a mistake all perceived to have happened in France—but rather in one that learns from the past and uses it to engage productively with the present to create a better future. Fernández Sarasola writes of Jovellanos's historicism as explaining “his preference for the English constitution and his desire to imitate its parliament” (2016, 60). In this he found a solid ally in his English friends in that they were all very much liberals within an historicist tradition of thinking rather than radicals seeking to make the world completely anew.

This exchange becomes very active in particular in the period from 1808, following Jovellanos's release from imprisonment in Mallorca. He writes to Holland on 16 August seeking to renew their acquaintance and solicit his support in the fight against Napoleonic forces, coincidentally the very same date that Holland House entertained a delegation of “five Spanish deputies representing three of the Provincial Juntas charged with seeking British support in fighting the French invaders” (Kitts 2005b, 728). When the *Junta Central* was forced to move to Seville in December 1808, the four months from 30 January to the end of June 1809 when the Hollands and Allen were resident there, gave all of the party intimate access to the key issues and debates that surrounded the convocation of the *Cortes* and the drafting of the Constitution of 1812 (Moreno 2012). Their letters from this period together with Lady Holland's *Spanish Journal* reveal how their Spanish home, the *Casa Liria*, also known as *the Palace of the Duennas* / *Palacio de las Dueñas*, became a second Holland House, the location for frequent dinners and reunions with many members of the *Junta Central*. Seen as an unofficial but more sympathetic channel between Spain and England than the much-disliked actual Ambassador, Richard, Marquess Wellesley (1760–1842), it provided a vital physical and intellectual contact zone that, at a key moment in Spain's history, allowed the free and open exchange and development of political ideas between them and Spanish thinkers of varied backgrounds and principles, as well as key military players such as the Marqués de la Romana, Pedro Caro y Sureda (1761–1811), General Joaquín Blake y Joyes (1759–1827) and Sir John Cradock (1759–1839) (Somoza 1911; Fernández Sarasola 2016).

The privileged access enjoyed by the Hollands and Allen provided Holland with the information to publish a short paper in London, *An Account of the Supreme Central Junta (Idea de la Suprema Junta Central* 1809; Moreno 2012).<sup>4</sup> Holland sought to inform an avid public back in the United Kingdom of the complex nature of Spanish debates at this time, when governance of the vast Spanish empire could have gone various ways: military-led regency, old-style *Cortes de Castilla*, new-style representative government, in a unicameral or bicameral form. He and Jovellanos came to share a belief in the need for a bicameral *Cortes*, building upon the fundamental constitutional practices of the country that dated back to the Middle Ages. This view also reflected their shared perception of the dangers of following the French revolutionary model of a single chamber National Assembly. In this they differed from their friends Quintana and Blanco, both of whom belonged to the “Little Junta” (*Junta Chica*), an informal pressure group of more radical thinkers who wanted to influence the *Junta Central* into the establishment of a truly democratic and representative French-style national assembly involving all levels of Spanish society (Murphy 1989; Varela Suanzes 1993). The outcome of the deliberations of the Commission appointed to decide this, of which, as we have noted, Jovellanos was a member, was for a *Cortes* composed of an elected chamber of the people and a second chamber comprising what had been the traditional two separate groupings from the ancient *Cortes de Castilla*, the nobles and the ecclesiastics, and was incorporated into the final decree of the Junta Central that Jovellanos himself drafted on 29 January 1810 (España. Junta Suprema Central [1810–1812], 2004). However, the decree was never implemented; mislaid for several months, it eventually turned up amongst Quintana's papers, and despite the clear indications in the decrees of the Commission's deliberations, a



Figure 18.2 “Holland House, Middlesex,” Wedlake Brayley, James Norris Brewer, and Joseph Nightingale, *A Topographical and Historical Description of London and Middlesex*, 1820, vol. 5, p. 11.

single chamber *Cortes* was convoked (Fernández Sarasola 2016, 76). While Jovellanos’ ideas and arguments for a bicameral *Cortes* were not to prevail in 1810, his extensive discussions with his fellow *ilustrados*, the Hollands, and Allen, about the place of the historical politico-legal structures of Spain in defining its future political configuration were later to come to fruition in the bicameral system introduced in 1834 (Fernández Sarasola 2016). Quintana’s account of that time highlights the positive impact of the Spanish Holland House and its role in cultural mediation:

In the year 9, at the time when our cause seemed to be most hopeless, Lord Holland appeared in Seville. His great interest in our affairs was evident to all, as was the excellent advice that he offered and the good offices he undertook on our behalf. His kind and effective encouragement to our statesmen, with whom he always maintained the closest and most disinterested relations, served to bolster their enthusiasm and confidence.

(1841, 3)

### Holland House: Transnational contact zone and nexus of Hispanism

In acting for the short but crucial four-month period as a physical and intellectual contact zone that witnessed the translation of Enlightened ideas into proposals for practical political, juridical and institutional outputs, the *Casa Liria* was fulfilling a social role that Holland House had begun to play prior to the visit of 1808–9 (see Figure 18.2). For the next three decades of the

nineteenth century, it was to become renowned as one of the most brilliant and enduring political and literary centers of sociability in London (Ilchester 1937; Mitchell 1980; Schmid 2012; Kelly 2013). The Holland House Dinner Books record the names of the foremost individuals of European society of the first third of the nineteenth century, including such cultural luminaries as the poet and playwright Lord Byron (1788–1824) and the French-Swiss woman of letters and novelist Madame de Staël (1766–1817) (Add MSS 51950–51957). Visits from the naturalist and explorer Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859) and, as mentioned earlier, George Ticknor and Washington Irving, reveal how it became a magnet for those with similar interests in Spanish and Latin American culture and politics (Add MS 51953). With the return of absolutism in 1814, the Hollands' home was again to provide a welcoming and intellectually challenging space for Spanish intellectuals and liberal politicians of the late Enlightenment to engage with the cream of European society. It welcomed such varied figures as the geographer Felipe Bauzá y Cañas (1764–1833), Canon Miguel de Riego (1781–1846), the brother of Rafael, author of the 1820 *coup*<sup>5</sup> and the politicians José María Queipo de Llano, Count of Toreno (1786–1843), Francisco Martínez de la Rosa (1787–1862), and Agustín de Argüelles Álvarez (1776–1844), for a period of time providing the latter with an income from his employment as their librarian (Moreno 1997). The Hollands and Allen corresponded with those in exile elsewhere, like Moratín (Add MSS 51626 and 51627), and those still in Spain like Quintana, who during his imprisonment in Badajoz following the failed Liberal Triennium / *Trienio liberal* (1820–23), addressed his *Letters to Lord Holland* / *Cartas a Lord Holland* (published 1833) to the British peer as an ideal interlocutor during this challenging period. In the last decade of its activities, following the return of the liberal exiles to Spain, the residents of Holland House continued to welcome Spanish politicians, such as Miguel Álava y Esquivel (1770–1843) and Juan Álvarez Mendizábal (1790–1853), and as a member of the Whig government, Holland strove to ensure British support for the liberal rule of Regent María Cristina, and continued compliance with the Quadruple Treaty of 1834 (Moreno 1984).

Of the many that visited, it is the friendship between the Hollands, Allen and the man who was to become known as Joseph Blanco White that serves as the most significant example of the role of the inhabitants of Holland House in the diffusion, exchange and transformation of Spanish Enlightenment ideas outside of Spain. As an emigrant to England in 1810, never again to return to the country of his birth, in their personal, intellectual and financial support for Blanco, the inhabitants of Holland House both directly and indirectly enabled the Spanish intellectual to have a widespread influence on the nature and spread of ideas about Spain and South America that were the product of his origins in, education during and experience of the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

Blanco was one of the most significant and influential figures of Spanish political and intellectual history of the first half of the nineteenth century (Murphy 1989, ix). Originally from Seville but with an Irish father, he was a product of the late Spanish enlightenment and an admirer of the practical social and educational reform of Juan Pablo Forner (1756–1799) (Murphy 1989, 12–13). His semi-autobiographical *Letters from Spain*, published under the playful pseudonym Leucadio Doblado, note that it was his reading of Feijoo at age fourteen that had taught him how to reason and doubt (1822, 97–99). Blanco was in many ways a typical *ilustrado*, a man of faith but critical of dogma, committed to social and political reform through education. He would become an original and deeply-engaged thinker about the dire situation in which his abandoned homeland found itself, and published widely on Spain and the emergent new republics of South America (Murphy 1989; Moreno 1993, 1998). He was also a man who explored throughout his whole lifetime the nature of the human connection to God, the relationship between religion and faith providing him with a life-long spiritual challenge that resulted from his traumatic early

immersion in what his biographer, the Unitarian clergyman, John Hamilton Thom said was “the most bigoted and ascetic town in Spain” (1877, xii). His work reveals the challenges of rational thinking within the strictly orthodox spiritual landscape of Spanish Roman Catholicism which was the reality affecting many Spanish *ilustrados* and, as Murphy notes, reflects “the civilising, elevating and socially useful role which Blanco, like the reformers of the Spanish enlightenment, saw as the proper function of religion” (1989, 114).

The Hollands first met the then Catholic priest José María Blanco y Crespo in February 1809 in Seville. He was a troubled man, suffering from a spiritual and religious crisis that would see him eventually reject Catholicism and become an Anglican clergyman within five years. Blanco was a radical thinker at this time, a member of the aforementioned *Junta Chica* group of intellectuals that included Quintana, Martín de Garay (1771–1822), the Secretary of the *Junta Suprema Central*, whom Quintana served as his Chief Officer, and Isidoro de Antillón (1778–1814). Almost all its members had previously formed part of Quintana’s Madrid *tertulia*, where Spain’s first truly political periodical, the *Semanario patriótico*, was conceived and published (Blanco White 1810–14, no.10 [30/1/1811] 287; Moreno 1997, 152–160). From the issue of 4 May 1809, Blanco was one of the two main editors of the Seville phase of the *Semanario patriótico*, writing the regular political and occasional literature sections—assisted by his friend Alberto Lista (1775–1848)—with Antillón writing the historical. The *Semanario patriótico* had the declared aim of growing liberal public opinion in favor of independence and establishing the sovereignty of the people, ridding the country of both French tyranny in the form of Napoleon’s brother José I and that of first minister Manuel Godoy (1767–1851) (Various 1808–12, no.1 [1/9/1808], 3; Rico Linaje 1998; Fernández Sebastián 2015). Quintana sent copies to the Hollands and in his commentary on the *Junta Central* published in London in 1809, Henry described its issues as “appreciated no less for the freedom and daring of its principles than for its excellent style” (Moreno 2012, 235).

With Seville about to fall to Napoleonic forces, the members of the *Junta Central* left Seville on 23 January 1810 bound for Cádiz and Blanco found himself at a watershed moment: should he follow his friend Lista and work with the new French Government to bring about the enlightened reform he so desired to see come to Spain or was it his patriotic duty to continue to resist the foreign invasion? He decided on the latter, however he lacked any confidence in the possibility that the *Junta Central* would succeed either in directing effective resistance or introducing constitutional reform. Influenced by his positive experiences of the Holland household in Seville and finding himself unable to contemplate continuing to perform the lie of his priestly profession, he emigrated to London. Arriving in Falmouth in the far south west of England on 3 March, unprepared for the climate and with scarcely £100, Holland House and the connections he gained through his association with it were to be a lifeline for him.

Within less than 2 weeks he was dining at Holland House along with Manuel Abella (1763–1817), a member of the Spanish Academy working as a Secretary in the Spanish Embassy, and Andrés de la Vega (1767–1813), an envoy of the Asturian Provincial Junta who was to become a good friend (Murphy 1989, 63; Laspra 2013). This meeting led to plans for a Spanish-language journal, *El Español*, the first issue of which Blanco published on 30 April. It began life as an attempt to provide support for the patriotic cause in Spain and to counter the malign influence of the Catholic Church, however from its first issue Blanco continued to express the concerns of the *Junta Chica*, criticizing the process by which, rather than through any form of public consultation or election, the provincial juntas alone had provided deputies to the *Junta Central* as leading them to “believe themselves authorized to exercise the same unlimited despotism as was employed by their monarchs” (1810–14, no. 1 [30/4/1810], 12–13). After only two issues, news arrived in London of the Revolution of Caracas on 19 April and thereafter, Blanco would go

on to express his support for the cause of the independence of the colonies, as part of a personal commitment to freedom of speech that was to enrage the Regency and cost him many of his former friends back in Spain, including Quintana (Murphy 1989; Moreno 1993).

It is clear from their frequent exchange of letters at this time that Blanco found Holland to be an indispensable point of reference and constructive critic of his work. Holland provided him with access to the peer's own correspondence with many influential Spanish friends and helped him to negotiate the challenges of expressing his ideas in the context of the new-found freedom that living in England gave him to write and publish openly (Blanco 1845, 317–339; Murphy 1989, 63–74). Blanco learned from Henry's support and encouragement to balance the expression of more radical views with a pragmatic approach that would ensure their continued commercial success. We gain a sense of the importance of the complex and fruitful interchange of ideas at this time that flowed from the nexus of Holland House from Blanco's comment following the publication in April 1813 of his translation of a letter from Holland. The letter expressed Holland's concerns at the instability and lack of public confidence that resulted from frequent changes in the Spanish government and he signed it as from "A very Spanish Englishman" (*Un Inglés muy Españolado*). Blanco added that "[n]ever has Spain had a greater need for Spanish Englishmen and English Spaniards than in the present circumstances" (1810–1814, no. 36 [4/1813], 274).

Blanco's ideas about the events and future developments in South America in *El Español* were to receive wide dissemination and have an impact on constitutional development in Chile, Mexico and Colombia, playing a significant role in linking up key places across the continent "to develop a wider and specifically American consciousness" (Murphy 1989, 79 and note 22, 228; Murphy 2013). His article, "The Integrity of the Spanish Monarchy" (*Integridad de la monarquía Española*) published in *El Español* in August 1810 (no. 5, 369–377), which Murphy describes as a "vision of a Spanish commonwealth of nations, based on partnership instead of exploitation," was reprinted in Caracas and led to Blanco being made an honorary citizen (1989, 69–70). His advocacy of "moderate reform" (376) reveals how, under the influence of the Hollands, Blanco had moved away from the more radical views he had expressed up until then—what he called his "former propensity to theoretical principles of reform" (1845, 326)—and espoused a more pragmatic and moderate approach to enlightened change that was characteristic of his fellow *ilustrados* such as Jovellanos and Moratín. Of particular note, in terms of the dissemination of Spanish enlightenment ideas, is Murphy's claim that the intellectual exchange between Blanco and Servando de Mier (1765–1827) led to the former's ideas being incorporated into Bolívar's *Report on Cartagena/Memoria de Cartagena* (1812; Murphy 1989 and 2013). Bolívar also mentions both Blanco and *El Español* by name and in positive terms in the later *Jamaican Letter / Carta de Jamaica* (Bolívar 1815, 20). Briggs highlights the significance of his intellectual exchange with Mier and Juan Germán Roscio (1763–1821), both "leading voices in the Venezuelan and Mexican independence movements" (2010, 66). In 1820, the Venezuelan liberal humanist and statesman Andrés Bello (1781–1865) sought Blanco's confidential opinion on the idea of establishing a constitutional monarchy in Chile and Blanco had previously used his relationship with Holland House to get a government subsidy for Bello in 1816 (Murphy 1989; Jaksic 2001).

As well as their direct and indirect involvement in and support for *El Español*, Murphy's detailed and lively biography notes how the Hollands and Allen were to continue to provide intellectual and personal support for Blanco in many other ways (1989). For two years from August 1815 he resided at Holland House as tutor to their son Henry, the future 4th Baron Holland, accompanying them on an excursion to Scotland in August 1816 that took him to Edinburgh, the center of the Scottish Enlightenment. From 1821 to 1822, with the encouragement of Lady Holland, Blanco published his series of semi-autobiographical fictional letters, *Letters from Spain*, in the *New Monthly Magazine* (Andreu 2016). He had begun to draft them

during his time residing in Holland House as tutor, and the manuscript shows Lady Holland's involvement in providing critical comments and suggestions. It was through Henry's Oxford tutor that Blanco began his association with the university, culminating in 1825 with him becoming a fellow of Oriel College and residing there for the next seven years. Knowing he was keen to leave Oxford, in 1831 Allen offered Blanco the post of organist at Dulwich College, however he chose instead to accept the invitation of his friends Richard and Elizabeth Whately (1787–1863, 1795–1860), the former having been appointed Archbishop of Dublin, to act as tutor to their son Edward. His lifelong friendship and correspondence with the Hollands and Allen sustained him in his solitary final years in Liverpool.

## Conclusions

The wide-ranging support and encouragement given to Blanco by the three inhabitants of Holland House served to enable his enlightened Spanish voice to be heard across Europe and South America. Both very directly in the fraught period of the Peninsular War when they resided in Seville and over the forty years during which Holland House was one of the most acclaimed salons in Europe, the Hollands' and Allen's commitment to supporting the cause of Spanish liberalism—perhaps the most enduring outcome of the Spanish Enlightenment—never wavered. The contacts that they made during their visits, enabled and enriched through their dedication to studying and understanding the language, history, politics and culture of their host country, led to lifelong friendships and active support for exiled Spanish intellectuals. Their privileged and unique positions as early Hispanists allowed them to develop “interlocking understandings” with innumerable Spanish enlightened thinkers in the informed “contact zones” provided by the actual and the Spanish Holland House (Pratt 2008, 8). Through transnational practices of cultural sociability and exchange, based on shared liberal values, they enabled and supported the diffusion, exchange and transformation of Spanish Enlightened ideas.

## Notes

- 1 “Spanish Englishmen?": Lord Holland signed himself thus in a letter to *El Español*, a translation of which Blanco published in the journal (1810–1814, no. 36 [4/1813], 274).
- 2 Lord Holland's *Journal* recording his times in Spain from 20 December 1808 to 24 June 1809, is largely focused on day-to-day routine together with observations about events and places of interest. His *Memoirs* (Add MS 51873) is a recollection undertaken in 1812 that initially included six folios on this time, since ripped out, contains more detail on conversations and social and political ideas. It formed the basis for the related section of his *Foreign Reminiscences* (1851) and a short entry in his *Further Memoirs of the Whig Party* (1905, 368–70).
- 3 Pedro Rodríguez, Conde de Campomanes (1723–1802), Antonio Capmany (1742–1813), Manuel de Lardizábal (1744–1820), José Alonso Ortiz (1755–1815), Adam Smith (1723–1790).
- 4 Moreno (2012) includes a transcription from a Spanish translation of this essay, located in the Biblioteca de Catalunya in Barcelona. I have not been able to locate a copy of the English original that he describes nor a record of the original title in English.
- 5 The *coup d'état* of Lieutenant Colonel Rafael de Riego in January 1820 forced King Ferdinand VII to accept the Constitution of 1812. It led to a three-year period of liberal government—the *Trienio Liberal*—that was ended by the invasion of French troops in 1823 with the tacit agreement of the governments of other European states.

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- Add MS 52199 A Journal kept by J. Allen in Spain, 1 Aug 1803–6 Apr 1804, followed (ff. 25–64) by notes on eminent persons encountered at Madrid and elsewhere
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- Add MS. 52243-B Lists of manuscripts and printed books relating to Spanish and Spanish American political, parliamentary and legal history, etc. (1804)
- Add MS 52243 C Extracts from letters, etc., mostly relating to Spanish civil government, parliamentary history and ... (1807–1809)
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# Translation in Enlightenment Spain\*

*María Jesús García Garrosa*

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The publication of translations in eighteenth-century Europe provided a most effective vehicle of cultural interchange, promoting the sharing of learning and thought in an age considered to be one of Enlightenment. On that basis translation flourished, favored not only by a new spirit of cosmopolitanism but equally spurred on by an Enlightenment imperative to disseminate knowledge. The development of publishing and book distribution, the extraordinary demand for texts from a reading public increasingly diverse both socially and culturally as well as curious about new works from beyond national frontiers, the growing desire to learn modern foreign languages, and the existence of more grammar textbooks and dictionaries constituted additional factors in explaining the boom in translation across the continent.

In Spain the tendency was, if anything, even more notable, and the practice of translation reached new heights, assuming a preeminent cultural significance. It is not easy to measure accurately the proportion of publications that were translations but data from existing studies suggest that their numbers increased throughout the century, reaching, in the final three decades, an average of 18% of titles published (García Hurtado 1999; Buiguès 2002).<sup>1</sup> The source language of the majority was French (54–55%), primarily because it was the best known foreign language among Spaniards, but also because of France's undoubted cultural hegemony, making it the most effective cultural and linguistic mediator in facilitating Spain's consumption of texts from other countries.

Unsurprisingly, almost a third of the translations related to religion (García Hurtado 1999, 38). Nevertheless, the growing secularization of Spanish life, evident in social practices, ideas and knowledge, and even in literary preferences, opened up the field of translation on a grand scale. If the greatest concentration in translating activity is to be found in the final decades of the century, it is due specifically to the wish of the educated elite and more reformist sectors of society to make known the best of what other nations were producing and to contribute to Spain's advancement; this factor explains the growing number of translations of scientific and technical works, educational texts, conduct manuals, and writings on moral philosophy and economics, not forgetting works of literature, without which the renewal of Spanish literary culture would not have taken place, and which equally played a major role in changing the way Spaniards viewed the world.

## Attitudes to translation in eighteenth-century Spain

An overall view of eighteenth-century Spanish culture reveals that translation provided one of the most important points of contact with the rest of Europe, unquestionably conveying a spirit of openness to the thought, culture, social mores and literary models found there, stimulating renewal in every field of knowledge.

For those who saw it as a means of rapprochement with European modernity, translation signified integrating Spanish culture “into the European concert of enlightened nations, into a transnational republic of letters” (Geltz 2001, 97), a move very much in tune with eighteenth-century cosmopolitanism which supposed an all-embracing concept of culture, conceived of as part of a common heritage to be shared unreservedly by a literary republic without frontiers. Translations functioned as a unifying factor in culture and helped “to create a network for communication, reflection and dialogue between readers in different countries, who, though not knowing one another, shared the same cultural reference point from which to organize their own thinking, a feature which would contribute in turn to weaving that same unifying web” (Álvarez Barrientos 1998, 18).<sup>2</sup>

This integrating feature of translation in turn favored the emergence of cultural nationalism, which was perhaps more evident in a country like Spain that experienced renewal in the eighteenth century after a period of splendor seen as a Golden Age. As a mediating mechanism, translation permits the reception of one culture by another, entailing a process of reflection on national identity and the values of one’s own culture when confronting one from outside which may replace it or question it; it constitutes an active process which, like other forms of reception in the cultural sphere, implies the possibility of rejecting innovation from outside or at least seeks to accommodate what is alien to one’s own cultural traditions (Deacon 2010, 623).

In this respect the ambivalence over translation as a form of cultural renewal provoked mixed reactions in eighteenth-century Spain and gave rise to an intense debate over its relevance, function, and the role it might play in a process of ideological and aesthetic change not shared by all sectors of society (García Garrosa 2006). Cultural journals provided the most common battle ground for the clashes between advocates and critics of translations, usually provoked by a review of a translated text or criticism of performances of foreign theatrical works, in a debate mixing the views of journalists, authors, translators, and the readers who submitted letters to be published. The trail of arguments can also be detected in opinion pieces, polemical writings, and texts on the art of translation, most often provoked by a specific translation which generated a critical response that acted as an excuse for an attack on translations in general. And we must not forget the reports of government censors on translated works, which all required a license to print. Around that practice, which resulted in prohibitions of many foreign texts in the name of Catholic orthodoxy and in defense of social mores, revolved the persistent struggle of those who considered writings from elsewhere, now available in translation, as vehicles for changing attitudes in eighteenth-century Spanish society.

Evidence of the debate over translations is visible throughout the century, but it became more acute at two key moments: firstly, in the years when enlightened reform seemed most buoyant, from the end of the 1760s until the movement lost momentum in the wake of the violent events of the French Revolution, translation became an indisputable trial of strength between those committed to change and those who opposed it; secondly, in the context of the apologetic reactions in defense of Spanish culture provoked by Masson de Morvilliers’s attack in a 1782 volume of the French *Encyclopédie méthodique*, beginning “Que doit-on à l’Espagne?”. This explains why the debate over translations centered almost exclusively on French works,

which were not only the most numerous but also those most directly linked to issues of cultural hegemony and the questioning of one's own culture.

One bone of contention concerned the potential damage caused by translations to the Spanish language (Checa 1991). For out-and-out defenders of linguistic purity, translations represented an invasion of foreign vocabulary, idioms, and expressions which adulterated and impoverished the Spanish language. Since most of the original works were in French, criticism centered on the growing presence of lexical and syntactic Gallicisms. It is easy to see, however, that criticism went beyond purely linguistic aspects and represented an anti-French reaction, a rejection of France's cultural dominance.

It is important to point out that it was not a question of mere linguistic patriotism. Many of those who attacked translations did so because they feared a loss of national identity in the broadest cultural sense. A text which captures this attitude is the "Carta sobre el abuso de las malas traducciones y utilidad de reimprimir nuestros buenos autores" (Letter on the abusive nature of bad translations and usefulness of republishing our own best authors),<sup>3</sup> printed in the *Memorial literario* of November 1787, in response to the attack by Masson de Morvilliers. Its anonymous author points out "the shameful ruin which threatens our tongue as a result of commerce and dealings with the French" (la lastimosa ruina que amenaza a nuestra lengua con el comercio y trato francés) which translations have encouraged, adding that such continuous contact with what is foreign leads to a "well of errors from which we shall never escape" (abismo de errores de donde jamás saldremos). The author considers translations to be part of a fashion that welcomes and values everything from abroad, particularly France, for the mere fact of being such, without questioning their relevance or value, and rejects them because they imported ideas, social behavior, cultural practices, and literary forms which replaced those of Spain. In order to face the threat from so many foreign texts that represent a "contagious disease" (peste contagiosa), the author calls for new editions of the best Spanish authors of the sixteenth century, that is to say, a return to the past that guarantees not only linguistic purity but also the survival of Spanish values.

Even as late as 1808 the press carries the same type of argument in questioning translations. In another anonymous text, but in more measured tones, the author of a "Respuesta a la pregunta de Mr. Masson" (Reply to the question posed by Mr. Masson) writes, in the *Memorial literario* of January 1808:

We have freely devoted ourselves to the reading of foreign books, whose elegant style has seduced us, and which we almost treat as if they were oracles [...]. We should, nevertheless, be grateful for the benefits they bring, but carefully guard against succumbing to a shameful subservience. Let us replace the obsession for translating everything by thinking for ourselves. Let us, when it is deserved, heap praise on authors worthy of our esteem [...], but let us not convert our enthusiasm into a fanatical admiration for everything which is not our own.

Nos hemos entregado sin reserva a la lectura de los libros extranjeros, los cuales con su graciosa fraseología nos han arrebatado, y estamos muy a punto de consultarlos como a oráculos [...]. Es, pues, preciso no ser ingratos a sus beneficios, pero guardarse muy bien de no caer en una vergonzosa esclavitud. Sustituyamos nuestros pensamientos a la manía de traducirlo todo. Prodiguemos en buena hora los elogios a los autores dignos de toda estima [...], pero no llevemos nuestro entusiasmo hasta el fanatismo por todo lo que no es nuestro.

Thus, the rejection of translations by some Spanish intellectuals must be seen in the broader context of the rejection of French cultural influence, something that stirs the nationalistic sentiment of those who yearn for the past cultural hegemony of Spain's Golden Age. The apologists for

Spanish culture are not necessarily opposed to change and modernization, but rather to change and modernization originating from abroad. For that reason, they question the contribution of foreign culture encouraged by translations, and, instead of seeing in contemporary Europe a stimulus to renewal, they propose, particularly in literary culture, a return to a native tradition that guarantees cultural continuity.

Not everyone in eighteenth-century Spain shared these opinions of translations or of the links they established between peoples, their languages and cultures. If for some they posed a threat of cultural imperialism, for others they symbolized cosmopolitanism and aspirations towards a fraternal universalism; from an Enlightenment perspective, translations of works from whatever foreign nation or in whatever cultural field signified enrichment for the receiving country.

Many people defended the usefulness of translations, and in a wide variety of texts. One of the most interesting appears in a work of fiction, the *Cartas marruecas* of José de Cadalso, published in 1788–1789. In a text in which Spanish culture is criticized from the perspective of a naive foreigner, just as Montesquieu satirized French society in his *Lettres persanes*, one of the fictional characters, Gazel, claims that translation is unquestionably a form of trade by which every country at its moment of greatest cultural flowering shares its achievements for the benefit of other nations. He highlights the role of translations as a unifying factor between civilizations and as vehicles for the transmission of universal wisdom: “The ready availability of printing, the quantity of trade, alliances between princes and other means have made common across Europe the products of each of its kingdoms. However, what has most united learned Europeans from different countries is the number of translations from one language to another” (Cadalso 2000, 127; El uso fácil de la imprenta, el mucho comercio, las alianzas entre los príncipes y otros motivos han hecho comunes a toda la Europa las producciones de cada reino de ella. No obstante, lo que más ha unido a los sabios europeos de diferentes países es el número de traducciones de unas lenguas en otras).

The poet and dramatist Nicasio Álvarez de Cienfuegos tackled from another perspective the universalizing spirit that translations represent, in a speech to the Royal Spanish Academy (1799). In response to purists who oppose contact with other languages, Cienfuegos makes evident the impoverishment of Spanish culture that the rejection of transnational interchange would suppose:

Out of a badly misunderstood patriotism [...], purists have objected to any word borrowed from abroad, however much necessity may absolutely require it. This kind of hypocritical patriotism has caused a nation to undervalue the writings and discoveries of all others, making it exaggerate its own literary achievements, and by seeing itself at the summit of wisdom, its inventiveness dries up, its tastes becomes perverted, and [...] hatred between nations and a spirit of division in mankind is perpetuated through ignorance. (Álvarez de Cienfuegos 1870, 360–1)

Por este amor de la patria tan mal entendido [...], los puristas han levantado el grito contra toda voz tomada del extranjero, por más que ordene recibirla la necesidad imperiosa. Esta hipocresía de patriotismo ha sido causa de que una nación deprima los escritos y los descubrimientos de todas las otras; de que exagere sus propias riquezas literarias; de que, mirándose en la cumbre de la sabiduría, se aletarguen sus ingenios, se pervierta el gusto, y [...] se eternicen con la ignorancia los odios nacionales y el espíritu de división entre los hombres.

One of the arguments most frequently invoked by the apologists in their rejection of translations, particularly in the field of literature, was that foreign works would replace those that

were genuinely Spanish, and that these would be substituted by works born of another culture and reflecting its customs. This nationalistic prejudice also provoked responses like the one from Ignacio Garchitorena, in a review of the translation of Racine's *Athalie* published in the *Memorial literario* in January 1788: "The progress of literature in our nation is no less limited by those who, in excessively praising it, attempt to discredit the genuine models which foreign cultures present us with and which could raise it to the highest degree of splendor" (No impiden menos los progresos de las bellas letras en nuestra nación los que por lisonjearla intentan desacreditar los verdaderos modelos que le presentan las extrañas y que la pudieran conducir al más alto grado de esplendor). It was a question, therefore, of recognizing new paths opened up by foreign writers and imitating them in Spain's benefit, but based on criteria which linked the foreign with one's own.

The broad, freer concept of translation, which was not always interpreted in the eighteenth century as an exact version of the original text, allowed various degrees of cultural and ideological adaptation to the characteristics of the receiving country (Urzainqui 1991). The Spanish poet, dramatist, and translator Tomás de Iriarte explained in *Los literatos en Cuaresma* (1773, *Literati in Lent*) that a good translator is obliged to "domesticate (so to speak) the author whose text they are translating, assuming their ideas, feelings and opinions and expressing everything in the other language with equal conciseness, energy and fluency" (Iriarte 1805, 94–95; connaturalizarse –digámoslo así– con el autor cuyo escrito traslada, bebiéndole las ideas, los afectos, las opiniones y expresándolo todo en otra lengua con igual concisión, energía y fluidez). The term "connaturalización" (domestication) has subsequently been used to refer to the process of adaptation of literary texts, especially theatrical ones, to the mentality of their new audiences, changing aspects of the plot or the location of the action in order to reflect the social and cultural norms of the receiving country. It was undoubtedly in this recreation of the original text where modernizers saw the usefulness for literary renewal. Instead of considering translation to be an invasion that displaced native productions, as apologists for the nation claimed, reformers believed in a universalizing concept of the republic of letters that advocated taking advantage of the best from other literatures in order to incorporate their achievements into Spanish culture. Translated works would thus provide models for a national tradition that would be revitalized and modernized.

The same exploitation of the best of what other countries produced can be applied to all fields of knowledge, and was underlined by those who, from Enlightenment principles, aimed to advance reform in Spain, carrying out or commissioning translations in the sciences, technology or philosophy. It was advocated, for example, by José Clavijo in presenting his translation of the *Histoire naturelle* of Georges-Louis Leclerc, Count Buffon: "The aim of a translator must be to transfer into their native language, for the benefit of the nation, the best of what has been written in other languages" (Clavijo 1791, LXX; El objeto de un traductor debe ser trasladar al idioma patrio, para beneficio de su nación, lo mejor que hay escrito en otras lenguas).

## Translation in specific areas

The advancement of knowledge was a matter for government; it was a basis for progress and the happiness of the people, and hence translations in such areas as the practical sciences and useful knowledge were increasingly supported by political bodies, from the monarchy itself to reformist groups like the Economic Societies of Friends of the Nation, and especially by the institutions of government. It is even possible to speak of a translation policy, especially during the more reformist years of the reign of Charles III (1759–1788), that would be decisive in laying the foundations of enlightened reform plans in all areas that supposed economic, technical, and scientific advance, as well as that of society.

It is not possible within the scope of the present study to include all the fields in which translating activity was carried out during the key years of enlightened reform, matters which are covered in available bibliographical studies (Lafarga 2004; Étienvre 2006). For that reason I will only mention here certain topics or significant publications that had a particular influence on changes of attitude, in the modernization of patterns of thought and conduct, in the gradual rooting in Spanish society of values more in line with the civic and secular ethical thought of the Enlightenment than with the religious principles which were still dominant.

In science and natural history one can highlight the translation and publication of important, multi-volume works such as *Le Spectacle de la nature* by Noël-Antoine Pluche, translated by Esteban Terreros (1753–1755, 16 vols.), Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*, translated by José Clavijo (1786–1805, 21 vols.), and that of Mathurin-Jacques Brisson's *Dictionnaire raisonné de physique*, undertaken by Cristóbal Cladera (1796–1802, 9 vols.). Such encyclopedic publications required years of effort in order to make known to diverse types of readership scientific disciplines that disseminated knowledge updated and presented according to the experimental research of the age, which increasingly separated science from theology. On a more basic level, though in the same publicizing spirit, one should mention the multitude of translations of essays and papers on science, medicine, or natural history, read to and published by academies and royal societies across Europe, summaries of many of which were made available in the periodical press, extending their range of influence to many classes of readers. The practical orientation of all these translations, aiming to reduce Spain's backwardness in the field of the experimental sciences, is evident in the title-pages of many books where it specifies that they have been carried out with a utilitarian purpose, for example, education, or with a cross-disciplinary aim.

The utilitarian dissemination of knowledge similarly dominated translation in the field of medicine. Aimed in the first instance at specialists, translations of medical treatises and pamphlets encouraged the general public to abandon unscientific practices, underlining an axiom of Enlightenment thought that rejected all manner of superstitions and practices not based on reason and experiment. Outstanding in this area were the works of Scottish doctors and physicians (William Buchan's *Domestic medicine* was translated by Pedro Sinnot in 1785 and one of William Cullen's medical textbooks was translated by Bartolomé Piñera in 1788–1791 as *Elementos de medicina práctica*). Such works made up for the absence of this type of textbook by Spanish authors and made known to Spanish readers new practices in the upbringing of children, advice on bodily welfare, and the advisability of new treatments such as vaccination.

According to the progressive mentality of the Enlightenment, changes in attitude were as important as the material advances of society. Hence translations in the fields of philosophy, law, education, history, geography, and travel narratives were abundant. Unfortunately, the ideas of great European thinkers enjoyed a more limited circulation in Spanish versions because of governmental or Inquisition censorship, although their ideas often filtered through by other means, such as in summaries or in the works of intermediary authors. In this way the ideas of British thinkers in the areas of empiricism, materialism or sensationalism were known in Spain (Deacon 2010), while a few authors were directly translated such as José Deza's 1801 publication of Adam Smith's *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) was published in Spanish in 1794 (*Investigación de la naturaleza y causas de la riqueza de las naciones*, trans. José Alonso Ortiz), and together with a translation of David Hume's *Essays* (*Discursos políticos*) published by an anonymous translator in 1789, made known the doctrines of British economic liberalism. The epistemological theories of John Locke reached the public indirectly via the translation of the French philosopher Étienne Bonnot de Condillac's *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* (*La lógica o los primeros elementos del arte de pensar*, trans. Bernardo María de Calzada, 1784).

Similarly a Spanish version by Antonio de las Casas was published of the Italian legal philosopher Cesare Beccaria's *Dei delitti e delle pene* in 1774, although it was prohibited by the Spanish Inquisition three years later; this text condemning torture led to a conviction of the need to reform laws and legal practices and helped to establish beliefs basic to human happiness and the moral progress of society such as tolerance and humanitarianism.

The same aim was encouraged by translations of travel books; two collections deserve mention because of their wide scope: *Le voyageur français* by Joseph de La Porte (trans. Pedro Estala, 1795–1801, 43 vols.) and the *Histoire générale des voyages* by the Abbé Prévost (trans. Miguel Terracina, 1763–1791, 28 vols.). Such works provided Spanish readers with accounts of unknown worlds or significant scientific expeditions, but also made known details of customs in other cultures, and, by underlining the relativity of beliefs and social behavior, helped to establish an awareness of cosmopolitanism, equality, the need for tolerance and respect, and even to raise issues like slavery.

Another pillar of Enlightenment thinking was the belief in education, and here too translations were abundant, renewing approaches to education and behavior for all types of readers: educators, mothers, children and youth of either gender, women, and the aristocracy. For the education of the young, moral treatises were translated, or works in which a slim element of fiction provided a unifying thread to link subject matter and information, as in travel narratives in the style of François Fénelon's *Télémaque*. And although innovative educational works reached Spain, such as John Locke's *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (1693) (only published in translation in 1797 after attempts frustrated by the censorship system), those which reached the widest audiences were the writings of Madame de Genlis, Madame Le Prince de Beaumont, Madame Lambert and other French authors of didactic literature, in works conveying marked Christian values in dialogues between teacher and pupil or letters on education (Bolufer 2002). Such formats were frequently adopted in translated texts focused on the education of women at various stages in their lives, ranging from moralistic works to treatises on household management, or health and welfare texts concerning the care of children. And it is important to emphasize too the significance for changing attitudes and social interaction of translations that encouraged Spain's debate on women and their new roles in every walk of life, not only in the public but also in the domestic sphere. One instance will suffice: the ideas of Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) were presented in summary, a mere eight months after the book's publication in England, in an extensive article in the *Diario de Madrid*, derived from a French review of the work.

The periodical press was a major link between Spain and Europe, thanks largely to the presence of translations in its pages. Some journals were conceived of precisely as mediating vehicles, transmitting to a Spanish readership news and information of all kinds that had appeared in foreign publications: Francisco Mariano Nipho's *Estafeta de Londres* (1762; The London Post) and Cristóbal Cladera's *Espíritu de los mejores diarios literarios que se publican en Europa* (1789–1791; Spirit of the Best Literary Newspapers Published in Europe). Others such as the *Miscelánea instructiva, curiosa y agradable, o Anales de literatura, ciencias y artes: sacados de los mejores escritos que se publican en Europa en diversos idiomas* (1796–1800; Instructive, Curious and Pleasant Miscellany, or Annals of Literature, Sciences, and Arts: Taken from the Best Writing Published in Europe in Different Languages), relied, as its title suggested, on translations of quite diverse subject matter. Similarly, in cultural reviews (*Memorial literario, Minerva*) or in general information publications (*Diario de Madrid*; Madrid Daily) news was provided concerning translated works and their contents reviewed. They regularly carried fragments of translations, mostly anonymously and often without mentioning their original authors, in all genres and from many different sources.

Such miscellaneous extracts provided a mechanism for introducing Spanish readers to authors and works whose reach was restricted by censorship. Some European writers, and therefore

the names of their works in their original languages, appeared in the prohibition *Indexes* of the Inquisition (both in Madrid and Rome) and could not be translated; the Spanish versions of some works were not approved by governmental censorship, and for that reason remained in manuscript. Many others, including ones mentioned above, had to be altered or subjected to cuts by their translators in order not to clash with Church orthodoxy or political and moral norms (the three areas laid down by state censorship).

## Translations of literature

In the present account translation has been allied to the concept of modernity, a link especially notable in the field of literature. Whereas France and Great Britain, from early in the eighteenth century, revealed significant advances in literary forms such as the novel and drama, in Spain, for virtually the whole first half of the century, theater-goers were entertained by the plays of Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681) and other dramatists of Spain's Golden Age; and in narrative the *Novelas amorosas y ejemplares* (1637) by María de Zayas (1590–c. 1660) were constantly reprinted alongside new moralistic texts published in an unbroken tradition originating in their Baroque models; the same pattern was repeated in poetry. Audiences and readers in that period seemed not to demand a renewal in genres, subject matter or techniques, or a literature more in tune with the spirit of the age, but by the end of the century the literary world had undergone a revolution of such magnitude that the number of translations exceeded original Spanish works both in the field of drama and of narrative texts.

Various factors brought about this change, which did not affect all forms of composition equally. In the world of the theater, translations originated on the one hand as a result of an official initiative which commissioned and promoted them, and on the other from the tastes of the public, which in certain genres, such as sentimental drama, preferred foreign works to Spanish ones. In the field of narrative, the impulse came from printers and publishers: novels were translated in order to fill a gap in the market with modern titles belonging to a textual form highly developed and successful in Europe which Spanish readers enthusiastically embraced. However, translations of poetry conformed to more individual concerns, either the preferences of those who wished to produce new versions of classical writings or those of authors interested in the novelties of European poetry which heralded the arrival of Romanticism and presented them in Spanish.

The notable increase in literary translations resulted in new translators. Those who undertook such a role were not always professional men and women of letters, neither did they necessarily display equal expertise in the source languages or even the Spanish language, nor in most cases in the art of translating. Complaints about the low quality of translations were frequent throughout the century and there was constant demand for a greater degree of professionalism from those who undertook translations as participants in a republic of letters that required quality from its members and recognition of their worth (García Garrosa and Lafarga 2004, 52–64). However, translating provided access to a literary career for many, especially women, who, in a cultural context as hostile as that of Spain, would perhaps never have taken the leap towards literary creation without a text in another language to recast, sometimes adding notes or appendices of their own (López-Cordón 1996, Bolufer 2008).

Translations presented the Spanish reader with a wide range of literary works which, as was argued above, provided a cultural point of reference shared with the rest of Europe. Their role was decisive for the renewal of Spanish literature, not only from an aesthetic point of view, but also in their effect on ways of thinking. For that reason, in the domain of literature, translations went hand in hand with the reform plans of the enlightened elites, and drama is the field which best exemplifies this connection.

Until the 1760s the attempts to reform Spanish drama had consisted of little more than theoretical statements and the composition of a handful of original texts written according to neo-classical principles. At the end of the decade the government became directly involved in plans to bring about effective change in order to re-establish good taste in the theaters of the nation. Translations were the means to achieve this end. Count Aranda, the government's chief minister (Presidente del Consejo de Castilla) and another minister, Jerónimo Grimaldi, commissioned translations from writers favorable to the reform scheme (Pablo de Olavide, Tomás de Iriarte, Gaspar de Jovellanos, José Clavijo); the aim was to provide contemporary models in the neo-classical manner in order to spearhead a renewal of Spanish dramaturgy, providing the nation's theaters with new works to replace repertory dating from the Baroque era. In a period of less than five years from 1768 onwards some twenty works—from French classicism and contemporary plays from France and Italy—were translated (Molière, Corneille, Racine, Alfieri, Voltaire, Regnard, Destouches and others). They provided up-to-date models to be assimilated and imitated by Spanish authors, that is to say, appropriated by a national tradition in original productions.

Identical reasoning was applied by government at the close of the century when translations were again promoted in another institutional initiative, from the Committee for the Reform of Theaters, which backed a publication series entitled *Teatro Nuevo Español* (6 vols., 1800–1801) containing the works performed in Madrid's theaters that were most respectful of neoclassical norms. The fact that twenty-two of the twenty-eight were translations reveals the lack of original plays considered in line with the spirit of reform, as well as evidence of the preferences of the theater-going public (Lafarga 1993).

The transformation of the stage was astonishing: in the final three decades of the century translations dominated. Translators, both neoclassical and popular in their personal tastes, brought to Spanish audiences the best received or most innovative works of European theater. Spectators in Madrid and other major cities could witness and enjoy, in addition to the authors already mentioned, works by Goldoni, Metastasio, Marivaux, Diderot, Beaumarchais, Mercier, Schiller, Lessing, Kotzebue, and others, and were able to discover the latest products of European theater: bourgeois tragedy and sentimental comedy, music-drama and other Italian musical genres, German melodrama and the beginnings of Romantic theater (see various chapters in Lafarga 1997).

The educative function of theater in the age of Enlightenment was crucial in transmitting, through the riches of translation, the moral and social values of reformist politics. The middle classes were depicted on stage in bourgeois dramas and comedies of manners, in plays presenting situations that reflected real life. Whether faithfully translated or adapted to Spanish society, such works imported from France, England, Italy, or Germany invited audiences to reflect on matters of concern to contemporary society: the need to reform legislation and devote attention to the care of the young, the importance of limiting dictatorial parental authority, the social and economic significance of respect for manual labor and crafts, rethinking the institution of marriage without neglecting issues such as adultery and divorce, marriage between classes which might weaken the foundations of a class-based society. They portrayed new forms of sociability between the sexes, new models of human behavior, and developed by their example the elements of a new concept of virtue deriving from the civic ethics of the Enlightenment.

The writing of novels could not count on the same degree of support as that of plays, nor was there any kind of organized encouragement of translation as a way of energizing the minimal Spanish output of narrative by using European models. The case was rather the opposite: the novel was an undervalued genre since it lacked critical attention in works of literary poetics,<sup>4</sup> and neoclassical authors in general were little interested in translating works that were produced

elsewhere, even more so because it was a format subject to strict vigilance by the censorship system, which considered it especially dangerous for morality (Domergue 1985). Rather, it was the commercial potential of the genre that favored the diffusion in Spain from the 1780s onwards of many foreign titles destined to satisfy the demands of Spanish readers.

Translations of narrative works between 1789 and 1808 were copious and diverse, with a clear preference for French and English originals (Álvarez Barrientos 1996). Various French best-sellers were translated, albeit ones that exemplified narrative forms seen as outdated: the picaresque work by Lesage (trans. Padre Isla, as *Aventuras de Gil Blas de Santillana*, 1787) or the gallant *Cassandre* (trans. Manuel Bellosartes, 1792) of La Calprenède. However, moralizing short stories such as the *Contes moraux* of Marmontel (trans. Vicente Santiváñez, 1787), texts by Saint-Lambert (*Colección de cuentos morales*, trans. Francisco de Tójar, 1803), and the *novellas* of the master of French moral sentimentalism Baculard d'Arnaud (*Épreuves du sentiment*, trans. Juan Corradi, 1795–1799) equally made their mark. Also popular were the collections of educative works that contained novelistic components: by Madame de Genlis, Madame Le Prince de Beaumont, Ducray-Duminil. And especially important were the translations of novels that made known in Spain the sensibility and stylistic features associated with Romanticism, such as *Paul et Virginie* by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre (trans. José Miguel Alea, 1798) and *Atala* by Chateaubriand, which benefited from three translations between 1801 and 1808.

The strong presence in the Spanish market of French narrative texts is unsurprising, but what was new was the success among the reading public in the 1790s of English novels, often decades after their publication (Deacon 1998). Only one title was directly translated from English—*The History of Rasselas, Prince of Abissinia*, by Samuel Johnson—in a translation by Inés Joyes y Blake (*El príncipe de Abisinia*, 1798). However, it was via French intermediary translations that Spanish versions of other major novels reached their audience: Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* (trans. Ramón M. Spartal, 1793–1800), Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (trans. Ignacio de Ordejón, 1796) and *Amelia* (trans. Romualdo Antonio de Quijano, 1795–1796), and especially the works of Samuel Richardson: *Pamela*, *Clarissa*, and *Sir Charles Grandison* (Pajares 2010). These were published between 1794 and 1798, and the coverage they received in the press, allied to their critical reception, are symptomatic of the significance that Richardson represented in Spanish culture at the end of the century (García Garrosa 2014).

The translation of English novels, especially of the three by Richardson, supposed a generic model exploiting greater realism, one focused on the individual and their relation to society, and centered on the exploration of feelings, thanks in large measure to the narrative and analytical potential of their epistolary technique. Equally important were the new reading practices that Richardson's novels signified for European culture (Chartier 2000): a greater inwardness, entailing an empathetic and emotional response to the story that allowed readers to identify with the text, features which became common for Spanish readers in the final decade of the century.

As products of a more secular society, English novels presented Spanish readers with new reference points for human behavior, both in the moral and social sense, ones which clashed with Spanish customs and behavior; this often required translators to “retouch” or bowdlerize texts in order to accommodate them to their Spanish context. Nevertheless, English novels and the sentimental, realist style of narrative which they made fashionable across Europe resulted in many conflicts with the censorship system in their Spanish versions.

The vivid depiction of social practices and the detailed, intimate analysis of feelings that the epistolary technique encouraged turned these works into a mirror in which readers, especially the young, could see themselves and recognize their own feelings. This led to the censorship system seeing them as a danger for the moral education of Spanish youth and to restricting their diffusion (García Garrosa 2009). Regrettably, some of the great European novels of the

eighteenth century could not be read by contemporary Spanish readers because censorship banned printing of the translations (for example, Goethe's *Werther*) or because Spanish versions were not even attempted, as in the case of Rousseau's *La Nouvelle Héloïse*, as the author's works were included in the Inquisition *Index*.

The case of Richardson helps to explain the commercial success of translated novels in Spain at the end of the century in the form of subscription editions. It particularly applied to novels in various volumes, and became increasingly common, helping to establish among the reading public a new means of acquiring works of this kind. Such readers were driven by the success elsewhere in Europe over several decades of this modern type of novel, and they carried on buying them, thus providing an incentive for further translations and the printing of new titles to satisfy the demand. The readership was sizeable and more diverse both socially and culturally, as the lists of subscribers to such works demonstrate, lists in which the number of women and representatives of the middle classes was on the increase (García Garrosa 2016). The translated novels provide, as this sales technique makes clear, an accurate indicator of changes in Spanish society over the century.

It is perfectly understandable that translations of poetry did not enjoy the same social or commercial reach as dramatic or narrative texts, but their role was important for literary history, especially in the case of works published in the final decade of the century. In addition to providing access to new poetic trends already well established in the rest of Europe, these new offerings gave rise to an interesting debate in Spain concerning new poetic models, which set the new against inherited traditions (Checa 2016, 216–223). Of particular significance in these years of transition were the translations of British authors, from the philosophical poetry of Alexander Pope (*Ensayo sobre el hombre*, trans. Antonio Fernández de Palazuelos, 1790) to the nature poetry of James Thomson's *Seasons* (*Las estaciones del año*, trans. Benito Gómez Romero, 1800). Edward Young too was translated (*Obras selectas de Eduardo Young, expurgadas de todo error*, trans. Juan de Escoiquiz, 1789–1790), as were the poems of James Macpherson, masquerading as the Gaelic bard Ossian (*Obras de Ossian*, trans. José Alonso Ortiz, 1788; *Fingal y Temora*, trans. Pedro Montengón, 1800). Similarly, the *Idyllen* of the Swiss poet Salomon Gessner were translated directly from the German (1800), after the publication of various miscellaneous poems in Spanish journals a few years before. Access to texts in different languages from new cultures and the renewal of poetic styles and practices were clear evidence of the opening-up of Spanish literature to fresh cultural interchanges, which nevertheless did nothing to eliminate, but rather to nuance and enrich, the hegemony of France in eighteenth-century Spanish culture.

## Conclusion

When viewed in its ideological and theoretical contexts, the controversy created by the publication of translations in eighteenth-century Spain transferred a debate among intellectuals to the forum of public opinion. It was a debate on the processes for the transmission of culture, requiring participants to reflect on the forms in which the appropriation of foreign models should take place and their possible influence on national advancement. The reaction to translations provided an intellectual battleground for the confrontation between those who favored renewal and the apologists of tradition, involving attitudes to Spain's cultural identity and where to situate the impulse for renewal which almost everyone believed necessary: the national past or European modernity. And one possible conclusion is that after years of translations and debates over them, Spain reached the end of the eighteenth century in a state of mind even more convinced that national progress needed to be based on a compromise between the nation's past achievements and the contributions of other cultures that translations made possible.

On the other hand, one is obliged to analyze what translation signified from a specific, practical point of view. Bearing in mind that not all translations had the same objectives, one needs to recognize their great effectiveness at energizing Spanish culture in all its forms. In achieving their essential role as cultural mediators, translations introduced great European authors and great texts to a Spanish readership, and they succeeded, not at the expense of Spanish culture, as critics had claimed, since the models they introduced acted as a positive, undeniable stimulus in the development of Spanish literature. They filled gaps in many areas of culture, they disseminated knowledge previously available only to a select minority, they provided a livelihood and promoted the literary careers of many writers, they energized the publishing sector and increased and diversified the reading public. Enlightened elites and government itself utilized them to support their plans for change and to transmit to ever more diversified sectors of society their reformist ideas. And if many of those plans were not successful or even attempted, it was because they were halted by governmental or ecclesiastical censorship systems fearful of change and unable to envisage a culture transformed by the spirit of Enlightenment.

## Notes

- ★ The English translation of this text was carried out by my colleague and friend Professor Philip Deacon (University of Sheffield), a renowned specialist in eighteenth-century Spanish culture. For that reason, his role has not only been that of a scrupulous translator but also of someone whose expert comments have enriched the final version of this chapter. I am profoundly grateful.
- 1 Both researchers base their statistics on Aguilar Piñal's *Bibliografía de autores españoles del siglo XVIII* (1981–2001), and only take into account published translations and ones considered as such. Hence one should add to their figures works that remained in manuscript, those not identified as translations, and others included in journals, miscellanies and collective volumes.
- 2 All translations by Philip Deacon.
- 3 The complete text is reproduced, alongside others relating to ideas on translation and its meaning for eighteenth-century Spanish culture, in García Garrosa and Lafarga 2004, 93–396.
- 4 The translation of two foreign treatises on literature, by Hugh Blair (*Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, trans. José Luis Munárriz, 1798–1801) and Charles Batteux (*Principes de la Littérature*, trans. Agustín García de Arrieta, 1797–1805), contributed to making known in Spain modern thinking on the genre.

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# “Todos los progresos que ha hecho el entendimiento humano”

## Knowledge, networking, and the encyclopedic turn in Enlightenment Spain

Clorinda Donato and Manuel Romero

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Antonio de Sancha, publisher of the Spanish translation of the *Encyclopédie méthodique*, proudly announced the new volumes that would bring to Spanish readers “[a]ll of the progress that the human spirit has achieved” in his 1788 “Advertencia del impresor sobre esta traducción” (Publisher’s Preface Regarding this Translation). Throughout Enlightenment Europe, encyclopedias had evolved alongside newspapers, gazettes, salon discussions, and philosophical novels as outstanding media for constituting knowledge and for its dissemination; indeed, no other genre embodied more fully the goals of Enlightenment to which Spain now publicly laid claim. Despite the fact that Sancha’s confident declaration carried within it the ominous baggage of Spain’s fraught relationship with negative French-language representations (of which none were more damning than the articles “Espagne” in Diderot and D’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie* and Charles-Joseph Panckoucke’s *Encyclopédie méthodique*), by the end of the eighteenth century the encyclopedic impulse had finally taken hold in Spain in tangible ways, such as the decision to simultaneously import the *Encyclopédie méthodique* and to commission Antonio de Sancha with the Spanish translation. French armchair geographers who penned their articles in a vitriolic vein of false news that fed into popular Enlightenment sentiment about the Spanish empire received multiple contemporary reactions (Cavanilles 1784, Forner 1786, and Denina 1786a). While the topic has been discussed by a number of Hispanists specializing in the eighteenth century (Gies 1999, Raillard 2009, Donato and Lopez 2015), an overall assessment of the encyclopedic turn in the *Ilustración*, one that links Benito Jerónimo Feijoo’s early-eighteenth-century *Teatro crítico universal* with the late-eighteenth-century *Encyclopédie méthodique*, has been missing from scholarship on encyclopedism as national genre in the Spanish eighteenth century. Scholarly attention in this regard instead responded to the offenses against the Spanish national character and the Spanish Empire that were impugned by Masson de Morvilliers in the deliberately provocative rhetorical question he posed in the article “Espagne”: “What does one owe Spain?” (1782). The reception of that question and the European reaction to it, running the gamut from “*mea culpa*” to fiery rebuttals, has overshadowed all discussions of Spain’s eighteenth century, and in particular, Spanish encyclopedism, wrongly shaping our perceptions of Spain’s “encyclopedic moment,” an affair that indeed spans the long eighteenth century. Thus, Spain’s unique place within the European framework of the Enlightenment compilation is long overdue.

While research on eighteenth-century Spanish encyclopedism has mapped to some extent the production of encyclopedic compilations, the dominant perspective, as we have noted, has been Spain's reaction to French Enlightenment thinking and the possible remedies for blocking French *philosophie* while at the same time establishing the encyclopedic genre in Spain. Thus, Spaniards sought to establish a form of compilation (despite its modern French origins) that could nonetheless meet the need for the dissemination of modern information in a more flexible format, one that eschewed the strictures of previous centuries of erudition. The encyclopedic compilation with its topical, free-flowing, conversational, and seemingly unstructured prose, had become a flashpoint of both excitement and controversy in Europe. Indeed, its transactional nature as a genre that emerged as the product of a fermenting nexus of texts, contexts, and human endeavor, provoked the febrile consternation that is reflected in the first reception of the work, especially in Spain (Anes 1970, 123–130). Early modern encyclopedia articles and compilations as a whole were conceived as calls and catalysts to action, whether philosophical, social, political, economic, literary, geographical, and eventually industrial. They highlighted domestic topics, but within a global framework that automatically built comparison and competition with other nations into the dynamic of the encyclopedic genre. The transactional nature of the compilation, including its many translated iterations, established for the first time authors as working groups across disciplines, languages, and cultures, a society of people of letters as Diderot and D'Alembert called the collectivity of their authors on the Frontispiece of the *Encyclopédie* in 1751. This model of authorship would prevail in Spain as well, as shall be seen later in this chapter.

Such societies of literary people were ultimately united by a shared vision of the growing status of knowledge as a means to change society and the need for a collective effort to achieve it. These new configurations of authorship formed a nexus of cultural and linguistic transfers, re-signified as new information and innovation. However, this knowledge growth moved over time and space, through publication and translation, in line with the “geography of the Enlightenment” model. While the French unwittingly proffered a model of public knowledge that ultimately established France as supreme in a new kind of hierarchy, noted first by Adorno and Horkheimer in *Dialectic of Enlightenment* and more recently in David V. Fleming's *The Dark Side of the Enlightenment*, resistance to this model is particularly visible in any number of national and regional encyclopedic responses (Adorno and Horkheimer 2016, Fleming 2013). Indeed, these responses resulted in a kind of encyclopedic diversity and dexterity of which Spain was an integral part. By studying Spain's role both intrinsically and in consort with the whole of encyclopedic intent over the long eighteenth century, the evolution and vitality of the genre may be traced as it burgeoned into a new organic whole made up of a series of dynamic parts that were further energized by the prospect of future editions and iterations.

This essay seeks to address this oversight in Hispanic Enlightenment Studies with network-based research that studies European patterns of information transfer and the transnational dimensions of encyclopedic writing that are inclusive of Spain and Ibero-America and which emphasize encyclopedic diversity. Such inclusiveness is only visible when the interplay of encyclopedic works is studied across a broadly-based linguistic platform. It reflects the exchanges, borrowings, translations, and rewritings of Ibero-America in English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish-language encyclopedic works. Although Spanish censors restricted access to compendia at some level, thus purportedly slowing knowledge transfer in some areas in the process, new knowledge coming from the colonies was moving into the rest of Europe through Spanish-language sources. When seen within this broader context, the original Ibero-American elements of encyclopedic writing emerge. While Spanish scholars have done an admirable job of tracing and cataloging Spanish compilations of the long eighteenth century, these lists are often devoid of a larger reflection on their place within the arena of encyclopedic knowledge, not to mention

the fact that Feijoo's *Teatro crítico universal* is often treated as an anomaly, rather than a salient moment in Hispanic compiling history that needs to be incorporated into the same conversation as the Spanish translations of Moréri and Panckoucke. These translations, we might add, are anything but imitative; they are, instead, reconceptualizations that are fully representative of the Ibero-American Enlightenment.

By mid-century, there is no doubt that the proponents of the *Ilustración* recognized the immense and growing potential of encyclopedias. Prominent Spanish statesmen like Pedro de Campomanes, as well as the members of the economic societies of Spain, understood the connection between letters, science, and commerce, promoting enterprises that facilitated the flow and circulation of ideas and goods. It is no coincidence that Campomanes was Feijoo's first biographer, albeit anonymously. He fully recognized the role that Feijoo had played in clearing the way for encyclopedic thinking and renewal, referring to the battle lines drawn by the *Teatro crítico universal* in the fight for founding anew every discipline on the basis of reason (De la Fuente 1952, xxvii). And while the utilitarian dimension of encyclopedias in Spain might appear dominant, the philosophical aspect is no less apparent. Let us track how the practical need for innovation in agriculture, science, and technology existed in tandem with a Hispanic Enlightenment vision and reality.

### The early years of Hispanic encyclopedism: Feijoo

Friar Benito Jerónimo Feijoo y Montenegro (1676–1764) bore witness to a radical evolution in both Spanish and European mentalities during the course of his long life. Just as Paul Hazard spoke of the crisis of consciousness in the European mind, Feijoo's reconceptualization of erudition as a form of communication that ran the gamut from high to low and everywhere in between may well be seen as a harbinger of the coming utilitarian turn that was later characterized by the *Encyclopédie méthodique* in the second half of the eighteenth century and on into the early decades of the nineteenth. Indeed, the utilitarian aspect of encyclopedism with its overarching goal of providing humanity with all of the knowledge available to improve the human condition, constitutes a unifying note in Spanish encyclopedism, together with its evolution under the aegis of the Catholic Enlightenment. Feijoo saw no barriers whatsoever in applying reason to all facets of human life, including the spiritual. Much in the vein of Italian Jesuit Ludovico Antonio Muratori's 1730 treatise on reasonable Christianity with its goal of stripping away empty rhetorical, ritualistic gestures to unveil the true essence of Catholic beliefs, Feijoo's *Teatro crítico universal* constitutes a vast rethinking of every facet of human activity when assessed through the prism of reason. The *Teatro* became a powerful manifesto for the right of access to knowledge for all and the ability and necessity of fully incorporating heretofore disenfranchised groups such as women to engage in and contribute to the growing knowledge industry. Indeed, the *Teatro crítico universal* was one of the most commonly reprinted works in eighteenth-century Spain, a status for an encyclopedic work that is comparable with that of Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire critique et historique*, published in eight French editions over 50 years, as well as English and German editions, not to mention the various iterations of the *Encyclopédie* documented by Darnton and others. Moreover, the *Teatro crítico universal* appeared in French translation in 1742, and while not a complete translation, the translator's preface underscores the value of Feijoo's erudition and his worthiness of consideration by the French reading public, albeit within a generally disparaging context of Spanish letters. Nonetheless, a 1746 reprint of this partial translation appeared, making it one of the few works by eighteenth-century Spanish writers to be translated at all into French. The translator, Nicolas-Gabriel Vaquette d'Hermilly, had resided in Madrid for many years where he frequented the members

of the Real Academia Española; he was therefore fully aware of Feijoo's renown within Spain and the importance of the work in its various reprints, which were a tribute to the modernity of Feijoo's ideas. While little is known about Vaquette d'Hermilly, there is no doubt that he was aware of Feijoo's importance as an encyclopedic mind, one who like Pierre Bayle, author of the *Dictionnaire historique and critique*, had composed his critical essays after voracious reading of a vast number of sources, both ancient and modern, to compile a critical synthesis of those arguments that most profoundly characterized the debates and challenges of a world at a conceptual crossroads. Vaquette d'Hermilly must have begun translating Feijoo into French while still in Spain, for the first volume of his translation was published in 1742, the same year that he returned to Paris. Here, too, Spain's encyclopedic legacy to modernity through the rich publishing history of the *Teatro crítico universal* work is visible.

While we tend to valorize the French Enlightenment's attempt to suppress Catholicism as a religion diametrically opposed to knowledge, the Spanish approach, exemplified by Feijoo, conceived of religion as equally receptive to change and therefore commensurately open to rational reflection and reform.<sup>1</sup> Feijoo saw no contradiction between the Renaissance recognition of human dignity, the Enlightenment's plan to augment it through reason, and the message of the gospel. And while Feijoo was certainly not the only Spanish intellectual to recognize the need for renovation through the tool of reason as applied by Bacon, Descartes, and Newton, in contrast with the bibliographer and librarian Nicolás Antonio and the learned legal scholar Gregorio Mayáns y Sísar, who saw as their interlocutors only the erudite elite (which was in part determined by their professions), Feijoo wrote for a general public of readers and listeners to whom he adapted the language, style, content, genres, and format of his writing. As Derek Beales has noted, the *Teatro crítico universal* was a best-seller in Spain throughout the eighteenth century. While this was common knowledge among eighteenth-century Hispanists, twentieth-century European historiography has tended to focus almost exclusively on England and France, as can be seen by Robert Darnton's seminal work *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopédie*. Thus, Beales added an overlooked Spanish chapter to Darnton's study of encyclopedias as best sellers in the Enlightenment, proving that the overarching demand and desire for change in the European eighteenth century knew neither bounds of nationality nor religion. Within a Catholic context, such as Italy or Spain, the Enlightenment role of monks and priests, being the most erudite, was inevitable. They were the ones who had access to and read French and Protestant writings and it was their task to domesticate this knowledge in ways that would resonate positively among their constituencies. This Feijoo accomplished masterfully through his works, earning from Ferdinand VI in 1750 "the ludicrously unenlightened accolade of an order prohibiting the publication of any writings that criticized them" (Beales 2003, 156–157). And while the ban on criticism of Feijoo may seem contradictory, it also holds within it the understanding that reform in Spain required a strong hand, and that it was up to the government to ensure it. The hand of the monarchy in promoting Enlightenment through encyclopedic learning constitutes a salient feature of Spanish encyclopedism. It will intervene at several junctures during the course of the eighteenth century to ensure that encyclopedic learning advances and expands in ways that resonate with the unique features of the Ibero-American Enlightenment.

## Dictionaries, encyclopedic dictionaries, and encyclopedias

Long considered to have occupied only a marginal position in the world of eighteenth-century encyclopedias, Spain, instead, through the encyclopedic work of Feijoo and its abiding presence as a best seller, was as fully engaged in encyclopedic culture as any other European country. Indeed, a plethora of encyclopedic projects arose contemporaneously with Feijoo's, and though

never acquiring the same resonance and recognition both inside and outside the Spanish Empire, they fully bear witness to the encyclopedic century in Spain, evidence of the fact that Spain recognized their immense potential. Prominent Spanish statesmen like Pedro de Campomanes understood the connection between letters, science, and commerce, and promoted enterprises that facilitated the flow and circulation of ideas and goods. Thus, while the philosophical views of many prominent encyclopedists were not widely accepted, among the ranks of the growing middle class and the reform-minded Spaniards at Carlos III's court, "the need for a compendium of agricultural, scientific, and technological information was recognized. Such works were especially important for Spain and Portugal, which had large overseas colonies where the dissemination of such information was difficult yet crucial" (Donato 1992, 74). The eighteenth century was therefore a time when the utilitarian dimensions of the encyclopedia, and its great ambition of embracing "all the progress that the human mind has made" (Sancha 1788, *Advertencia del impresor*), would arouse growing interest not only in France and England, but in the *tertulias* and economic societies of Spain.

Spain's long-standing tradition of publishing grammars and lexicons, beginning with Elio Antonio de Nebrija's first Castilian grammar of 1492, was increasingly out of step with the age of encyclopedism and the realities of the new world economy. Traditional lexicons, the archives of the static language of empire, had ceded their position to encyclopedic works and the circulation of information and ideas as agents of change. Thus, ever hopeful for an economic renaissance, eighteenth-century Spaniards would not only establish economic societies to circulate enlightened ideas and foster economic reform (Anes 1969, 22) but they would also endeavor to accrue some encyclopedic capital. While times would ultimately prove difficult for Spanish encyclopedists, those who also provided alphabetically organized information under the more traditional genre of the dictionary fared better, even though, as evidenced by Antonio de Alcedo's *Diccionario Geográfico-Histórico* (1786), the dictionary in Spain had begun to resemble the encyclopedia, with longer, more in-depth articles whose intent was far more critical. It would appear that the influence and demand for encyclopedias had begun to blur the lines between two distinct, yet related enterprises, even in Spain. With the growing prevalence of specialized or technical encyclopedic dictionaries, it became very clear that Spanish lexicographers were not simply intent on defining words and that Spain had truly hit its stride in the arena of encyclopedic compilations (Álvarez de Miranda 2011, 185). This fact is corroborated by the success of the work in France. Though never translated into French, the work was sought after in France by *philosophes* as well as the reading public, which had a great deal of interest in the Americas and its inhabitants. It may well be that the outcry against Masson's misrepresentation of Spain and its colonies was strongly felt in France as well, thus prompting a quest for more accurate information from Spanish sources, in particular, from an encyclopedic work of geography and history such as Alcedo's. This is particularly noteworthy, since the French did not tend to read books that had not been translated into French; Alcedo's work is an anomaly, selling in a Parisian bookstore in a five-volume Spanish edition in-quarto.

The eighteenth was in fact a glowing century for Spanish dictionaries. It saw the publication of the six-volume *Diccionario de la lengua castellana* (1726–1739), known today as the *Diccionario de autoridades*, and the *Diccionario castellano con las voces de ciencias y artes* (1789–1793) by the Spanish Jesuit P. Esteban de Terreros. Although Terreros' *Diccionario* was for all intents and purposes a general language dictionary, its title expressed the author's wish to supplement his work with a selection of scientific and technical terms often treated in encyclopedic works of the time. In fact, Terreros was inspired to write a dictionary of his own after having translated the sixteen-volume *Le Spectacle de la Nature* (*El Espectáculo de la Naturaleza*) by the French abbé Noël-Antoine Pluche. This Spanish translation of an encyclopedic work organized by subject reminds us that the act

of translating and or adapting was very often a springboard for other eighteenth-century works (Álvarez de Miranda 1997, 88). Even Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* first began as a French translation of the two-volume *Cyclopaedia* (1728) by Ephraim Chambers.

Interestingly enough, Spain's first encyclopedic project was outlined one full year before the publication of Chambers's *Cyclopaedia*. It was led by the marquis of Santa Cruz and viscount of Puerto, Don Álvaro Navia Osorio, best known for his eleven-volume military treatise entitled *Reflexiones militares* (1724–1730). In the appendices of volumes VIII, IX, and X (all published in 1727), Osorio outlined his ambitious *Diccionario universal*, a work that he hoped would save Spain from “the deficiencies of simple and defective lexicons” (Anes 2009, 22). Over the course of the three volumes, Osorio's *Diccionario universal* went through several changes in terms of scope and organization. First, Osorio believed that the work should be organized alphabetically. Later, after having been told that the list of disciplines that he wanted to cover was far too extensive for the entire work to be arranged in alphabetical order, he decided to organize his *Diccionario* by subject. In other words, he imagined a work divided into individual dictionaries, each dedicated to a particular subject like Politics, Medicine, Geography, etc. Despite Osorio's willingness to do just about anything to get his project off the ground, including inviting collaborators to work from his home in Turin, it appears that the work was considered too ambitious at the time. He implored the Real Academia Española to take over the project, arguing that they alone had the resources to see it through to completion, but the Academy was too busy working on its *Diccionario de la lengua castellana*. The work would therefore never exist outside the pages of his *Reflexiones militares*, and the “Últimas ideas del marqués de Santa Cruz” (Last ideas of the marquis of Santa Cruz), published in volume X of his military treatise would indeed be his last reflections on an encyclopedic work intended to ensure that Spain was not overlooked by the encyclopedic movement of eighteenth-century Europe.

In the wake of other frustrated encyclopedic projects, including but not limited to the *Diccionario facultativo* (Technical Dictionary) led by Gregorio Mayans and Antonio Bordazar, and the *Diccionario histórico universal de España* launched by the Academia Española de la Historia, some Spaniards believed that the translation and adaptation of foreign-born encyclopedic works was an acceptable alternative for meeting the growing demand in Spain for reliable reference texts. Publishers, however, would have to ensure the religious and political orthodoxy of such translations. The Spanish translation of *Le grand dictionnaire historique* (1674) by Louis Moréri gave Spain its first taste of foreign encyclopedism. Although the work had to be critically revised, for it contained many errors, fables, and contradictions, such a task was believed to be far more feasible than producing a whole new work. It contained an alphabetically organized collection of biographical articles, genealogies, and “a description of the kingdoms, republics, provinces, cities, isle, mountains, rivers and other places” (Álvarez de Miranda 1996, 99). Translated by Don Joseph de Miravel y Casadevante, member of the Real Academia de la Historia, the work also included, as indicated on the title page: “... numerous additions and curious investigations related to the kingdoms belonging to the Crowns of Spain and Portugal in both the Old and the New World” (Álvarez de Miranda 1996, 99). Far more informationally than critically oriented, this translated, multi-volume work was a prelude to the Spanish translation of the *Encyclopédie méthodique*. In 1730, friar Martín Sarmiento designed a plan by which Feijoo would direct a critical translation from the monastery of San Martín in Madrid. Feijoo's participation in the project was short-lived however, for he did not want to leave Oviedo and be distracted from his own work, that is, from his *Teatro crítico universal*, whose first volumes were published in 1726. Feijoo clearly relished writing his own encyclopedic work instead of translating Moréri's *Le grand dictionnaire historique*, which he consulted while writing his *Teatro crítico*, a very different work, to be sure, one whose critical purpose was paramount, as opposed to the historical bent of Moréri. Seeing the success

of the first volume of his *Teatro*, which was reprinted four times within the first six years, the measure of success for his encyclopedic formula must have been palpable, and in all likelihood, he viewed a translation of Moréri at that critical juncture in his own writing as too disruptive. It is interesting to note that both formulas, the critical and the historical, would have a great deal of success in Spain, and the translation of Moréri would proceed. It is highly likely as well that success bred success, and the two projects contributed to each other's sales. With Feijoo's departure, the task of translating was passed on to don José Miravel y Casadevante in 1730, and the project was announced in the *Gaceta de Madrid* in 1734. The prospectus that accompanied the announcement was well received by learned men in Spain, for encyclopedism was the hallmark of a forward-looking nation.

In 1740, Miravel traveled to Paris to oversee the publication of the *Diccionario histórico*. However, the manuscripts he gave to the French typesetters were almost illegible, prompting book dealers in Madrid to dispatch two Spaniards to Paris to help read and edit them. In addition to Miravel's messy handwriting, the Spanish articles had to be alphabetized since Miravel had preserved the French original's sequencing despite the obvious orthographic differences between French and Spanish. Miravel died in 1744, but the *Diccionario histórico* was finally published in 1753, representing the first work of encyclopedic dimensions based on a translation to be published in Spanish (Álvarez de Miranda 1996, 100). Included with the first edition was a note from the editors which stated, "We have excluded from this Dictionary everything that might offend the nation for which it has been written with the most scrupulous attention, and concerning religious issues we have aimed to eliminate anything that runs contrary to the solid doctrine of our holy Mother the Roman Catholic Church" (Donato 2006, 86).

This final promise is interesting in the light of the reception in Spain of Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* and Panckoucke's *Méthodique*. At the outset, the impact of the encyclopedia in Europe was so great as to evoke suspicion in the Spanish inquisitors. Even before it was condemned by Rome in 1759, various officers of the Inquisition examined the first volumes. One of them, friar José Alonso Pinedo, concluded that while it was not the type of work that could be left to circulate freely throughout Spain, it could be kept in secret libraries, where one could ignore the bad and soak up all that was useful. Individuals with money (for the work was indeed expensive) who were interested in the scientific information in the encyclopedia tried to get copies. The economic societies in Spain were very interested in the work as well, and Campomanes, who in fact supported the founding of such societies, recommended in 1775 that they be allowed to reference articles in the *Encyclopédie* that dealt with the sciences and trades. Moreover, given that the general inquisitor was Don Felipe Beltrán, bishop of Salamanca, one of the most enlightened prelates in Spain, many economic societies were granted permission to reference the work, and in the words of Campomanes, "taking that which is useful and abandoning that which reason judges to be harmful"<sup>2</sup> (Álvarez de Miranda 1996, 101).

### **Narrating Ibero-America in the *Encyclopedia metódica***

Censorship in the Spanish context has long been associated with the Inquisition and stigmatized as being inherently detrimental to the transfer of ideas. Yet while it is true that the expurgation of a text prevents some information from ever reaching its intended audience, it is not unlike the process of translation as it was perceived in the eighteenth century. It was not limited by the belief that a translator should remain faithful to the source text. Passages were very often omitted and or adapted for the translation's new readership. When viewed in this light, the Spanish Inquisition's role in ensuring the religious and political orthodoxy of the *Encyclopedia metódica* (1788–1794), Spain's eighteenth-century translation of Panckoucke's

*Encyclopédie méthodique* (1782–1832), should not simply be viewed as an impediment to the circulation of enlightened ideas. That said, this chapter contextualizes a selection of censorship documents housed in the Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid within the larger narrative of Spain's eighteenth-century encyclopedic projects. The censorship documents in question are related to Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* (1751–1772); Panckoucke's *Encyclopédie méthodique* (1782–1832); and Antonio de Sancha's *Encyclopedia metódica* (1788–1794). Spain was a country whose very foundations were deeply rooted in the Catholic faith. The long-standing union between Church and state had blurred the lines between Spain's political and religious spheres, causing civil and ecclesiastical institutions to take increasingly contradictory positions (De Bujanda 1991, 230).

Spain's willingness to work with such a polemical text, to simply take that which was useful and ignore all that was injurious, explains Spain's deep interest in the project of a French bookseller, Charles-Joseph Panckoucke. When news of the *Encyclopédie méthodique* began circulating in 1781, it was said that it would be a revised and supplemented version of Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, organized by discipline rather than alphabetically. The initial estimates projected that it would be comprised of sixty volumes (fifty-three volumes of text and seven volumes of engravings), but in 1832, the 166th volume was published. Given Spain's treatment in the *Encyclopédie*, consisting of a short, sarcastic article by Jaucourt, it is rather remarkable how much Spaniards trusted Panckoucke. His prospectus, which was translated into Spanish, stated that more than thirty thousand articles had been added to the *Méthodique* and that Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* had been corrected of its errors concerning religion. Overall, the Spanish government was highly supportive of the project, and sent a list of 330 subscribers to France, including the name of Spain's general inquisitor, Felipe Bertrán.

The first copies circulated in Spain without even passing through the Inquisition. Such trust had certainly been engendered by the first series on Theology, published in three volumes. It had been entrusted to the highly regarded French clergyman, Nicolas Bergier, known for his apologetic works targeting French *philosophes*. As a result, many believed that the *Méthodique* had indeed been purged of the errors found in its predecessor. However, with the publication of Masson de Morvilliers's article "Espagne," in the second volume of *Géographie moderne*, everything changed. When King Carlos III read the article, he was infuriated. José Moñino y Redondo, count of Floridablanca, upset that he had personally supported the work's circulation in Spain, quickly suspended its delivery to Spanish subscribers.

Only later, after the incessant requests of Panckoucke's commission agent in Madrid, the widow of the bookseller Chasserot, were the remaining volumes allowed to be delivered. Afterwards, Floridablanca requested a full report from friar Francisco de Villalpando. In reality, Francisco found that the entire work was filled with the damaging words that had characterized the *Encyclopédie*, however, he felt that in the end, the work was very useful, and decided that the country's subscribers should continue to receive copies. In addition, he also believed that even the volumes on Geography should be allowed to circulate, arguing that banning those volumes would only encourage people to read them. Thus as apologetic texts were being written in defense of Spain and in reaction to the article "Espagne," the work was allowed to circulate. However, a note was to be included with each volume, warning that that which was said against Spain, its government, customs, people, history, literature, and art was false.

To avoid any problems, Floridablanca renewed an old law from 1502, which stated that all foreign books sold in Spain had to first be examined by the Consejo de Castilla. A book was to be held in the custom houses of the country until it had been authorized for circulation. From that moment on, various enlightened and fairly tolerant people were tasked with reading the

*Méthodique*. Thus the council of Castile was charged with the distribution of the volumes; it was expected that the council would insert a cautionary notice to authorized readers in accordance with the counsel of the censor. The drawback, according to the widow of Chasserot, was that subscribers in Spain would grow tired of waiting for their promised volumes and might never pick them up. The commission agent therefore asked if they could accept new subscribers, and the request was granted.

Things would get worse again, however. There was a new general inquisitor, Agustín Rubín de Cevallos, bishop of Jaén, and he was much less tolerant than the bishop of Salamanca. Confronted with the announcement in the *Gaceta* that new subscribers were being accepted, he decided to take action. The secretary of the Inquisition came to the house of the widow of Chasserot for the purpose of seizing the copies in her possession, and to submit those that would follow to inquisitorial censorship. A struggle between the Inquisition and the Council of Castile ensued, a sort of rivalry characteristic of the time. In the end, it was the Inquisition that won favor with Carlos III, and all existing copies of the *Encyclopédie méthodique* were sent to the Inquisition, so that they could be truly purged of all heretical language. This is where the *Méthodique's* journey would end in Spain. The Inquisition seized 1,681 volumes, resulting in huge losses for Panckoucke and the ruin of his enterprise in Madrid.

At the same time, another editorial project had been launched in Spain. Antonio de Sancha had obtained permission in 1782 to publish a Spanish translation of the *Méthodique*, but the article by Masson de Morvilliers had paralyzed his project. Once things had calmed down, Sancha took it up again and published in 1788, precisely the year in which Panckoucke's enterprise collapsed, three volumes of the *Encyclopedia metódica* (two volumes of Natural History and one volume of Grammar and Literature). Each volume was entrusted to a specialized translator and the orthodoxy of the Spanish translation was guaranteed. To avoid future problems, Sancha presented the volumes to the Inquisition so that they could revise them. Such bowdlerizing of the text would negatively affect the sale of the French version in Spain. In fact, years later when Panckoucke continued to complain to the government citing all the damage it had caused, he accused Sancha for having allied himself with the Inquisition for the sake of his own business (Anes 1978, 123).

Although Sancha died in 1790, his printing house would publish nine more volumes between 1791 and 1794: one volume of *Academic Arts*; two volumes of *Military*; three volumes of *Modern Geography*; two volumes of *Factories, Arts and Trades*; and finally one volume of plates. Of the 166 text volumes that made up the French original, only twelve would make it into the *Enciclopedia Metódica*, thus making it an incomplete work. The Inquisition would eventually shut down the publication of the *Encyclopedia metódica* after the twelfth volume, and many of the volumes published were never distributed (Álvarez de Miranda 1996, 103). Fortunately, a few copies have survived that have come to represent not only Spain's response to France, but "what the Spanish encyclopedic view, that is to say, the view of itself might have been" (Donato 2006, 112). The unpublished censorship documents that we have studied address problems in Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, Panckoucke's *Encyclopédie méthodique*, and Sancha's *Metódica*, and are therefore part of Spain's encyclopedic view of itself, which we will address in the last part of this chapter.

## Censorship and identity formation in Spanish encyclopedias

For cultural historians, what one culture finds of interest in another very often reveals itself through translation (Burke 2007, 20). That said, given the profusion of texts available for translation, what one culture selects to translate also reveals its priorities. We have seen that in eighteenth-century

Spain, the growing need for a compendium of agricultural, scientific, and technological information inspired its citizens to begin encyclopedic projects of their own. However, when those projects were met with frustration, Spain's only recourse was ultimately translation. The history of the *Enciclopedia metódica* is therefore in part a story about filling a need, about filling cultural and intellectual gaps. For many, the role of the Spanish Inquisition in the publication of the *Metódica* might merely come across as an impediment to the process of translation, but what is translation if not a process of losses and gains? After transcribing and summarizing the hundreds of censorship documents that form the body of ongoing research, phrases that marked a passage for censure or translation were everywhere in our notes. Not uncommon were phrases like “nada contienen digno de censura” (they contain nothing worthy of censorship) and “debe borrarse esta expresión” (this phrase must be removed). What can we infer from these pages of passing judgments? Certainly, they reveal more than the *Méthodique*'s usefulness for Spain.

Peter Burke argues that translation is also governed by what might be called the principle of confirmation, that is to say, cultures translate works that support ideas, assumptions, or prejudices already present in the culture. If the ideas in a work do not conform to the identity of the translating culture, then the work is modified through translation, either directly (via censorship or adaptation) or indirectly (via “paratexts” such as prefaces or letters to the reader). When read in this light, the documents from the Archivo Histórico Nacional demonstrate how Spain's identity in the eighteenth century was shaped and reinforced via translation and put on display in the *Enciclopedia metódica*.

The longest censorship document that we examined is entitled *Censura de la nueva Enciclopedia metodica*. By “nueva” the censors are referring to the *Encyclopédie méthodique*, which was “new” with respect to Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* (1751–1772). It is 236 manuscript pages long and examines a wide range of subjects in the *Méthodique*, from *Artes y Oficios* (*Arts et Métiers*) to *Geografía antigua* (*Géographie ancienne*). Written by the same hand, it represents a unified voice among the multitude of voices that characterize the style and tone of these documents as a whole. The *Censura de la nueva Enciclopedia metodica* addresses twenty-four of the different series published by discipline that comprised the *Encyclopédie méthodique*, and the censor's commentary is of varying lengths depending on the controversial nature of subject. For example, topics like botany and chemistry receive very little commentary. To history, logic, metaphysics, and political economy and diplomacy however, the censor dedicates many more pages whose contents address problems with political and religious orthodoxy, factual errors, and contradictions. For example, the censor writes about the volume *Teología*:

The first and second part of the first volume are correct, with the exception of the first five lines of the first column on page 60, where Robertson's injurious notes against the conquistadors of America have been carried over. The four numbered paragraphs in the article *Calvinists* also need to be suppressed due to their derogatory treatment of some popes and Catholic theologians, as well as a few religious orders.

(*Censura de la nueva Enciclopedia metódica*, AHN, Inquisición, leg. 4481, 171)

Clearly, part of reinforcing or defending Spain's identity on the world stage meant trying to be a nation in control of its own description.

The other censorship documents total 376 manuscript pages, signed and dated by different censors and in different years. The earliest documents that we have were written in the 1750s and the latest documents were written in the 1800s. The vast majority of the documents were written between 1788 (the year Antonio de Sancha began publishing the *Metódica*) and 1799. In fact, we have no documents written between 1758 and 1788 (a thirty-year span). The first three

volumes of the *Metódica* were published in 1788 and the remaining nine were published between 1791 and 1794. Therefore, it is curious that the Inquisition was still reading and censoring the *Méthodique* after 1794. The general consensus is that the translation project was simply shut down, but perhaps there were plans to relaunch it. In a letter dated 1805 and signed by Don Gabriel de Sancha (son of Antonio de Sancha, and inheritor of his father's publishing house), it would appear that the drive to continue publishing the *Enciclopedia Metódica* was still alive. Clearly, the Inquisition was still sending Gabriel de Sancha reports and corrections for future, forthcoming volumes to be published as part of the *Metódica* enterprise. However, in 1805, the question of whether or not the translation project had been sanctioned by the Inquisition appears to have been just as ambiguous as it is today.

### Further reflections on the transnational *Ilustración* and its encyclopedic legacy

There is no better proof of the culmination of Spain's encyclopedic century than the subscribers' list proudly appearing in the first volume of the *Enciclopedia metódica*. The list, numbering some 340 subscribers, reads like a who's who of the most powerful people and institutions in Ibero-America, including the prominent names of three female subscribers to the work: the Duchess of Osuna; Doña Maria Luisa de la Cerda; and Madame Bertrand (the director of a prosperous bookstore in Lisbon, founded by the French bookseller Pedro Faure and featuring French books). Madame Bertrand's order of two sets demonstrates her interest in promoting an Iberian encyclopedia and her faith in its appeal. From New Spain, to Mexico, to Havana, the booksellers appearing on the list vouch for the desire for encyclopedic knowledge that had penetrated all corners of the empire. Such a list, which merits a study of its own, begs a striking question. How, we might ask, did an encyclopedia become such a monument of national pride in Ibero-American erudition and knowledge dissemination if copious documents housed at the *Archivo Histórico Nacional* pointedly focus on its censorship? It is indeed within this seeming conundrum that our somewhat revisionist history of Spanish encyclopedism has unfolded to demonstrate how intellectuals in Spain and Latin America read, received, processed, and innovated upon French erudition, to be sure, but also on learning from the Italian peninsula, as well as ancient and indigenous sources.

Rather than branding the new intellectual who compiled this information as an "afrancesado,"<sup>3</sup> we instead see this figure as no different from the French *philosophe*, a seeker of new forms of engagement with knowledge and its application in the real world of economic, political, religious, social, and technological transformation. Within the history of French encyclopedism, the *philosophes* were no less pilloried for their beliefs by conservative religious leaders than the "afrancesados." And while it was indeed a forward-thinking religious contingent whose most visible and important leader for the purposes of Spanish encyclopedism was Feijoo in the first half of the eighteenth century, in the second half it was certainly the Inquisitor General himself, Felipe Beltrán, whose name figures prominently in the list of subscribers. To this end, it would behoove us to remember that also within the ranks of French encyclopedism, a number of the most controversial members of the "société de gens de lettres" were themselves ecclesiastics, such as the Abbé de Prades and the Abbé Yvon, both of whom wrote controversial works and articles questioning Catholic orthodoxy on the existence of the soul and posited rationalism and sensism within a new context of inquiry as important tools for approaching scripture, spirituality, and the very tenets of the Catholic faith itself (Lough 1989, 113–116). And while the controversy engendered by the first three volumes of Diderot and D'Alembert's *Encyclopédie* in France certainly spread to Italy and Spain where the Vatican and Inquisition enacted bans and censorship

plans, it is easy to forget that the role of ecclesiastics in the spread of *philosophie* was significant, and that even in France, enlightened thought often flowed from religious pens, much as it did in Italy and Spain.

As Antonio Alvarez de Morales has noted, the Inquisition's most important function in Spain by 1750 was the censorship of books, no longer of people, an important fact in determining the extent to which the quest for information access of every stripe had prevailed (Alvarez de Morales 1982, 129). While the Spanish translation of French books by Fénelon and Arnaud had been considered a threat during the 1740s, the publication of the first volume of the *Encyclopédie* in 1751 appears to have furnished the Inquisition with exactly the kind of oversized grist it needed to grind in the mill of its reincarnation as an institution that could provide a moral compass. Thus it took up in grandiose fashion book censorship, which would become its most defining, fulfilling, and self-aggrandizing function over the next fifty years. How else to account for the grandiose declarations of protection and safeguarding of the Catholic faith and Spanish culture in the several hundred pages of censorship documents related to French encyclopedias? Yet there is something far more significant at stake. By reading and commenting on these works, they were forced to engage with them and their authors, in much the same way that they had been forced to engage with the sacred texts of Islam and Judaism (García Arsenal 2016). They implicitly acknowledged their value, allowing increasing numbers of nobles and notables to access these "prohibited" tomes. The task was also self-perpetuating, constantly nourished with encyclopedic supplements and new editions either fresh off the press or on the horizon, especially in the case of the *Encyclopédie méthodique* and its Spanish translation, the *Encyclopedia metódica* in the 1780s. Thus, the Inquisition's hyperattention to encyclopedism may indeed have done more to promote the genre in Spain than to hinder it.

The clues for this conclusion are all present in the Spanish response article "España" written by Julián de Velasco, the journalist, reformer, and expert in French language and culture, who together with Juan de Arribas y Soria, a member of the Council of Castile and a censor for that body of the geographical articles in the *Encyclopédie méthodique*, was responsible for the "translating," that is, rewriting and adapting of the articles in the three volumes on modern geography of the *Encyclopédie méthodique* (Donato and Lopez 2015, 275). Not only does Velasco rebut Masson de Morvilliers article "Espagne" point by point, he challenges the French arm-chair geographer, matching his obsequious truculence with a righteous, decorously controlled anger whose rhetoric succeeded in shooting the final holes in Morvillier's dated, petulant arguments against Spain and the Spanish empire. By establishing a list of Spanish savants and their contributions that easily rivaled the French, Juan de Velasco's self-assured tone and intellectual confidence are shown to rest upon a solid bastion of Ibero-American erudition, an erudition that Spain contends is worth disseminating to all corners of the globe by means of a Spanish-language encyclopedia. Among the many scholars he cites, we find Feijoo, who Morvilliers had dismissed in his article as one of so many monks in Spain who were pointlessly trying to instruct their nation. And the list of subscribers, so proudly displayed, proves, beyond a doubt, where the sympathies, even of the Inquisition lay in relation to the effort. For therein we find the highly decorated Felipe Beltrán, who had been the Grand Inquisitor of Spain since 1775. Beltrán's open-mindedness and enlightened view of French ideas (which he adapted to an Ibero-American world view through a Christian-oriented humanism) continued Feijoo's legacy of seeking solutions to real problems through a Spanish Catholic version of the public intellectual. His vision was recognized in 1780 when he was elected "Gran Cruz" of the Order of Carlos III, and then again in 1783, shortly before his death, when he was named an honorary member of the Academy of History, with said academy also listed as a subscriber to the *Encyclopedia Metódica*. Though deceased for some five years by the time this first volume was

published in 1788, his name among the list of subscribers is a way of recognizing the role he played in promoting reforms together with Pedro de Campomanes and to enabling reform-minded literature to be produced in Spain.

The history of Ibero-American encyclopedism has not been exhausted in this chapter—indeed, it is hoped that this transnational consideration of the topic, which charts the multidirectional movement of people, places, and sources, as well as adapted and translated texts over the time period of the long eighteenth century and the over expansive space of the Ibero-American world, may open it up to an even greater analysis of such movement and dialogue, especially between Spain and Latin America. If the list of subscribers is any indication, the rich exchange between sites of intellectual pursuit in Spain and its colonies, often through religious libraries, convents, and monasteries underscores, once again, the unique nature of the ways in which knowledge in the Hispanic world was formed, transferred, reconsolidated, and renewed.

## Notes

- 1 See Ulrich Lehner's collection *The Catholic Enlightenment* (2016)
- 2 Please see in this volume, Daniel Muñoz Sempere's chapter "Inquisition and Enlightenment," which notes that permissions to read prohibited works were available, completely legal, and often awarded to individuals and institutions who claimed that they needed access to these texts for intellectual reasons.
- 3 *Afrancesado* was a pejorative term used to refer to Spaniards who embraced the ideas of the French Enlightenment or who collaborated with the French during the War of Independence. See Marcelin Defourneaux (1990).

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# To combat but not to arms

## Galant music from Mexico City in honor of Carlos III

*Drew Edward Davies*

Below the ancient sanctuary of Delphi on the Grecian mainland flows the Castalian spring, an idyllic mountain stream famed in Hellenic times as the place where visitors to the Oracle and contestants in the Pythian Games ritually bathed. Also the mythological site of Apollo's victory over Python, the spring came to be known among Romans of late antiquity as a font of poetic inspiration. It retained this meaning among the erudite of the early modern period, including those of New Spain, where a localized yet significant tradition of academic humanism dates back to the sixteenth century (Bono 1991, Hill 2000, Nieto Ibáñez and Manchón Gómez 2008). Indeed, in the Fall of 1760, Dr. Juan Gregorio de Campos Martínez, a professor of astrology, mathematics and medicine at the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico, invoked "Castalian abundance" (*raudal castalio*), itself a delightful play-on-words with "Castile," by announcing a poetry contest, or *certamen*, to be held at the university in honor of Carlos III, who had been crowned King of Spain and the Spanish Indies the previous year. In his convocation, which was announced by means of a procession through the streets of Mexico City with horses and drums,<sup>1</sup> Campos Martínez solicited local poets—"Mexican Muses"—to present verse on the topic of the triumphant, "tender rivalry" (*amorosa contienda*) of Italy, France, and Spain embodied by the wise monarch:

To the competition  
come proudly,  
Mexican Muses,  
for your harmony  
will be the soft judge.<sup>2</sup>  
(Campos Martínez 1761, 39)

A la competencia  
concurrid ufanas  
Musas Mexicanas,  
que vuestra armonía  
será blando juez.

The event took place on January 31, 1761, at the Royal and Pontifical University, which at the time occupied several buildings in the center of Mexico City adjacent to the viceregal palace, market-place, and principal square, within a few blocks of the cathedral, archbishop's residence, other religious and secular institutions, and the homes of prominent families. Men and women from Mexico City's elite families, many of whom held positions of authority in those institutions of power, packed into the university's main hall for the pomp of the *certamen*, an elaborate awards ceremony at which some of them would receive medals for their poems written in Spanish or Latin. As such, the university and its affiliates could articulate their own status in the viceroyalty by expressing their loyalty to the recently crowned king through a public performance of erudition infused with neoclassicism. They later published a description of the event and sent a copy to Carlos III himself, who issued a letter from Madrid in 1763 acknowledging its receipt and his approval (Lanning 1946, 202).

One of many such *certámenes* mounted during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, this event holds special significance for the study of the Hispanic Enlightenment not only on account of its celebration of Carlos III, but also because some of the music for the festivities, written by Ignacio Jerusalem (1707–1769), chapel master of Mexico City Cathedral, survives. This music, a multi-movement ceremonial ode for alto and bass soloists, chorus, and orchestra titled *Al combate*, honors Carlos III through an extended allegory about kingly wisdom, the peaceful confluence of nations, and the erudition of the university community.<sup>3</sup> It is likely the single most substantial extant piece of secular music from eighteenth-century New Spain, and one of few mid eighteenth-century New Spanish pieces for which a printed source of the sung text survives independently of the handwritten music. As shall be seen, Jerusalem's music for *Al combate* employs a modern idiom not unlike what would have been heard throughout much of Europe at the time. Yet this work, rife with neoclassical poetic imagery, represents a rarefied utterance of an elite sector of Mexico City whose Enlightenment learning neither reflected nor embraced the broader society. Indeed, as described in *Amorosa contienda*, it contributed to a baroque spectacle that reflects the “guided culture” José Antonio Maravall associates with the previous century, during which “the multiplicity of controls that governed in the baroque [were] centralized ... in the monarchy” (Maravall 1986, 72).

This essay aims to query the idea of the Hispanic Enlightenment through the lens of *Al combate*, seeing the work as emblematic of some of the contradictions inherent in that concept. It will explore the significance of the piece's galant musical style, consider its elite performance context, attempt to understand its absolutist rhetoric, and finally chronicle its partial re-use as religious music at the end of the century. Such contexts reveal no single concept of Enlightenment, but nonetheless present a window into how music, which can be feasibly recreated today, contributed to political spectacle in late colonial Mexico City.

## The Enlightenment and music in the Spanish world

Complicating any unified historical narrative of eighteenth-century music are broad questions of how ideas associated with a progressive, humanist, cosmopolitan, and eventually capitalist Enlightenment might be seen to influence or define musical culture. How does music itself embody or resist such trends? Some repertoires, especially Italian *opera seria* from the 1720s through 1780s, demonstrate ideas of benevolent absolutism that shift across the century along with political thought (Feldman 2007). Stories of internally-conflicted monarchs who choose reason over passion, as told through librettos such as *La clemenza di Tito* and *Artaserse* by Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782), two of the texts most frequently set to music in eighteenth-century Europe, define a stabilizing absolutist aesthetic that music scholar James Webster has referred to as the “Enlightenment-Galant” (2004).<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, other repertoires, including lighter works for the comic theater, offered a bourgeois challenge to music and opera's exclusive association

with the nobility and upper classes, especially in the second half of the century.<sup>5</sup> Strands of Enlightenment culture might also be located in broader practices, such as the increased musical proficiency of amateur performers, the growth of the commercial music business, or the evocation of folk music in art genres as a corollary to natural science. Rarely do such diverse elements appear together, and thus interpreting the Enlightenment as a defined style period of music history remains problematic, not least because of the dominance of Viennese classicism in the study and performance of European “classical” music to the exclusion of other geographies. Broadly conceived, the musical Enlightenment combines a narrative of secularization with a narrative of musical consumerism, is marked by the presence of neoclassical topicality, and co-existed with popular practices and the vestiges of older repertoires that people continued to play and hear.

Indeed, as in other areas of Europe during the eighteenth century, the Spanish world saw ideas about music become inculcated in broader debates between the ancients and the moderns. In peninsular Spain, this debate can also be interpreted as representative of oppositions between national and foreign, and religious and secular, especially during the first half of the century when modern Italian styles became fashionable in much of Europe but foreign arts could be inseparable from politics and rivalries. Prior to this period, in the second half of the seventeenth century, Spain had developed its own distinctive style of baroque music fostered by court composer Juan Hidalgo (1614–1685), and some of his contemporaries, for the *zarzuela*, a theatrical form akin to opera or semi-opera. Hidalgo’s triple-meter style could be found in certain religious pieces as well, including *villancicos*, which were vernacular paraliturgical compositions sung during church services that sometimes incorporated musical or literary elements derived from theatrical devices (Stein 1993).<sup>6</sup> This music, typically for voices accompanied by harp and baroque bassoons, had a rhythmic drive built upon prosody and sometimes allusive of stylized dance figures.

A century later, the musical scene had changed considerably when the *tonadilla*, a new genre of sung theater, emerged in Madrid during the reign of Carlos III (Le Guin 2013). Short *tonadillas* embraced middlebrow popular idioms to bring a new sense of musical identity to some circles of Spanish culture that has been linked to the rise of nationalism (Russell 1989, 350–367). The motion toward a strong secular government under Carlos III ultimately decentralized the role of the church as the primary patron of elaborate music in the Spanish world, and the second half of the century shows a spectrum of publics patronizing a diversity of types of music comprising guitar quartets by Luigi Boccherini (1743–1805), operatic church music by Francisco Javier García Fajer (1730–1809), comic *tonadillas* such as *La chinesca* by Luis Misón (1727–1776), Joseph Haydn’s austere *Seven Last Words of Our Saviour on the Cross* commissioned in 1786 for an oratory in Cádiz, and other avenues of music making.

Much of Spanish music history in the earlier part of the century reflects profound changes in patronage, taste, and training of musicians that slowly reoriented composers, performers, and musical institutions toward adopting or adapting cosmopolitan Italianate styles. Some writers of the time who advocated Enlightenment reform in scientific areas rejected Italianate music, showing markedly conservative musical tastes. A case in point is Benito Feijoo, who chastised composer Sebastián Durón (1660–1716) in *Teatro Critico Universal* (1726) for having written “decadent” music according to foreign fashions (*modas extranjas*) that were incompatible, in his opinion, with liturgical propriety (quoted in Martín Moreno 1985, 37). Nonetheless, Feijoo defended Italianate music in later writings. French intellectuals who instigated the “querelle des bouffons” in the mid-century likewise rejected the newer, tuneful Italianate music in favor of what they perceived as a higher quality national music of previous generations.<sup>7</sup> Progressives, of course, found the Italianate music to be in good taste and expressive of noble emotion. Twentieth-century historians of music in Spain tended to express nationalist perspectives that discussed Italianate music unfavorably, and

it is only in the 1990s that scholars such as Juan José Carreras have presented the period as a modernizing process rather than as an “invasion” of outsiders (1998).

Music in the Italian style of the 1700s, known today as the galant style, became the norm in Spain by the second third of the eighteenth century, as it did slightly earlier in other European areas such as Britain and Russia. In the church, it persisted as the norm into the early nineteenth century. Often composed by Italian musicians working abroad, galant music tends to have simpler textures than older “baroque” music, chiefly as a means to support its tuneful melodies, vocal improvisation, and conventional ornamentation. As such, the music showcases the singer and the voice as a means of rhetorical communication. Italianate music used different instruments than traditional Spanish music, including violins and cellos rather than harps and viols, and the style emanated directly from the teaching traditions of the Neapolitan conservatories (Gjerdingen 2007). While *opera seria* and *opera buffa* are the genres seen as most characteristic of galant music today, secular cantatas, instrumental music, and a wide variety of religious genres form the backbone of the repertoire, and often made more subtle use of the compositional techniques than the sometimes flamboyant arias that captivated commercial theater audiences. Indeed, within religious composition stylistic traditions emerged in Naples itself according to an artificial distinction of the times between the more intellectual sacred works of Leonardo Leo (1694–1744) and the more sentimental ones of Francisco Durante (1684–1755). Although Carlos III may not have been the most music-loving of monarchs, it is notable that his successful tenure as King of Naples and Sicily (1734–1759) coincided with the flourishing of galant music in Naples.

The complexity of Spanish music history stems from the simultaneous persistence of tradition and the adoption of new fashions, principally in Madrid and port cities, in different ways by different patrons. Although galant opera was never produced on stage in the overseas vicerealties, Felipe V and Fernando VI showed considerable fondness for *opera seria*, the former hiring the famed Italian castrato singer Carlo Broschi, known as Farinelli, as a private singer and director of the royal entertainments. Farinelli planned lavish events and aligned the court with Felipe’s personal, up-to-date taste in music, which also embraced French dance; he continued his work into the reign of Fernando VI (McGreary 1998). Meanwhile, María Bárbara Braganza employed Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757), the innovative keyboard composer, as a court musician and teacher. Traveling Italian opera companies put on productions in port cities such as València, and churches gradually modernized the instrumentation of their ensembles. Álvaro Torrente has shown analytically that Italianate sections in religious *villancicos* for Christmas at Madrid’s Royal Chapel increased from minimal in 1700 to 100% in the 1720s (1998). This parallels developments at Mexico City Cathedral, where violinists first officially entered the musical ensemble in 1715 (Marín-López 2007, 171–225). Nonetheless, the music they played in Mexico City still owed much to the older style of Juan Hidalgo until the participation of musicians from Italy in the 1740s. In Madrid, the fire at the Royal Alcázar of Madrid in 1734 destroyed much music, and the need for new repertoire also contributed to a flourishing of local Italianate composition in subsequent years.

In Latin America, manuscript music from before the nineteenth century survives principally in cathedral archives, as the church remained the primary patron of what we might call today “classical music,” which was practiced by only a small proportion of the diverse population. Galant music could be heard in cathedrals, prominent parish churches, urban convents, the university, and in the homes of wealthy individuals, some of whom amassed collections of instruments and sheet music printed or copied in Europe. Playing the violin became an activity associated with wealthy creole men, who are sometimes depicted with their instrument in *casta* paintings. Yet no established, public operatic culture existed in the eighteenth century. Likewise, the market for commercial music would have remained small, and cathedral schools could not support practical musical instruction akin to that of the Neapolitan conservatories. Professional

musicians formed part of an artisan class without the privilege of a guild or academy. Of course, avenues of popular and traditional music making pervaded New Spanish society; but the repertoire most indicative of the Enlightenment aesthetics remained relatively confined.

In New Spain, two notable Italian-born musicians became chapel masters at prominent cathedrals around the mid-century: Ignacio Jerusalem at Mexico City, and Santiago Billoni (c1700–c1763) at Durango (Davies 2011). Building upon the work of previous Mexico City chapel master Manuel de Sumaya (1678–1755), who had incorporated elements of Italianate music into some of his compositions, Jerusalem, together with a handful of other Italian performing musicians, established the galant style as the standard for music composition at Mexico City Cathedral, much as José de Nebra (1702–1768) had done at the Royal Chapel in Madrid.

A theater musician who had left Italy to work in Cádiz, Spain, and later in Mexico City, Ignacio Jerusalem (born Ignazio Gerusalemme in Lecce) served as chapel master of Mexico City Cathedral between 1750 and 1769 and composed a sizeable repertoire of about 210 musical works, many of which are notable for their expressivity and craftsmanship. Although Jerusalem proved controversial at the time of his appointment, the unrivalled number of copies of his compositions distributed among the archives of prominent Mexican and Central American churches attests to the esteem with which his music was regarded in subsequent generations, well into the nineteenth century (Zamora and Cruz 2007). Musicologist Craig Russell has rightly observed how Jerusalem's modernization efforts extended beyond musical style to his use of modern musical notation and his selection of contemporary styles of poetry for some of his musical settings (2001). Most of Jerusalem's works are religious vocal pieces with orchestral accompaniment of violins, cellos, oboes, horns, organ or harpsichord, and sometimes other instruments such as trumpets or timpani, and they date mainly from the 1750s and 1760s. They illustrate how a composer could adapt the galant style to church music in the absence of singers who had been trained for operatic performance. His pieces are increasingly appearing on concert programs and commercial recordings today.<sup>8</sup>

## Galant music in the territory of Minerva

On the day of the *certamen*, January 31, 1761, Viceroy Joaquín de Montserrat, Marquis of Cruillas (1700–1771) and his entourage entered the university building at four in the afternoon. Fireworks and illuminations had initiated the festivities the night before, and the great hall of the university was decorated with banners and decked out with special chairs and velvet canopies. The *Amorosa contienda* attests that “a type of orchestra was set up in the middle of the bench of prelates so that the music could be more comfortably heard” (39), but unfortunately makes no mention of the singers, as it would have been interesting to know their genders and ages. (Unlike at the cathedral, men and women may have sung together at the university.) The orchestra would have begun with Jerusalem's substantial overture, followed by the opening recitative that announces the *certamen*:<sup>9</sup>

To combat, but not to arms,  
assigns Cupid the territory of Minerva:  
for now Lira reserves her wandering quiver  
for the Muses  
that for such a solemn matter they conspire  
that Carlos be made a lyric poem.

Al combate, no al arma,  
destina Amor el campo de Minerva:

pues Lira ya su aljaba peregrina  
a las Musas reserva,  
que en asunto tan grave conspirando  
hagan a Carlos métrica oficina.

The combat that Cupid calls for in the opening recitative of Jerusalem's ode shall be verbal, not physical, and take place in the territory of Minerva, meaning the university. Ignacio Jerusalem sets the music of this opening recitative for bass voice with continuo accompaniment, which would have been a harpsichord or small organ along with a cello or bass violin. The bass voice, which is often absent in church music of the period, sings a forceful, bellicose arpeggio gesture on the word "combate" that serves to summons the listener's attention (see Figure 21.1). The rest of the recitative, which modulates into four tonal centers in a space of fourteen measures, shows virtuosity of composition as well as performance, as the bass voice agilely covers a range of an eleventh during this brief recitative in the idiomatic style of Italian *opera seria*.<sup>10</sup>

The predecessor of today's National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico was the most significant university in Hispanic America from the time of its founding in 1551 until its dissolution in 1833. Modeled on the medieval structure of the University of Salamanca, the university instructed students in subjects such as theology, law, rhetoric, grammar, liberal arts, and medicine at the bachelor, master and doctoral levels (Sánchez Vázquez 2002). At one point in the seventeenth century, Juan Palafox y Mendoza, in his role as *visitador general*, noted that the university had "more brilliance in professors than in students," although the eighteenth-century institution was considerably more robust (Sánchez Vázquez 2002, 268). During the reign of Carlos III, mathematics, modern philosophy, and natural science were added as subjects. Additionally, the significance of erudite poetry cannot be overestimated in eighteenth-century Mexico City, which had been the home of Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz (1651–1695), the "tenth muse" and one of most important Spanish language poets of the second half of the seventeenth century.

The commemorative medallions cast for the proceedings were delivered to the viceroy during the first chorus of *Al combate*, "A la competencia," which "resounded as a harmonious, Delphic trumpet in the arena of Minerva to incite the competition" (39).<sup>11</sup> The contestants in the competition filed in after this section of music. Indeed, this chorus evokes grandeur with its busy and festive accompaniment of strings, trumpets, natural horns, and timpani that would have resounded in the stone space. Unlike the migrating harmonies of the recitative, those of the chorus are prolongational, with descending scales in the bass part that reinforce the celebratory tonality with little inflection to other tonal regions. This technique is not uncommon in ceremonial music and can be heard in Handel's coronation anthems for George II from 1727 or in his *Music for the Royal Fireworks* from 1749.

As it turns out, the *certamen* served a second purpose, namely to inaugurate the renovated university building (see Figure 21.2). Between 1758 and 1761, architect Don Ildefonso de Iniesta



Figure 21.1 Ignacio Jerusalem, *Al combate*, first recitative, m. 1–5.

Edition: Drew Edward Davies



Figure 21.2 Pedro Gualdi, “Interior de la Universidad de Méjico,” in *Monumentos de Méjico: tomados del natural y litografiados* (1841). Manuel Tolsá’s Equestrian Statue of Charles IV, at the center of the lithograph, dates from 1802. Courtesy Charles Deering McCormick Library of Special Collections, Northwestern University Libraries.

Bejarano (1716–1781) oversaw the renovation of the sixteenth-century edifice designing, at the request of rector Manuel Ignacio Beye Cisneros, new façades, a staircase, a chapel, and the main salon, which is where the *certamen* was held (Prada 1996, 301). The plan included three levels that showcased statues of Carlos III, Felipe II, Carlos V, the subjects of civil law, medicine, philosophy, theology, and canon law, and the royal coat of arms. Mexican art historian Francisco de la Maza notes that the building was decorated in a lavish *churrigueresque* style (Maza 1969, 40). Unfortunately, the building no longer remains, having been demolished in 1910, nor does any trace of the *Plaza del volador* survive. Its site, on what is now Calle de la Corregidora, across from the south façade of the National Palace and adjacent to the Supreme Court of Mexico, which occupies the former *Plaza del volador*, is presently a parking garage and a Burger King franchise. That said, one of the monumental doorways of the university may have been dismantled and reassembled on the façade of the Colegio de San Pedro y San Pablo some blocks to the north, although scholars do not agree on the origin of this architectural element (Maza 42).

Jerusalem’s ode consists of a succession of self-contained movements that last about twenty-five minutes in total. After the opening sections already discussed, the music continues with two pairs of recitatives and arias that correspond to the first and second *certámenes* of the afternoon. A final recitative precedes the final chorus, “Mexicana Minerva,” which precedes third *certamen*, as seen in Table 21.1. The words sung appeared in the convocation as models that the poems submitted for the competition could gloss. The winning texts do not seem to have been set to music.

Table 21.1 Structure of *Al combate*

1.	Sinfonia		
2.	Recitative (bass)	"Al combate"	[CONVOCATORIA]
3.	Chorus	"A la competencia"	
4.	Recitative (alto)	"Italia, Francia y España"	[CERTAMEN 1]
5.	Aria (alto)	"Todas pueden alegar"	
6.	Recitative (bass)	"Ya España victoriosa"	[CERTAMEN 2]
7.	Aria (bass)	"Propicia estrella"	
8.	Recitative (alto)	"El vínculo altamente establecido"	[CERTAMEN 3]
9.	Chorus	"Mexicana Minerva"	

The complete text (see Appendix) of *Al combate* brims with the imagery of Castilian heraldry and employs a dense language of mythological allusion, symbols, and syntactic complexity. Although the density of literate references and plays-on-words is not as impenetrable to the modern reader as some poems from the heyday of *culturanismo* in the seventeenth century, this text still retains some of *culturanismo*'s basic traits: a displacement of word order and syntax to make the poem both more complicated and more expressive, an "intensification of classical allusions" and "a conscious attempt to enrich the language of poetry by assimilating it more closely to Latin, thus removing it as far as possible from ordinary discourse" (Terry 1993, 53). Significantly, and unusually for a New Spanish text, it contains not a single Biblical or religious reference; the images are drawn solely from classical antiquity. By contrast, Handel's first anthem for George II in 1727, *Zadok the Priest*, uses Biblical personages from Kings I to allegorize kingship, and his other three anthems for the event derive from Psalms.

The three recitatives that introduce the *certámenes* allude to Carlos's personal heritage and accomplishments. The first emphasizes the monarch's tri-national genealogy, being the Spanish-born son of French and Italian parents within the Bourbon lineage. The second, cast in triumphant language, celebrates his return to Spain from Naples. Finally, the third references the lineage of Carlos's mother from Parma, Isabel de Farnesio, who had served as regent during 1759–1760 as the new King's arrival in Madrid from Naples was awaited. The number three in *Al combate* also relates to the king as the third Carlos; to three symbols in the coat of arms; and to three parts of the *certamen*, each of which consisted of three competitions with three finalists.

The two *da capo* arias for solo voice that form the heart of *Al combate* contrast each other dramatically, as would neighboring arias in an opera, oratorio, or cantata. The first, "Todas pueden alegar," exerts the legitimacy of Carlos in the context of the three powers of Spain, the Italian peninsula, and France. The characteristically galant music is relaxed, lyrical, and lightly ornamented as if an elegant minuet. It is not clear whether the alto singer was intended to be male or female. The second aria, "Propicia estrella," however, returns to the martial character of the opening recitative and chorus, featuring the bass voice with soaring melodies accompanied by horns. The text presents an allegory of the relationship between the ruler and the ruled, with the light of wisdom enlightening the monarch and his spoils. The music itself has strong motivic links with the chorus "A la competencia" and likewise uses scales and prolongational harmonies, likely to communicate a sense of the steadfastness of the monarch.

The ode concludes with a short chorus, "Mexicana Minerva," through which the university hails Carlos by eternalizing his wisdom forever through poetry and seeking the guidance of his Apollonian wisdom. The music is constructed responsorially: the full chorus repeats lines of text first introduced by the solo singers, thereby underscoring the vow, again with a minuet-like

rhythm. The horns, trumpets and timpani emphasize the regality of Carlos, the university, and the illustrious individuals present.

Indeed, those who heard the first performance of *Al combate*—perhaps the only complete performance of it before the twenty-first century—included the nucleus of the Hispanic Enlightenment in Mexico City at the time. At the helm sat Viceroy Montserrat, a native of Valencia, who reigned from 1760 until 1766 and counted the reorganization of the viceregal army at the request of Carlos III among his accomplishments. Present as well was the Jesuit priest Juan José de Eguirra y Eguren (1696–1763), a humanist and key propagator of Guadalupan devotion. He had served as rector of the university and as bishop of Yucatán—a rare privilege for a creole—and also counted among the early directors of the Colegio de las Vizcaínas (Torre Villar 1991). At the time of the performance, he was serving as schoolmaster at Mexico City Cathedral.

Eguirra's superior, Manuel José Rubio Salinas (1703–1765), the archbishop of Mexico from 1749 until his death in 1765, was also present. Rubio Salinas was currently involved in an “Enlightenment” project to eradicate the use of indigenous languages in New Spain through the establishment of Spanish language schools in rural communities. (*Amorosa contienda* does not even allude to the presence of indigenous people, African-descended people, or mixed-race people in its conception of Mexico City.) Of course, another presiding official was the rector of the university, Manuel Ignacio Beye Cisneros (O'Hara 2010, 64). A doctor of law and four-term rector who also directed the College of Lawyers and counted two lawyers among his brothers and four among his sons, Beye Cisneros hailed from the family noted by historian John Kicza to be the “most successful” of a class of “professional elite” New Spaniards who rose to important professional positions in law, commerce, religion, and teaching despite considerable independent wealth (Kicza 1982). One of Beye Cisneros's sons traveled to Spain to participate in the Cádiz Cortes in 1811 (Zárate Toscano 1997). Carlos III himself presided over the *certamen* in the form of a portrait propped up on a chair.

The winners of various parts of the poetry competition hailed at the event tended to hold posts within the city's prominent institutions and included law faculty from the university such as Nuño Nuñez de Villaviciendo; canons of the cathedral such as Joseph Becerra, priests from parish churches, graduate students from the Jesuit college, and Francisco Ruiz de León, a noteworthy New Spanish poet who had published an heroic account of the conquest of Mexico several years prior (Ruiz de León 1755). As if this discriminating social register of the event were not clear enough by attendees, the account in *Amorosa contienda* states that “No entró persona alguna, que no fuese de este carácter” (39). *Amorosa contienda* never mentions Ignacio Jerusalem or any other musician by name, despite generously introducing specific poets and attendees. This concords with New Spanish documentation in general, which treats music and issues related to music minimally, secondarily, and with little specificity, perhaps due to ignorance of music or indifference toward its practitioners on the part of writers. In any case, the musicians present were likely considered too low in social status to mention by name in print.

The music to *Al combate* survives primarily in a single source, an autograph score in the hand of its composer, Ignacio Jerusalem (see Figure 21.3).<sup>12</sup> None of the original vocal or instrumental parts copied from the score are known to exist. Although the work was first performed at the Real y Pontificia Universidad de México in 1761, the manuscript is preserved at the archive of Mexico City Cathedral, along with other autograph scores of Jerusalem's music. For much of the twentieth century, the manuscript, along with 122 other pieces from the cathedral collection, had been in the possession of Mexico City organist and author Jesús Estrada, off the premises of the cathedral (Marín López 2007; Davies, Cherñavsky and Rossi 2009). Measure numbers penciled into the manuscript appear to be in Estrada's handwriting. Returned to the archive in 1998, these works, including *Al combate*, can now be consulted in an online library of digital

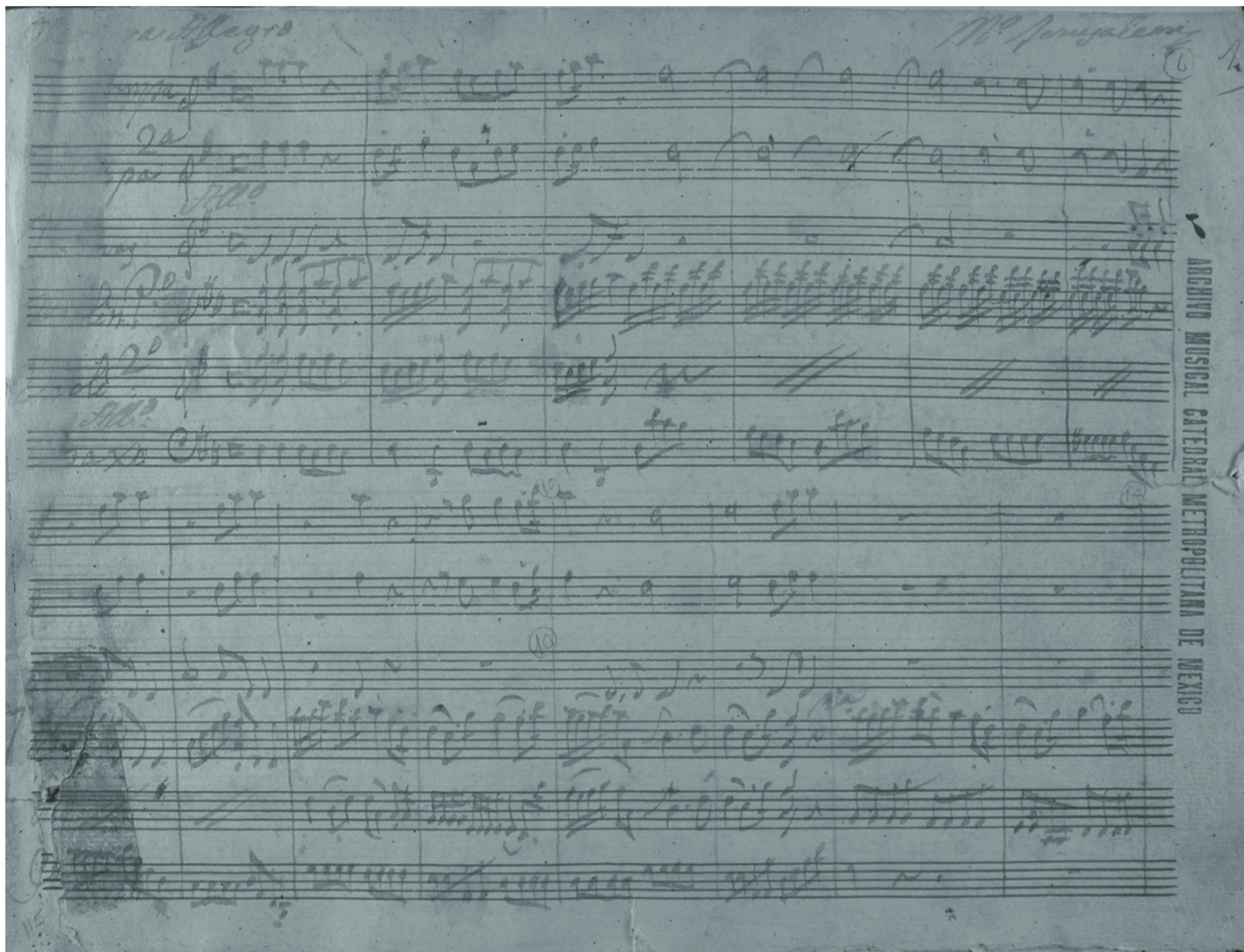


Figure 21.3 Ignacio Jerusalem, *Al combate*, score, fol. 1.

Archivo del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México, *Papeles de Música*, A0096

Photograph: Salvador Hernández Pech

images curated by the Seminario de Música en la Nueva España y el México Independiente of UNAM.<sup>13</sup> A second source at Durango Cathedral, in northern Mexico, contains an incomplete later eighteenth-century copy of *Al combate*'s opening overture, which can also function as an independent instrumental symphony (Davies 2013).<sup>14</sup> The score bears no indication of the work's original function. It was only by locating the concordant text in *Amorosa contienda*, the description of the *certamen*, that the context and significance of the ode became apparent.

## Religious recycling

In a historical turn no less interesting, a subsequent chapel master of Mexico City Cathedral, Spanish-born Antonio Juanas (c.1762–c.1821), retexted the two solo arias from *Al combate* as Latin liturgical responsories in order to expand and complete the Matins service for the Virgin of Guadalupe that Jerusalem had begun composing in 1756 with the responsory *Vidi speciosam*. Juanas, a prolific composer and fastidious organizer of the music archive, reinvigorated a large portion of Jerusalem's works, which had been composed around the time of his own birth, by adding oboes, making brief cuts or extensions, and adding contrafact texts. In this case, Juanas retexted "Todas pueden alegar" as the fifth responsory for the Virgin of Guadalupe, *Quae est ista quae progreditur*, and "Propicia Estrella," as *Quae est ista quae ascendit*, the second responsory.<sup>15</sup>

A common practice in New Spain, secular-to-sacred contrafacts occur in a variety of guises in the cathedral repertoire, and they often involve taking an ephemeral piece with a vernacular text and repurposing it as liturgical music that could be used over and over again. This is not always a straightforward task, however, as it involves imposing a fixed Latin liturgical text onto a pre-existing aria that would have been constructed somewhat according to the prosody of its text. In many cases, the new text requires the musical syntax and the overall form to be altered as well as the words themselves (Davies 2014). The responsory structure (ABCB) requires a *dal segno* repeat rather than the full *da capo* repeat of the original aria (AA'BAA'), and thus truncates the form. Juanas, who composed short passages of music anew to seamlessly connect the updated form, probably arranged these two contrafacts around 1800, after the death of Carlos III in a period of reduced allegiance to the Spanish monarchy among New Spanish creoles, and from within an increasingly isolated church that upheld its conservatism. Incidentally, Handel also reused music from his coronation anthems for George II in his oratorio *Deborah* of 1733, as well as in his 1732 revision of his oratorio *Esther* (Dean 1959, 191–246). Thus, there is no reason to necessarily attribute musical reuse to the colonial context.

Despite significant differences in textual structure and meaning, the contrafact is not an altogether deformation of the original. To the contrary, “Propicia estrella” may have been chosen for reuse on account of the synergy between the imagery of the two pieces: celestial bodies. The guiding star in “Propicia estrella” and the sun and moon in *Quae est ista quae ascendit* serve as the literary pivot between the texts. Although the star doesn’t appear directly in the responsory, it is the Marian symbol that usually completes the triad of sun, moon, and stars, and of course the text to *Al combate* focuses upon triads.

<u>Original</u>	<u>Contrafact</u>	<u>Translation of the contrafact</u>
Propicia estrella, la suerte rige en la espaciosa esfera del deseo. [Propicia estrella...] [fine] Su luz dirige al centro y ella con sus rayos Ilustra tu trofeo. [da capo]	Quae est ista quae ascendit sicut aurora consurgens pulchra ut luna electa ut sol *terribilis ut castrorum acies ordinata [fine] Filia Sion tota formosa et suavis est pulchra ut luna electa ut sol [dal segno]*	Who is she that ascends like the dawn fair as the moon bright as the sun, awesome as an army with banners?  Daughter of Zion, you are most beautiful and merciful, fair as the moon, bright as the sun.

But more importantly, the musical composition itself serves to underscore ideas of sovereignty in both versions: the original honors the guidance and wisdom of the king, while the contrafact celebrates the religious patron and metaphysical intercessor for New Spain. In 1800, the Virgin of Guadalupe had become a potent symbol of Creole nationalism in New Spain, an attribute retained in Mexico after independence (Taylor 1987, 10). In this sense, the retexted music paradoxically serves purposes more conservative than the original yet more progressive at the same time: absolutist poetry is replaced by the Latin liturgy for a devotion that would become emblematic of Creole rather than peninsular allegiances in an age that ultimately witnessed the decline of the power of the colonial church. Furthermore, the contrafact exchanges classical myth for local popular religion, thereby underscoring the sovereignties of the Roman church and the Mexican people, but casting Spain out of the picture.

In the time since *Al combate* had been written, Carlos III's Enlightenment government, which was "opposed to the clergy's predominance in education," had decimated New Spain's education system by expelling the Jesuits as part of a larger program of social and fiscal consolidation of authority (Farriss 1968, 92). Father Eguiara y Eguren, the accomplished Jesuit priest who had approved the texts of the *certamen* in front of the Inquisition, and others like him, would no longer have been present for such events. Certainly he would have predicted the king's antipathy toward his order, and one wonders if he felt conflicted about the outcomes of Hispanic Enlightenment projects when he heard Jerusalem's music in 1761.

## Conclusion

Allusions to classical mythology in early modern Hispanic poetry of this period derive primarily from Ovid,<sup>16</sup> and I would argue that the entire event of the *certamen* celebrated at the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico in 1761 could be seen as a ritual enactment of Ovid. Consider how the university's convocation of the "Mexican Muses" mimics the scenario in Book 5 of the *Metamorphoses* in which Minerva appears on Mt. Helicon to visit the muses, who proceed to relate to her the singing contest won by Calliope over the Pierides. The intellectual combat expressed through the arts prevails over violent combat, and hence the conceit that opens *Al combate*. Indeed, the subject of a poetry contest also resonates with the mythological contest of Homer and Hesiod, although that story does not appear to be directly referenced in this text. As such, the elite of Mexico City, the "Mexican Muses," masqueraded as actors in classical antiquity themselves, transforming their vision of their American surroundings into a creole Arcadia. Ultimately, the *certamen* fits into a centuries-old Hispanic tradition of using myth, history, and archaisms to celebrate the identity of a monarch in a modern representation. Susan Boynton recognizes an example of this in the "nationalizing tendency" of imagining King Fernando VI, Carlos III's predecessor, as a modern corollary to the sixth-century Visigothic king St. Hermengild during the mid-eighteenth century (Boynton 2011, 28).

*Al combate* reveals a fascinating late colonial world of imaginaries: an artificial Helicon of politicized muses; a New Spain without trace of social diversity; a creole elite searching for a mythological neoclassical identity; and over time, a re-inscription of creole sovereignty and a turn toward popular religion. These all reflect aspects of the Hispanic Enlightenment, if in an impermanent and only partially representative way. And the impermanency is especially poignant in the re-use of Jerusalem's music for the Virgin of Guadalupe, which shows a new set of imaginaries in late colonial New Spain in which local history and myth replace those of Mediterranean myth in the collective identity.

## Appendix: Text and translation of *Al combate*\*

### Recitative

Al combate, no al arma, destina Amor el campo de Minerva: pues Lira, ya su aljaba peregrina a las Musas reserva, que en asunto tan grave conspirando hagan a Carlos métrica oficina y su aliento inflamando la amorosa contienda con el raudal castalio más se encienda.	To combat, but not to arms, assigns Cupid the territory of Minerva: for now Lira reserves her wandering quiver for the Muses that for such a solemn matter they conspire that Carlos be made a lyric poem and their inspiration ignites a loving competition flamed by the abundance of the Castalian fountain.
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## Chorus

A la competencia concurrid ufanas Musas Mexicanas, que vuestra armonía será blando juez, y cada potencia tendrá la fortuna que en suave porfía la victoria de una sea gloria de tres.	To the competition come proudly, Mexican Muses, for your harmony will be the soft judge and each realm will be fortunate that with gentle insistence the victory of one will be the glory of three.
--	--

## Recitative

Italia, Francia, España a Carlos dirigidas, norte seguro a su mayor hazaña de sus rayos pretenden conducidas reciprocarse blasones en castillos en lises y en leones.	Italy, France and Spain, pointed to Carlos, wishing to be led by his rays of light toward his greatest deed, allied coats of arms with castles, fleurs-de-lis and lions.
---	--

## Aria

Todas pueden alegar derecho particular que no borrará el olvido, porque en un recto sentir por triunfo se puede argüir el haberlo pretendido.	All three can claim special privilege that will not be forgotten, because on a straight path one can deduce for triumph the act of having sought it.
--	---

## Recitative

Ya España victoriosa Carlos recuperado el triunfo entona y en posesión dichosa el giro a sus fortunas eslabona sin recelar del hado la esquividad con que glorias ha ultrajado que ya escudo previno triplicado al asalto del destino.	Now victorious Spain entones its triumph in recovering Carlos, and in happy possession, the turn toward his fortune, links, without distrusting fate's indifferent disdain the glories of the crest that prevented the triplicate assault of destiny.
--	---

## Aria

Propicia estrella, la suerte rige en la espaciosa esfera del deseo. Su luz dirige al centro y ella con sus rayos ilustra su trofeo.	Propitious star, Fate reigns in the spacious sphere of desire. Its light leads from the center and with its rays enlightens its trophy.
---	---

Recitative

El vínculo altamente establecido Fénix de la amistad debe su nido a la Farnesia casa en cuya luz se abrasa, mas los giros afianza de su pluma reinante Majestad prudencia suma perla preciosa que en cambiantes bellos brinda seguros animados sellos.	The link thoroughly established, the Phoenix of friendship owes its nest to the house of Farnese in whose light it basks, from its quill consolidated, reigning majesty full of wisdom, precious pearl that in beautiful settings soaringly dedicates animated insignias.
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Chorus

Mexicana Minerva, noble padrón se observa que eterniza de Carlos la memoria fundando mayor gloria (escabel a sus plantas destinada) que de rayos de Apolo coronada.	Mexican Minerva, recognized as the noble patron that immortalizes the memory of Carlos, establishing the greatest glory (destined to be his footstool) crowned with the rays of Apollo.
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\*Transcription and translation: Drew Edward Davies

Notes

- 1 See Pimentel 1894, 447.
- 2 All translations from the Spanish are mine.
- 3 Archivo Histórico del Cabildo Catedral Metropolitano de México (ACMM), *Papeles de música*, A0096.
- 4 Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783) and Giovanni Battista Pergolesi (1710–1736) are representative composers of galant music.
- 5 For example, Lorenzo da Ponte and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart’s *Le nozze di Figaro*, based upon a play by Beaumarchais.
- 6 An example of all-sung *zarzuela* from Madrid is Pietro Calderón de la Barca and Juan Hidalgo, *Celos aun del aire matan*; a New Spanish villancico with theatrical musical and literary elements is Juan Gutiérrez de Padilla, *A la jácara jacarilla* (Puebla, 1653).
- 7 See Enrico Fubini (1994), chapter 2; and Antonio Gallego (1988).
- 8 On Jerusalem, see Craig H. Russell (1992, 1993 and 2009). See also Robert Stevenson (1997).
- 9 The music is recorded by the Chicago Arts Orchestra on the album *Al combate*, Navona Records, NV5902 (2013). As of 2018, the album can be listened to on Spotify or downloaded from iTunes.
- 10 See Daniel Hertz (2003).
- 11 Unfortunately, *Amorosa contienda* contains no further description of Jerusalem’s music.
- 12 My unpublished edition of this score served as the basis for the contemporary revivals of the piece with the Chicago Arts Orchestra in Chicago (2011), Mexico City (2017); with the Liatoshynsky Ensemble in Kyiv, Ukraine (2012); and subsequent performances by other groups.
- 13 [www.musicat.unam.mx](http://www.musicat.unam.mx)
- 14 The call number of the symphony version at Durango is MS. Mús. 257.
- 15 On the score of *Quae est ista quae ascendit* appears, in the hand of Antonio Juanas, “Este Responsorio es del M.tro Jerusalem, sacado de una Area, q.e comienza Todas pueden alegarle” [sic]. On the score of *Quae est ista quae progreditur* appears “Este responsorio es del M.tro Jerusalem, sacado de una Area, q.e comienza, Propicia Estrella” (ACMM, A0587). Note that *Quae est ista quae ascendit* appears on the recording *Ignacio Jerusalem: Matins for the Virgin of Guadalupe*, with Chanticleer, Teldec, 3984–21829–2 (1998). Juanas’s contribution to the work had not been recognized at the time of that recording, nor was the concordance with *Al combate* known at that time.
- 16 See Terry 1993, 55.

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# Poverty, punishment, and the Enlightenment in the Spanish empire

## Anti-vagrancy initiatives in late colonial Mexico from a transoceanic perspective

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This chapter addresses the anti-vagrancy campaigns executed in late eighteenth-century New Spain in the context of new enlightened attitudes towards poverty, economic rationality, state utilitarian goals, and the role of individuals in society. The Mexican approach to poverty displayed characteristics that were clearly distinct from contemporary developments in the Iberian Peninsula, the most salient being that between 1765 and 1811 about 4,000 Mexican individuals accused of vagrancy and other crimes were deported to the Philippines to serve between four and eight years as soldiers or forced laborers. A hub of an enormously profitable trade that connected China and other parts of Asia with New Spain and ultimately Spain, the Philippines had become an outpost of paramount importance in the Pacific flank of the Spanish empire after the British occupied Manila during the Seven Years' War.

We will expand the scholarly conversation about the Hispanic Enlightenment by considering Spain, the Spanish American colonies, and the Philippines as interconnected realms.<sup>1</sup> The deportation of Mexicans to the Philippines allows for a stimulating discussion about not only the significance of transoceanic connections in the emergence and development of eighteenth-century Spanish American thought on vagrancy, poverty, and education, but also the active role of colonies and popular classes in the implementation of initiatives designed by the metropole and elite sectors.

### The historiography of the Enlightenment and Spanish America

Historians of Spain and Spanish America believe that the historiography on the Enlightenment dismisses Spain and the Spanish colonies as unimportant, backwater areas while Northern Europe continues to be perceived as a more modern and intellectually dynamic participant in this movement (Astigarraga 2015; Paquette 2009; Premo 2017; Meléndez and Stolley 2015; and Stolley 2013). This is of concern considering that decades ago Whitaker (1961) and Aldridge (1971) already established that Spain and its colonies did undergo a process of rational reform in

the eighteenth century. These scholars debunked long-lived assumptions on the matter asserting, for example, that in Spain, a Catholic nation with an absolutist monarch, ideas of natural rights, freedom of expression, and equality were embraced and not necessarily perceived as contrary to, or incompatible with, traditional religion. Whitaker's and Aldridge's collections also redressed the perception that the Enlightenment was essentially a political revolutionary phenomenon. Both studies dismissed the Enlightenment as a major precipitant of the wars of independence and centered instead on the movement's capacity for reform within the established order with its emphasis on reason, experimentation, practical applications, and economic development. This opened the door to ponder more long-term repercussions of the Enlightenment in the cultural, economic, or social history of Latin America. Whitaker and Aldridge, though, conceived the Spanish American Enlightenment as "received," thus viewing the movement as a copy of European epistemologies with no recognition of how Spanish Americans could have contributed to it and adapted it to local circumstances.

The fact that the goal of the present volume is to challenge commonplace assumptions about the existence (or non-existence) of Enlightenment in Spain and Latin America would seem to indicate that little progress has been made since Aldridge's publication in 1971. And yet, research on the Spanish and Spanish American Enlightenment has thrived significantly in the last few decades. The Spanish Enlightenment emerges now as an innovative process in which indigenous thinkers responded to Europe rearticulating foreign political thought in order to best fit the specific social, cultural, political, and economic circumstances of Spain (Sánchez Blanco 1999; Donahue-Wallace 2017; Paquette 2004; Stone 1997; Pimentel, 2015). Recent scholarship on the Spanish American Enlightenment has gone well beyond the topic of creole political thought to explore colonial government, social reform, economics, religious thought, science, and jurisprudence (Paquette 2009; Viqueira Albán 1999; Arrom 2000; Voekel 2002; Bleichmar, De Vos, Huffine and Sheehan 2009; and Premo 2017).

Scholars have reassessed the historical significance associated with Independence as a watershed, as research shows that there existed plenty of continuities between colonial rule and the postcolonial regimes that succeeded the Spanish empire. Instead of bearing radical transformations in Spanish America, the Enlightenment actually bolstered traditional ideologies and structures (Premo 2017, 7). Historians of Spanish America are also willing to recognize that not only religious and secular intellectual elites contributed to the Enlightenment. These scholars imagine an Enlightenment that responded to the local realities of colonial officials, magistrates, ordinary and illiterate colonials, and even non-European groups (Premo 2017; Paquette 2009; Twinam 2015; Diaz 2015), with Enlightened reforms that were both imposed from above and supported from below (Premo 2005). The problem, then, is not a lack of progress in the fields of Spanish and Spanish American Enlightenment but the absence of a dialogue between English-speaking historians of European Enlightenment and Spanish-speaking scholars of Latin American history (Bolufer 2015–2016).

This chapter employs a transoceanic approach that confirms the Iberian roots of the Spanish American Enlightenment. Specifically, I link concepts on education, punishment, and vagrancy in New Spain to the writings of enlightened Spanish intellectuals (*ilustrados*) and royal ordinances published in the Iberian Peninsula. Other historians who integrate the histories of European states and their overseas colonies persuasively support the thesis of the multi-focal emergence of the Enlightenment (for instance, Kuethe and Andrien 2014). The focus on transatlantic cultural exchanges displays the local specificity of an Enlightenment that, while connected to Europe, was adapted to local concerns and needs. Ideas that circulated in the Atlantic Ocean were read, interpreted, and put into practice in different ways, with colonials creating a new, yet familiar, intellectual tradition from an eclectic range of sources (Higgins 2000; Melendez 2011;

Withers 2007). Ultimately, this conversation has problematized the most basic understanding of an increasingly elusive Enlightenment, giving rise to a debate about whether the definition of Enlightenment can be applied to different scenarios, at the risk of losing the power to really define anything, or if each scenario should embrace exceptionalism (Paquette 2009, 8, 10).

The deportation of thousands of Mexican vagrants to the Philippines in the late eighteenth century showcases some of the directions that recent research on the Spanish American Enlightenment is taking. Bourbon reforms against idleness and poverty, fueled by enlightened notions of youth education, economic productivity, and utilitarian punishment, exemplify the ample topical breadth of the Enlightenment. These reformist initiatives and the ideology that underlined them are best understood within a transoceanic framework where events in the metropole had a long-term, unpredictable impact on the colonies and vice versa. The hostile attitude of Spanish *ilustrados* towards vagrancy and poverty found resonance in New Spain, a social context similarly challenged by urban growth and pre-modern economic structures that could not produce enough employment. Ideas of Spanish *ilustrados* were adapted in New Spain by a broad range of historical actors, as colonial subjects supported elite-designed initiatives against the urban poor in a scenario that, transcending regional boundaries to include the remote colonial entrepot of Manila, was the epitome of a global eighteenth century. Finally, that social concerns and regulations about the urban poor carried on to the republican period attests to the need for a more flexible periodization for the Enlightenment.

## **New vagrancy policies in late colonial Mexico**

The proliferation of vagabonds and their persecution had long been a feature of Mexican colonial life. Since the mid-1500s, Spanish legislation recurrently addressed the damaging effects of idleness and the burden of vagrants in colonial society. But in the late eighteenth century, consternation about criminal activity and its connections to poverty and vagrancy created a judicial environment particularly averse to certain social groups. Enlightened programs to tackle vagrancy were implemented in the Mexican colony from the 1760s on when viceregal instructions prescribed that vagrants be forced to work in the private sector or sentenced to government service. Vagrants could be drafted into the army or assigned to distant presidios, workshops, or public works projects in the cities. Between 1774 and 1870 orders to arrest vagrants were reiterated at least thirty-five times while the confinement of beggars was decreed on fifteen occasions (Arrom 2000, 21).

An inflection point occurred in 1783 with the institution of annual roundups of vagrants, an initiative modeled after a decree published in Madrid in 1775. The levies of vagrants were intended to complete the yearly quota of soldiers with destination to Manila and strengthen the defenses of this city after the defeat suffered at the hands of the British during the Seven Years' War. Tense decades in the Spanish Pacific followed, starting in 1779 when Spain entered the war for U.S. independence as an ally of France against Great Britain, placing Manila again under the threat of British attack. In 1774, in another departure from established procedures, the viceroyalty of New Spain prohibited for the first time begging and the giving of alms, and the Poor House of Mexico City was founded (Arrom 2000, 16, 18).

While the number of vagrants arrested does not necessarily reflect the level of incidence of vagrancy in Mexican society, the behaviors included in the category of "vagrant" lay bare perceptions of deviance from social norms, that is, actions that in the judgment of magistrates were harmful for the society at large. Many of those accused of vagrancy were labeled as "prone to vices" (*vicioso*), "idle" (*vago*), "troublemaker" (*malentretenido*), or "of bad behavior" (*con mal comportamiento*). The charge could respond to a wide variety of behaviors: to be unemployed; to be caught drinking, gambling, naked, or rambling in the streets with no apparent purpose;

to compromise the honor of a woman; to engage in a sexual relationship out of wedlock; or to commit a robbery. Foreigners, street sellers, muleteers, those who carried goods for sale to the capital via canoe transport, street musicians, and dancers constituted as well easy targets for the patrols. Authorities also made a connection between nocturnal activities, recreational places, alcohol, lower classes, and crime (Mehl 2016, 159–170). The elasticity with which the state employed these campaigns reveals an intention to control the lives of colonials by intruding in the education of youth, illicit relationships, public sexual behaviors, marriage, and personal hygiene.

New vagrancy policies redefined and muddled the ethnic contours of plebeian groups because vagrancy was not an affliction specific to a particular ethnic group but a social problem. Levies to the Philippines comprised mestizos, *castizos* (offspring of mestizo and Spanish), *españoles* (Mexican-born whites), mulattos, and even *peninsulares* (Spaniards born in the Peninsula) who had fallen on misfortune. Forced transportation, thus, was not necessarily a means for colonial authorities to remove people thought to be ethnically inferior. Rather, these deportations reveal that, by the late eighteenth century, actual class standing no longer depended on race to the same extent it had in the preceding centuries, as Spaniards, creoles, mestizos, mulattos, and Indians could all be found in the lower classes.

### Spanish *ilustrados* and vagrancy

Mexican initiatives against vagrants were shaped by changing attitudes in Spain towards poverty and the administration of justice. On the one hand, under the Bourbon sway, the traditional Catholic view of pauperism, which already had been questioned by reformers since the fifteenth century, finally gave way to a more secular and Enlightenment-based view of treating poverty. A state-organized poor relief system left behind the principle of charity as a religious duty necessary for the salvation of the faithful and focused on transforming the poor into productive members of society (Pike 1983, 49–50). On the other hand, by the second half of the eighteenth century, Spanish reformers were firmly steering away from retributions of merely punitive nature toward a more utilitarian penal system that worked towards providing the empire with cheap soldiers and workers (Pike 1983, 135–140; Pérez Estévez 1976, 341). To a degree, this evolution was a reflection of the new legal theories of Cesare Beccaria, John Howard, and Jeremy Bentham who ushered in the development of utilitarian and humanitarian thought in penal justice.<sup>2</sup> Nonetheless, it seems clear that projects undertaken by the Spanish state in the public sphere after 1750—military fortifications, roads, canals, and municipal improvements—heightened the demand for unskilled workers and provided both a justification and a stimulus for the more modest usage of corporal punishment and death penalty and the greater reliance on penal servitude, especially after the abolition of the galleys in 1748 (Pike 1983, 60–64, 70, 152–154).

New attitudes on the part of government officials were supported as well by the enlightened rationalism of Spanish politicians and economists and their deep awareness of the economic difficulties that the empire faced in the 1700s. Idleness as a moral category became the spotlight of intellectuals like Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes, Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, Bernardo Ward, and Juan Sempere y Guarinos, who saw it as the source of all moral depravity and estimated the vagrants' economic barrenness as a considerable strain on local communities and the empire as a whole (Campomanes 1774; Jovellanos 1831; Ward 1787; Sempere y Guarinos 1801). These *ilustrados* assumed that every subject had the obligation to contribute to the prosperity of the society and the state. The state, as the guardian of public good, had both the responsibility and the right to direct the population into useful employment. In the

reformers' plan to modernize Spain, vagrants occupied the role of a potential workforce in need of discipline and monitoring.

To the minds of Spanish politicians, the legal distinction between the employable false beggar and the true local pauper was of crucial importance in order to determine who deserved the time and resources of the state and who should serve in the army or perform hard labor in fortifications, textile mills, bakeries, or government-sponsored public works.<sup>3</sup> The deserving poor were confined in poorhouses to learn the skills, work ethic, and Christian doctrine that a paternal state deemed were necessary for them to become productive and responsible members of society. Special attention was given to false beggars, who were blamed for their own destitution, and the legal definition of vagrant evolved constantly in the hands of eighteenth-century Spanish legislators. The 1745, 1751, 1759 and 1765 royal instructions broadened the category of vagrant with a vast and highly colorful array of characters from all social strata, some of them with licit professions, and established the execution of levies for specific state reasons (Pérez Estévez 1976, 65–76; Ramos Vázquez 2009, 55–64). The decree published May 7, 1775, crowned these efforts and revealed that the stance on poverty had converged with utilitarian and manpower requirements by establishing that the collection of vagrants for military service was to be executed with annual frequency in provincial capitals and other populous towns.<sup>4</sup>

### Colonial concerns: Mexican elites and the plebe

While the Bourbon mentality that redesigned social welfare in Spain inspired Mexican intellectuals and officials when designing and executing anti-vagrancy policies, social reforms in New Spain were not a direct copy of, or a reaction to, royal statutes applied in Spain. The implementation of vagrancy and poverty policies, including the banishing of vagrants overseas, took a character of its own, marked by a panoply of ideological, economic, and geopolitical factors that were rooted in the colonial context.

The struggle against vagrancy in the viceroyalty was related to a broader program of urban social reform that intended to control delinquent activity and, in enlightened terminology, civilize unruly popular classes. The period from 1785 to 1810 is commonly considered the apotheosis of the Enlightenment and “the breakdown of customs” in New Spain (Viqueira Albán 1999, 151). Elite sectors aspired to establish a new social order, and these efforts materialized in a larger police force and criminal court system as a means to preserve royal authority and rein in an increasingly multiracial populace. In 1782 Mexico City was divided into eight principal districts subdivided into thirty-two smaller units patrolled by neighborhood police (*alcaldes de barrio*). Scardaville (1994, 5) has estimated that the tribunals in Mexico City processed about 10,000 cases annually during the 1780s and 1790s. At least three quarters of these cases involved lower and marginally middle-class people such as artisans, laborers, small farmers, service-sector workers, and individuals of limited occupational skills (MacLachlan 1975, 45; Haslip Viera 1999, 59–61). To further educate the lower classes and instill a greater sense of hygiene and sanitation, various ordinances obligated residents to keep streets clean from dirt and human and animal bodily waste. Reformers also pursued the restructure of popular culture, with a stricter regulation of public diversions and popular religiosity (Mehl 2016, 129–131; Voekel 1992, 199–200; Viqueira Albán 1999, 97–102).

Enlightened principles of order, economic rationality, and productivity inspired legislators not only in Spain and colonial Mexico but also in the Philippines, where widespread anxiety existed about the abundance of vagrants and high levels of drinking, gambling, and rural and urban delinquency (Mehl 2016, 239–242, 252–256). To be sure, however, apprehensions of the ruling sectors about the populace do not necessarily illustrate more than just the mentality of

those who uttered them. Likewise, the issuance of laws that aspired to impose order, along with an increase in the total number of arrests, does not mean that there actually was social chaos and rampant criminality in the streets of Mexico City or Manila, but it does speak to the uneasiness of some Mexican and Philippine sectors towards fellow colonials.

The ideas of Spanish *ilustrados* partially nurtured this anxiety not only in Mexico City but also in more distant scenarios. Spanish-speaking scholars have shown that in late colonial times aimless, unemployed male youths had become problematic. In the judicial and administrative documentation, work was represented as a moralizing tool that brought dignity in addition to wealth, from which it followed that the idle were considered non-virtuous, even criminal, because their indolence jeopardized the subsistence of society as a whole. Magallanes (2008, 104–127) argues that, when the new fiscal and administrative provincial units (*intendencias*) were created in 1786, local authorities in Zacatecas carried out schemes proposed by Jovellanos and Campomanes to foster rural economy, textile manufactures, mining, and commerce in order to provide subsistence for the poor and build the ideal of hard-working people. For Guatemala, Sagastume (2001) tells us that Spanish intellectuals' ideas were instrumental in the movement against guilds and the efforts to improve workers' habits through regulation and education. In the captaincy-general of Chile, Araya (1999, 12) relies on edicts and magistrates' statements to assert that the vagabond came to be seen as a threat to an economic structure in which productivity was associated with spatial stability and little mobility.

Besides the influence of Spanish *ilustrados*, the elites' worries about the actions and values of the lower classes in colonial Mexico were anchored in local parameters, such as the sheer numbers, conspicuousness, and diversity of the colonial poor. In Mexico City, political, intellectual, and ecclesiastical observers agreed that the poor constituted the majority of the population. Manuel Abad y Queipo (1751–1825), peninsular bishop-elect in Michoacán, depicted the Mexican vice-royalty in 1813 as a land of stark and profound inequality where “everyone is either rich or poverty-stricken, noble or infamous” and described rural masses as poor, ignorant and abject (Chowning 1999, 51). In addition, the proliferation of culturally and biologically mixed groups was perceived as disturbing because individuals could no longer be neatly compartmentalized in ethnic categories (Viqueira Albán 1999, 7–8).

In large urban centers like Mexico City, vagrancy had become a very visible problem linked to drunkenness, gambling, and rural migration. In very scathing terms, political essayist and former bureaucrat Hipólito Villarreal referred to vagabonds in 1785 as virtually overrunning the capital: “[Mexico City] is an impenetrable forest filled with brushwood and cliffs that is uninhabitable for educated people; it is full of hideouts and lairs; ... a depository of an untamed, daring, insolent, shameless, and lazy multitude who fill with horror the rest of the inhabitants” (Hipólito Villarreal 1785–87 [1994], 186; [la Ciudad de México] es un bosque impenetrable lleno de malezas y precipicios que se hace inhabitable a la gente culta; lleno todo de escondites y de agujeros, ... depósito de un vulgo indómito, atrevido, insolente, desvergonzado y vago, que llena de horror al resto de los habitantes). Around the same time, the *oidor* of the *Real Audiencia* (judge of the royal high court of appeal) Baltasar Ladrón de Guevara expressed his contempt about the physical and moral environment in which vagrants and beggars in Mexico City lived (1982, 77). Most famously, the Prussian scientist Alexander von Humboldt (1966 [1822], 113) noted in 1803 that the capital was beset by mendicity, with 20,000–30,000 vagrants residing in it. Most observers expressed their concerns about immigrants as well (Sacristán 1994) and, in fact, almost half of the individuals shipped to the Philippines were born and raised in the provinces and had only recently moved to Mexico City, sometimes only months, even days, before their arrest.

Ecclesiastical authorities in New Spain afforded great consideration to the deserving poor. The Spanish Archbishop Francisco de Lorenzana provided one of earliest and most cogent

justifications for the forced institutionalization of beggars. The ecclesiastic, who was the central figure in the foundation of the Poor House in Mexico City, developed his ideas while serving in New Spain from 1766 to 1771. Lorenzana attributed the daily plague of “sin, vice, and crime” to urban migration and lamented the economic damage caused by vagrancy in a country with vast natural resources. Although the Poor House was born out of the desire to imitate the metropole, Arrom (2000, 17–20) sees the establishment and development of this institution not as cultural dependency but as an experiment to which the viceroyalty contributed substantially. Other urban poorhouses in the colonies were also projects initiated not by officials in Madrid but by local elites (Premo 2005, 152–153).

While it was in the Spanish American elites’ benefit to conjure up a large, dangerous and defiant populace that lived in treacherous conditions as a justification for new mechanisms of social control, socio-economic developments in Mexico City and its surrounding areas suggest that the dire straits of the lower classes were quite real. Bourbon economic reforms increased mining production and trade activity, while the imposition of new taxes and a more efficient revenue collection produced higher royal revenues. But population growth in the central and western highlands, stagnated productivity, and epidemics produced periodic subsistence crises in the 1770s and early 1780s, taxing a social structure with a very large lower class already on the verge of poverty. Other aggravating factors were the expansion of the hacienda system with a shift from tenant production to commercial cropping (Tutino 2011, 301, 336–341, 455; Florescano 1986, 47). Many farmers were forced off their properties because they had too little or too poor land to sustain them. Agricultural day laborers who had been denied employment in the large estates when crops failed or who worked in haciendas during planting and harvest season and came to the city the other months of the year were also driven out of the countryside (Haslip Viera 1999, 27).

The incoming human flow expanded the growing urban underclass, exercising important pressures on the city residents. In the years 1784–1787 alone, 40,000 rural immigrants arrived in the capital. Here, these immigrants met a populace already buffeted by inflation, shrinking wages and underemployment where job opportunities and social mobility were limited (Warren 2001, 9; Arrom 2000, 6–7). Progressive pauperization had reached the artisan class, partially due to Bourbon reforms that cut down the monopoly and privileges of the urban guilds on the grounds that they were a hindrance to economic development (González Angulo Aguirre 1983, 244). Despite the dynamic results of some of the Bourbon reforms, urban infrastructures could not absorb so many displaced individuals because the traditional colonial economy had not been dismantled (Van Young 1992, 51–124; Knight 2002, 206–60). In times of agrarian disaster and higher unemployment, disease, vagrancy, and criminal activity typically ensued, especially in the cities. The development of disease, vagrancy, and criminal activity further explains the new institutions and criminal legislation that were created to control the populace in New Spain and the new impulse that authorities gave to the battle against vagrancy in the early 1780s.

## **Forced deportations to the Philippines**

The social and economic concerns specific to the Mexican colonial context analyzed thus far partly explain the different manner in which reformist initiatives coming from the metropole were enacted in New Spain. But geopolitical factors related to military and imperial objectives in the Philippines also determined that some social groups in New Spain became easy prey of newly expanded judiciary and law-enforcement agencies. The important role that the Philippines had acquired in the Spanish imperial scheme at the end of the eighteenth century

sheds additional light on the reasons that were behind the banishment of vagrants overseas, a circumstance that the 1775 decree published in Madrid did not contemplate.

New Spain sustained a distinctive, centuries-long connection with the archipelago since the Captaincy general of the Philippines became an administrative division of the viceroyalty in 1584. Overall, the Philippine islands were far from being a colony of Spain and were more like an extension of New Spain. With an economic system that revolved around the annual galleon trade between Manila and Acapulco, colonial authorities never exercised full administrative and military control beyond Manila and its environs. At the same time, the concentration of Muslim influence in the south created an enduring division within the Philippine territory. Because the remote colony remained dependent on Mexican soldiers, missionaries, and financial resources, the capture of Manila by the British in 1762 created a new sense of urgency in the western Pacific flank. Requests from the Philippines to Mexico City to send manpower in a more reliable and consistent manner after the Seven Years' War drove anti-vagrancy policies in New Spain along a more radical path than that followed by Spain and other Spanish American colonies.

Recruiting Mexican volunteers to regiments in the Philippines had always been a difficult challenge. In the late fall of 1781, Viceroy Martín de Mayorga (1779–83) ordered an investigation of the flagrant irregularities detected in the *casas de bandera* (recruiting centers) of Mexico City and the nearby town of Puebla.<sup>5</sup> In these institutions, recruitment was less a voluntary option than a forced solution to increasing personal debts. As it was discovered, the recruiting officials intentionally led the luckless recruits into a whirl of debt. After the news reached His Majesty's ears, on August 12, 1782, King Charles III abolished both *casas de bandera*. The termination of these institutions impelled Mexican authorities to find another method to produce the manpower that Manila required. Viceroy Matías de Gálvez finally approved the conscription of vagrants on November 2, 1783. The viceregal office also endorsed the idea that the levies be executed according to the directives contained in the royal decree published in Madrid in 1775.<sup>6</sup> This supports the idea that enlightened notions penetrated Spanish America not just via books but also in the form of royal edicts.

Nonetheless, authorities in Mexico City carried out the 1775 instruction differently from their counterparts on the Iberian Peninsula, which proves that local agendas in the Spanish American colonies ultimately conditioned the fulfillment of metropolitan policies. The adoption of the system of levies introduced two important innovations to the strategy deployed thus far in the Mexican domain. On the one hand, the execution of more systematic, nearly annual campaigns broke with the previous practice of sporadic levies for specific purposes that had mostly depended on the viceroys' zeal to address the consequences of poverty. On the other hand, weighty imperial considerations informed the new policy, with the consolidation of Manila as the military settlement to which a good portion of the young males collected were sentenced.

That colonial society was hostile to vagrancy campaigns is not a foregone conclusion. In vagrancy trials, family members, friends, neighbors, and employers testified against their peers, which is significant since they could not ignore that deportation to Manila was a real possibility (Mehl 2016, 188–90). Far more interesting, a few parents, abused wives, and other relatives willingly reported to the magistrates on the behavior of their kin and requested that they be conscripted for the Philippines (Mehl 2016, 200–206). In the incriminatory reports, the criteria by which Mexicans qualified community members and kindred show that authorities and colonial subjects alike gave great importance to industriousness and employment while they loathed professional instability, indolence, improper relationships with women, and alcohol and gambling addictions. Progenitors especially detested behaviors that damaged the family honor such as debts, stealing, public indecency, and marrying downwards. Trial testimonies and petitions for

deportation are evidence that forceful exile to the Philippines met popular expectations about how certain behaviors should be punished.

The study of forced deportations adds several layers of intricacy to the analysis of the Spanish American Enlightenment. Ideas that underpinned reformist policies designed to tame vagrancy and other disturbing behaviors in New Spain, far from being a direct imitation of European thought, were interpreted and implemented by both the local government and ordinary colonials. Ironically, a repression tool intended to victimize popular classes opened a venue for some Mexico City residents to take care of a variety of personal business concerns and retain, or regain, control of their lives. Perceptions of social problems, including concern over an increasing crime rate and the enforcement of a stricter work ethic, germinated within different social classes not necessarily in a top-down manner. Vagrancy cases in general, and unprompted denunciations in particular, reveal that in the endeavor of colonial authorities to control popular groups, arbitrariness, oppression, and fear were not the only or the principal means employed. As scholars have discovered in other colonial scenarios, Bourbon reformers depended on negotiation and local initiatives as much as they did on coercion and an overarching philosophy.<sup>7</sup>

### **Post-independence Mexico: Enlightenment (and vagrancy) continued**

Anti-vagrancy legislation did not solve the problem of idleness and its social and economic repercussions. Peninsular and Mexican authorities, secular and religious intellectuals, and elite and plebeian colonials blamed the behavior of the urban poor not on the political, social, and economic circumstances but on the moral deviation of the individual. Authorities and those petitioning for deportation hoped that a four- to eight-year term of military service or forced labor in the harsh, remote, and alien environment of the Philippines would teach these young men discipline, obedience, and respect for their elders. But exile could neither effectively address the roots of Mexican youth's unruly comportment nor easily foster positive transformations: if vices were inherent to the individual, how could such a disciplining experience ever redeem these men?

As it turned out, it did not in the majority of cases. According to Philippine authorities, the men conscripted in New Spain were constantly sick, they deserted often, they were inclined to vices, and they undermined the submission of native Filipinos. The fact that there is only a trickle of documents that provides information on the recruits and convicts who made it back to New Spain suggests that most of them stayed in the Philippines after serving their time. Those who are known to have returned did it branded as *inútiles* (useless) before their military service or prison term was over. In New Spain, many continued to live in miserable conditions that closely resembled those for which they had been apprehended years before (Mehl 2016, 257).

Vagrancy correction became a basic premise of the Mexican republic in the nineteenth century. Economic depression, social and political instability, and the need to recruit soldiers characterized post-independence Mexican life. In 1842, at least one-fifth of Mexico city's population lived in abject poverty and only one-half had access to stable employment (Warren 2001, 11). Contemporary writers deplored the mighty number of idle men roaming the streets (Sacristán 1994, 234). The members of the urban underclass were now vilified as *léperos* (literally, "lepers"), described in the press and by both Mexicans and foreigners in their memoirs as recalcitrant rogues who refused to work and led a life of moral turpitude (Arrom 2000, 23, 34).

Persecution of the urban poor intensified despite the republican embrace of democracy. The 1845 law extended the list of immoral behaviors, narrowing even more the line between the noble worker and the accused vagrant (Teitelbaum 2001, 121). This law also included for the first time some true beggars among those classified as vagrants. The municipal police and court

systems were enlarged and reorganized, while new laws sentenced beggars' children to be placed as apprentices or servants and imposed fines on those who gave alms to beggars or sheltered vagrants (Arrom 2000, 27–30). Republican legislation targeted taverns, gambling dens, and other public places, an indication that entertainment was still considered a bridge to criminality. At the national level, Congress ordered in 1828 the creation of special vagrancy courts in each major city with the sole purpose of prosecuting vagrancy cases.

Utilitarian motivations, moral concerns, economic considerations, and military needs reigned supreme in the Mexican state approach to vagrancy. The enlightened discourse on the substantive function of work in society carried over into republican laws that aimed at raising economic production and improving workers' habits, attire, and hygiene (Sagastume 2001). Colonial and republican regimes shared the optimistic view that it was possible to eradicate mendicity and impose labor and civic discipline on the paupers of Mexico City. Moreover, common citizens agreed on the capability of the law to correct vicious and harmful habits, as parents and wives continued to resort to vagrancy courts to teach lessons to disobedient progeny and abusive spouses (Teitelbaum 2001, 143–47). Need for manpower to reinforce protection on the U.S.–Mexican border also drove these policies, with many vagrants being sentenced to the military or the navy (Arrom 2000, 35).

In the post-independence era, to be employed and educated acquired great political significance. Mexicans were now an important part in the construction of the nation and hence, expected to have a certain moral stature. Contemporary accounts refer that the electorate included thousands of Mexico City's poor in the early 1800s and data, albeit limited, suggest that urban masses actively participated in the electoral process (Warren 2001, 15). Voting laws established that to be credited as citizens males needed to be neighbors of the locality and have an honest way of living. However, dominant sectors were convinced that the lower classes were not yet sufficiently civilized to take on a responsible civic role. In this context, vagrancy courts were tasked with discerning impoverished artisans from the immoral false beggars. The Mexico City vagrancy court, however, held a conviction rate of only about 10%, with more than 75% of the people arrested between 1828 and 1850 claiming to have been trained as artisans (Warren 2001, 12).

That colonial legislation against vagrants survived the turmoil of the wars of independence and political changes confirms that the Enlightenment was not necessarily related to revolutionary transformations, and that Independence did not constitute a break from the past as abrupt and decisive as it is often assumed. Political leaders developed reformist initiatives that constituted a complex re-synthesis of the old and the new. The persistence of attitudes, aims, and methods in the struggle against vagrancy of republican regimes also suggests that concerns about poverty and delinquency were neither external to Mexico nor a reaction to foreign inspiration but homegrown instead. Finally, neither Bourbon initiatives nor republican measures seemed to adequately address the roots of the problem, instead overlooking the social and economic structural obstacles faced by the poor. The vagrancy court in Mexico City stopped working in 1868, and in 1871 a new penal code decriminalized begging, terminated the compulsory confinement of those who solicited alms, and reduced the categories of vagrants. Vagrancy and poverty, though, lived on as unresolved afflictions of Mexican society.

## Conclusion

The crusade that Mexico City unleashed against economically detrimental habits and the effects of destitution was not an imposition from the Iberian Peninsula, and it was not a passive response to Manila's predicament either. The 1783 resolution to look for candidates for deportation among the urban destitute was a reaction to the social and economic realities of the region as much as

it was a child of the European Enlightenment. Elite distress about poverty and vagrancy shaped a moralizing, European-born discourse where the state assumed the duty to instill discipline, work ethic, and a sense of civic responsibility. From this perspective, anti-vagrancy raids were an instrument to rule and civilize a populace whose lifestyle, habits, and values were looked upon with disdain. A gaze at the Western Pacific allows for a better grasp of the extent of the socio-economic wretchedness of central Mexico, where the determination to alleviate social strains went so far as to consider deportations to an archipelago that was almost twice as far from the viceroyalty than Spain, a desirable option. In other words, Mexican reformers thought so broadly about the problem of civilizing the populace as to make the remote Philippines part of the solution.

Just as the Enlightenment in Spain developed along its own unique lines in Europe, the movement also acquired distinctive characteristics in the Spanish American colonies. And yet, initiatives against vagrancy and poverty in New Spain and the Philippines unequivocally indicate that political and social thought in Europe and the Spanish empire were part of a more global ideological trend towards a more utilitarian and rational conception of punishment and a secular understanding of poverty. Rather than ascribing an exceptional character to a northern European collection of principles that have come to be known as Enlightenment, we might be better served by thinking that the Enlightenment constituted a set of ideas flexible enough to easily generate a multiplicity of local variants.

## Notes

- 1 Some of the research presented here was first discussed in *Forced Migration in the Spanish Pacific* published by Cambridge University Press in 2016, in which I study the transportation of recruits and convicts from Spain and Mexico to the Philippines to illustrate that trans-Pacific connections between New Spain and the archipelago were of greater historical importance than an Atlantic-centered perspective of the Spanish empire would allow us to think.
- 2 For more on these theories, see Crimmins (2011, 136–171). Scholars continue to debate the impact of these theories in the Spanish legal culture (Agüero and Lorente, 2012).
- 3 For an ample discussion of the classification of vagrants and differentiations between true and fake beggars in Spain, see Pérez Estévez 1976, 55–64.
- 4 Ordenanza de S.M. en que se previene y establece el recogimiento de vagos y malentretidos por medio de levas. Madrid, 1775. Biblioteca Valenciana Nicolau Primitiu, XVIII/494 (23).
- 5 AGI Filipinas 929 exp. 23, f. 533–539 (1782) and 540–543 (1781).
- 6 AGN Indiferente Virreinal: Ordenanzas 2356 exp. 10 (1775).
- 7 This is especially true in the peripheral areas of the Spanish empire. For example, David Weber (2005) has explored the responses of unconquered Indians to new, Enlightenment-inspired political and moral judgements of inferiority, superiority, and human behavior.

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## Part IV

# Control and subversion

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## “Relentless war”

### Theater and censorship in eighteenth-century Spain

David T. Gies

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One of the most popular plays in the Spanish theater canon tells the simple tale of an elderly man who is betrothed to an innocent young girl. The girl’s mother supports the marriage because the man is wealthy and respectable; the girl herself has other ideas (and a boyfriend) but claims she will obey her mother’s wishes. Although the proposed groom can legally proceed with the marriage, in a shining example of Enlightenment reason he concludes that the girl’s well-being somehow parallels the well-being of society as a whole, and, once he realizes what the girl actually wants, he grants the young couple his blessing. It probably does not hurt that the boyfriend also turns out to be the old man’s nephew. Peace reigns, conflict is avoided, and harmony is restored. The play is, of course, Leandro Fernández de Moratín’s classic *El sí de las niñas* (1806; *The Maidens’ Consent*).<sup>1</sup>

*El sí* seems to be such an innocuous and level-headed play, written deftly in accordance with the Neoclassical “rules” of art (three unities, maintenance of decorum, limited number of characters, morality tale, didactic intent, clarity of prose) that it surprises students—and some scholars—to learn (or remember) that it was actually censored at the beginning of the century and that “offending” parts were removed before it could exercise a corrupting influence on the theater-going public (Dowling 1968; Andioc 2005a).

*El sí* was hardly an anomaly. Moratín’s experience with the censors merely capped a long chronicle of struggle that theater people suffered, even during Spain’s “enlightened” century. From the beginning of performance history in the late middle ages, once theater moved out of its exclusively sacred space (biblical performances and pagentry in churches), it provoked resistance. Often accused of immorality, impropriety or political subversion (of which, confessedly, it was often guilty), theater—whether printed, performed on the street or in what were then called *coliseos* (coliseums)—has been a site of controversy and resistance for centuries. As the Bourbon Dynasty wrested control of Spain away from the more conservative Habsburg family at the beginning of the eighteenth century (the War of the Spanish Succession), political and ecclesiastical leaders grappled with ways to control and direct theatrical productions, whether they were indigenous to Spain or imported from neighboring Italy and France.

The theater in the eighteenth century was often considered to be a dangerous and corrupting enterprise. To believe what was written against playwrights, playwriting, and the theater in Spain is to believe that theater performances were the immediate cause of disease, plagues, natural

disasters, social scandals, the decline of morals, the dissolution of family values, and the potential collapse of Western civilization. Preachers and other opponents spoke and wrote hysterically about the “dishonest,” “obscene” and “pernicious” plays that were undermining the stability of Spanish society. Their protests did not go unheeded.

“Decency and Christian modesty” were to be protected, according to a Royal Decree of 1725 in which King Felipe V mandated that “plays be first seen, read, examined, and approved” (Roldán Pérez 1998, 123; *las comedias sean primero vistas, leídas, examinadas y aprobadas*) in order to avoid any issues “contrary” to these values. This, however, was civil censorship; the Inquisition itself, according to Antonio Roldán Pérez, never concerned itself with pre-publication censorship of plays, although it remained fiercely vigilant of performances themselves and it played a major role in the general banning of published books (Pérez Roldán 1998, 126; see also Defourneaux 1973). Sixty-three years later, a Royal Decree of 17 March 1788 issued by King Carlos III claimed that theater performances were nothing less than “contrary not only to the most trivial and least narrow rules of theater, but also to religion, reason, customs, and decency...” (cited in Palacios Fernández 1994, 1180; *contrarias no solo a las reglas más triviales y menos estrechas del teatro, sino también a la religión, a la razón, a las costumbres y a la decencia...*). A case in point was a *tonadilla* (a short, satirical musical comedy) by Blas de Laserna entitled *El héroe del Barquillo* (*The Hero of Barquillo*) which contained, to the censor Santos Díez González’s horror in 1792, vulgar and ruinous habits such as “robberies, beatings, stabbings, drunkenness, indecent dances, little or no fear of authority, and incitements to uprisings or riots” (Palacios Fernández 1983, 220; *robos, palos, puñaladas, borracheras, bailes indecentes, poco o ningún temor a la justicia, y prontas disposiciones para motines y alborotos*). With Spain still in a relative panic over the cataclysmic events occurring north of the Pyrenees in 1792, Díez’s overreaction was justified, at least in his own mind.

Little had changed, or rather, the perception of theater’s potential for social disruption had not changed. Theater in eighteenth-century Spain was taken seriously by what we now call the Establishment (which included the government, the Catholic Church, and the aristocracy), and attempts to control it, modify it, police it, censor it, or ban it mark the history of what Domínguez Ortiz has called “the battle over the theater” (*la batalla del teatro*) in eighteenth-century Spain. It was not an insignificant enterprise—dozens of theaters in the capital and provincial capitals staged hundreds of plays, while thousands were printed and distributed (one estimate suggests that in Seville alone nearly 1500 plays were printed during the eighteenth century; Cruickshank 1999, 27).

This chapter will look at the long struggle for legitimacy that actors, playwrights, company directors and other “show biz folks” (*gente de la farándula*) experienced from the very beginning of the century as they attempted to bring their art and skills to public attention. Resisted, censored, and frequently banned by local, national, and ecclesiastical authorities, Spanish theater fought both to reflect Spanish “reality” and to provoke new ways of thinking in a country still unsure of its “enlightened” mission.

While ritual denunciations of the evils of the theater constituted a staple in the oratory of village preachers, priests, bishops, archbishops and government officials throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Cotarelo publishes several dozen legislative edits from 1534 through 1698), it is during the Spanish eighteenth century that the conversation became even more heated, often bitter, and frequently successful (in Cotarelo’s rendering, more than sixty-three publications concerning the theater appeared between 1705 and 1807). While perhaps exaggerating in his statement that “[i]n the eighteenth century, Spanish theater declined completely” (1997, 28), Cotarelo nevertheless points to “this relentless war that was waged in the name of morals, in the pulpit, in the confessional, in social gatherings, in books, pamphlets, city hall

agreements, episcopal strictures and tricks of all kinds, employed by the powerful in order to keep the theaters almost always closed” (28). Those in power sought to defend themselves against real or imagined enemies, and censorship was a useful—even essential—weapon in that fight (Roldán Pérez 1998, 119).

Opponents of the theater based their positions on various and numerous grounds: resistance could be political, religious, administrative, economic, moral, aesthetic, or merely whimsical. Such whimsy might be exemplified by the custom that allowed actors to refuse to accept a role in a work proposed by the director, thereby in essence banning that work from the repertory, even if the reason was merely (for example) that an actress “of a certain age” wanted only to play younger parts. Critique (and prohibition) came at times before a play was performed, and at other times after it had been seen in a public theater. The hurdles to bring a play from “page to stage” (as Cruickshank puts it) were frequent and onerous. By the end of the century, the civil authorities had added such categories as “useless books” and “impertinent things” to their list of banned items (Royal Order of 17 June 1797; Roldán Pérez 1998, 120. For more detailed information, see Defourneaux 1973 and López-Vidriero 1996). Jesús Rubio Jiménez writes of “the many censoring processes to which a dramatic text is subjected prior to arriving on stage. [...] Once the text has been converted into spectacle yet another strand of censorship begins” (2013, 60). At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the dramatist Manuel Bretón de los Herreros wrote indignantly of the thirty-two “Custom Houses” through which plays had to pass in order to be approved for performance (1965, 418; *Línea de aduanas para géneros dramáticos*). Hence, this tale becomes one not of “censorship” but rather of “censorships.”

Who were the censors and which groups and individuals involved themselves in the censorship of plays? Clearly, no one, centralized entity was charged with the task of watching over the theater. Censorship could be civil or ecclesiastical, formal or informal, scattered or focused, written or verbal. Protests came from archbishops and priests, the king and the Inquisition, individuals and corporations. Watching over Catholic orthodoxy, intrinsic merit, scientific correctness, aesthetic value, public morals, or social standards was a job larger than any one individual or group. Censors were often “competent people” such as philosophers, historians, teachers, poets, or dramatists themselves (Serrano y Sanz 1906, 31), and were drawn not only from religious communities but also from learned groups at universities, schools, the Royal Academy of the Language, or the Royal Academy of History. In fact, much of their censorship attempted to be positive, by permitting works that “contributed to the creation of a more intelligent, more useful, and more sociable citizen” (López-Vidriero 1996, 867) rather than by issuing outright prohibitions.

Since the early seventeenth century, government regulations ordained that plays be turned over to authorities at least two days prior to a staged performance (*Ordenanzas* from 1608, 1615, and 1641, for example, according to Antonio Rumeu de Armas 1940, 96). For most of the eighteenth century, prior censorship remained the rule, as men (only and always men) such as Juan Manuel Isla, the Count of Gondomar, the Marquis of Andía, Pascual Villacampa, and Fernando Francisco Quiñones were tasked with the job (Rumeu de Armas 1940, 97). That is, dramatists or dramatic companies were obligated to turn a copy of the proposed play over to the administrator of the theaters (in Madrid, this individual was known as the *Juez Protector de los Teatros*) for the “examination, censure, approval or rejection of all plays submitted to him” (Kany 1943, 382). This law, however, was usually disregarded. As Kany reports,

An author generally submitted and read his work to the assembled company which he thought might perform it. The actors then decided by vote whether they favored the play or not. If they did, they immediately proceeded to distribute the various roles, ordered

the scenery, and began studying their parts. And finally, just before the performance, they were wont to send the play to *juez protector* for his approval, which they should legally have obtained prior to any other proceeding.

(1943, 383)

Country preachers positioned themselves in the vanguard of opposition to the theater, although as the century progressed other, more deeply educated and literate men took up the cudgel against theater as well, if for different reasons. Priests could denounce plays, demand the closing of theaters, and even, as in one case in the 1740s, deny marriage between Cristóbal Garrigó and Antonia López Antolínez, accusing them of being ... actors (Rubio Jiménez 2013, 63)! The critics railed not only against content, language, and performances in individual plays, but also against entire genres such as the *auto sacramental* (Eucharistic plays), the *género chico* and the *sainete* (short popular skits), the *tonadilla* (skits with music), *comedias de santos* (plays about saints' miracles) and *comedias de magia* (magical comedies). In fact, according to the erudite Bernardo de Iriarte, by 1767 the performance of plays had become "mere pretexts for [the performance of] *sainetes* and *tonadillas*" (Palacios Fernández 1983, 218).

Once the Neoclassical reformers began to make their ideas known by mid-century, the push intensified and resulted in the famous ban of the *autos sacramentales* on 11 June 1765, "because theaters are improper places and the actors undignified and inappropriate instruments to act out the Sacred mysteries that such plays are about" (cited by Cotarelo 1997, 657; *por ser los teatros lugares muy impropios y los comediantes instrumentos indignos y desproporcionados para representar los Sagrados misterios de que tratan*). By 1769 a series of issues had come together (the censor Juan de Curiel, named in 1752, retired and was replaced by a more forward-thinking individual named Miguel María de Nava) to allow the reformers to think that something might be done (Deacon 1970). Thinkers connected the theater with concepts such as utility, public happiness, social well-being, and education. A plan was devised to capitalize on this growing sentiment, but the Reform of 1770 was never put in place (Velasco), even though, perhaps ironically, the concept of prior censorship was never questioned. Prior censorship in fact was seen as having a stabilizing effect on "values and things of higher order" (Velasco 2003, 134). Not until the *Cortes de Cádiz* (constitutional congress) declared prior censorship to be "contrary to the advancement of enlightenment" and freedom of the press to be the "only sure way to know public opinion" did such controls disappear (Velasco 2003, 134).

The public also tended to fuse (or confuse) the *comedias de santos* with the *comedias de magia*, both of which genres were replete with "miraculous" and supernatural events. In these plays, even when the Devil gets his due, he had become somewhat more domesticated, more jokey and less threatening. Such plays, it was stated, "devalued the religious meaning of the saints' comedy" (Palacios Fernández 1994, 1186) and fed into the ignorant masses' tendency to believe in superstitions. When the prohibition of the *autos sacramentales* was reinforced some thirty-three years later, on 17 March 1788, the decree also added, for good measure, a total ban on "magical and similarly absurd comedies" (Cotarelo 1997, 682). Nobody paid attention to the ban.

None of this should have surprised the critics. After all, people went to the theater to be entertained, not instructed, uplifted, or harangued with moral lessons. This enraged the Neoclassicists, of course, who believed that theater's primary *raison d'être* was precisely to instruct and inspire. They considered theater to be a "school" or "pulpit" that should model good behavior and provide pathways to a better life which would uplift not only the individual, but ultimately society as a whole. In his famous *Memoria sobre el arreglo de los espectáculos y diversiones públicas* (1790; *Memorial on the Regulation of Shows and Public Diversions*), Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos confirmed that "[t]he government should not think of theater merely as a public

diversion but rather as a spectacle capable of instructing or surprising the spirit, and perfecting or corrupting the heart of citizens” (1997, 198; El gobierno no debe considerar el teatro solamente como una diversión pública, sino como un espectáculo capaz de instruir o extrañar el espíritu, y de perfeccionar o corromper el corazón de los ciudadanos). Such “education” would serve not only to shape public taste (Andioc 2005c, 591) but also to domesticate a population that government officials had come to fear (Rubio Jiménez 2013, 62). Similar ideas had been expressed throughout the century, even by more moderate priests such as the Descalced Carmelite Fray Antonio de San Joaquín, who in 1733 allowed—contrary to the views expressed by many of his peers—that not all theater was “pernicious”: “We do not mean to say that all comedies are pernicious. There might be many that are useful to the good of the republic [...] The theater is no less fitting than the pulpit to move people toward virtue” (Cotarelo 1997, 536; No queremos decirte que absolutamente son las comedias perniciosas. Puede haber muchas utilísimas al bien de la república. [...] No fuera el teatro menos a propósito que el púlpito para inclinar a la virtud). Shortly thereafter, Fray Diego de Santa Ana, a Descalced Carmelite from Cádiz, confirmed the by-now standard belief that theater was a “school” (escuela) in which bad “lessons” (lecciones) were learned. He posed this rhetorical question: “Isn’t the comedia a professorship, where doctrine tends by its very nature to corrupt Christian practices?” (Cotarelo 1997, 539; ¿No es la comedia una cátedra, donde la doctrina que se lee tira por su naturaleza a corromper las costumbres cristianas?). Similarly, the actors themselves recognized this wide-spread belief that theaters were “public schools for all or almost all vices” (escuelas públicas de todos o casi todos los vicios), although they cast it off as “excessive exaggeration” (*Memorial* 1742, cited in Cotarelo 1997, 454; exageración desmedida). José Clavijo y Fajardo, in his famous publication *Pensamiento* LXV, wrote clearly that the theater needed to be “corrected” and made to be “a school of good habits” (1763, 268; escuela de buenas costumbres).

One of the most articulate proponents of Neoclassic theater reform, Nicolás Fernández de Moratín, complained in his first *Desengaño al teatro español* (1762–1763; *Corrections to Spanish Drama*) about the “lack of moral instruction” (falta de instrucción moral) and insisting famously that “[a]fter the pulpit, which is the chair of the Holy Spirit, there is no school to teach us more appropriate than the theater” (156; Después del púlpito, que es la cátedra del Espíritu Santo, no hay escuela para enseñarnos más a propósito que el teatro). Enlightened reformers such as the Count of Aranda and Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes thought theater should “instruct” the citizenry in concepts such as “being an upstanding man and leading the virtuous and productive life” (Bittoun and Valldaura 2011, 313; la hombría de bien y la vida virtuosa y hacendosa). Campomanes more explicitly declared comedies, tragedies, and dramas “extremely useful” (utilísimas), since the government, “through the mouth of authors” (por boca de los autores), could influence audiences with “that teaching” (aquella enseñanza; emphasis added) in ways that would otherwise be difficult (Maravall 1991, 388). These ideas, echoed in the Duke of Híjar’s 1788 *Discurso para hacer útiles y buenos los teatros y cómicos en lo moral y en lo político* (*Discourse on How to Make Theaters and Actors Useful and Good Both Morally and Politically*)—where he wrote, “Instruction and enjoyment are two extremes that are both necessary for the constitution of society and the happiness of the state” (cited in Cotarelo 1997, 323; Instruir y deleitar [son] dos extremos sumamente necesarios a la constitución de la sociedad y felicidad del estado)—informed the end-of-century reform movement. The joining together of the concepts “education” and “theater” was a constant in the second half of the century, and it was often thought that formal education could take place in a school or university, while civil education could (or should) take place in the theater. As José Antonio Maravall noted, “Education and the theater, which is one of its mechanisms, constitutes the most efficient instrument for creating the model of society to which Enlightened men aspire” (398). What critics feared from plays was

that young people (in particular) would learn how to deceive a parent, lie to their elders, sneak around in gardens with a lover, or worship false gods. That is, such plays provide frankly bad lessons and bad models for a society struggling to become modern. When Tomás de Iriarte was charged with censoring Pascual Rodríguez de Arellano's *Teatro español conforme a los preceptos más rigurosos del arte dramático* (1789; *Spanish Theater According to the Most Rigorous Precepts of Dramatic Art*), he praised it precisely for banishing "the monstrosities that still discredit our nation's culture in *this important branch of education*" (Serrano y Sanz 1906, 35; *las monstruosidades que todavía desacreditan la cultura de nuestra nación en este importante ramo de instrucción*"; emphasis added). Indeed, the very goal of the theater, in the mind of many late-century reformers, was precisely to provide important lessons to the theatergoing public (Serrano y Sanz 1907, 243), turning it—as Andrés Piquer would write in his *Philosophía moral para la Juventud española* (*Moral Philosophy for Spanish Youth*) in 1755, into "a school where the people can learn all these things [reason, good taste, affect, virtue] with some usefulness" (Cotarelo 508; *una escuela donde puede el pueblo aprender todas estas cosas con alguna utilidad*). Theater was seen, therefore, as a mechanism for change, as an impulse toward "the correction of habits" (García de Villanueva, *Manifiesto*, cited in Cañas 37; *la corrección de las costumbres*).

"Happiness" (as the Duke of Híjar mentioned earlier) also guided the thinking of Enlightenment theater critics. Public spectacles and diversions had the salutary effect of producing "felicidad" among viewers; the corollary, laziness or excessive leisure, could be, as José Antonio de Armona—a royally appointed mayor of Madrid who had the theaters in his large portfolio—expressed it, "the source of all evil" (1987, 60; *la fuente de todos los males*). And along with the concept of "pulpit" or "school," theater was seen (by the influential Armona, at least) as a "barometer that reveals the taste and dominant mood of a country's leaders and government" (1987, 146; *barómetro que señala el gusto o el humor dominante de sus príncipes y su gobierno*). Hence, reform of the theater dominated the thinking of many educated leaders.

Yet the reform movement was hardly a teleological event. That is, it followed no smooth arc from protest and censorship at the beginning of the century to a successful Neoclassical and Enlightened reform and resolution at the end. Quite the contrary. The theater became a battleground on which numerous and varied constituencies fought for supremacy in an ebb and flow—perhaps attack and retreat is a better concept (we are reminded that Cotarelo calls it "this war without mercy or respite" (1997, 28)—that kept the theater on unstable ground for decades. One of the loudest critics was Father Gaspar Díaz, a Jesuit priest from Córdoba who held important posts in various dioceses and archdioceses throughout Andalucía. His 1742 *Consulta theologica acerca de lo ilícito de representar y ver representar las Comedias, como se practican el dia de oy en España* (*Theological Inquiry on the Illicitness of Performing Plays and Watching Them be Performed, as Practiced Today in Spain*) railed against plays that (among other things) "contain an incitement and intense provocation to lust and to other vices" (*contienen un incentivo y provocación vehemente ad libidinem y a otros vicios*)—including such obscene gestures as "hugs and kisses" (cited by Palacios Fernández 1983, 221; *abrazos y ósculos*)—but a kerfuffle with the State book censors (Díaz failed to secure the proper permissions to publish the work) limited its reach. These sorts of beliefs were so widely held that even the *Consejo de Castilla* (Council of Castile) stated in a *Dictamen* (Ruling) the following year that "almost all" (*casi todos*) of the plays were indecent in some way. Such apoplectic views would have theatergoers believing that Spain trafficked wantonly in vanity, haughtiness, lust, laziness, pomp, ambition, clumsiness, obscenity, lasciviousness, and feminization. Indeed, the constant tirades from the pulpit put normal theatergoers in the uncomfortable position of desiring to attend some seemingly harmless entertainments, while at the same time fearing eternal damnation of their souls for doing so. In a missive to King Felipe V in 1708, the Bishop of Cartagena, Luis Belluga,

beseached the monarch to banish plays from the kingdom, since they were the source of so many “offenses against God” (cited in Cotarelo 86; ofensas a Dios). Banishments were (and had been) decreed in such places as Sevilla, Córdoba, Granada, Jaen, Murcia, Cartagena, and Málaga. The rhetoric against theater continued to increase; by 1715 Belluga deemed plays “very gravely sinful” (gravísimamente pecaminosas), a “very pernicious plague on souls and bodies” (perniciósísima peste de las almas y los cuerpos), and a “pestilential vice of lust” (86; pestilencial vicio de la lascivia).

“Pernicious plague [...] pestilential vice”: Medical rhetoric became a distinctive linguistic strategy for those who sought to eliminate theater (that “peste”) from the social body politic. Time and again opponents drew upon metaphors of illness, sickness, and disease in order to describe the evils of the theater. The city of Pamplona shut the theaters down in 1721 as an homage to God, who had, in their view, saved them from “la peste de Marsella” (the Great [Bubonic] Plague of Marseilles) that had scourged the French town, just 480 miles distant, the previous year. Presumably, God’s wrath came raining down on those who promoted theater. Theater became the sacrificial lamb of fanatics who ascribed to it if not all, then many, of society’s ills. As the threat from the Great Plague diminished, theaters reopened (as did the one in Pamplona in 1725), but during the next decade, Murcia began to view its theaters as a “contagion” (contagio) and moved again to ban performances. In 1738 in Cartagena, Fray Martín Truyol claimed that theater was a “pain” (dolor) that caused “harm” (daño) and could be a “sore” on the body politic. “The medicine is worse than the sore” (Es peor la medicina que la llaga), he exclaimed. The Bishop of Málaga, Juan Eulate y Santa Cruz, took advantage of a plague that felled city residents beginning in 1741 to preach against the theater; between 1745 and 1768 the theaters were closed down (he did, at least, transform the building into a type of infirmary; Cotarelo 1997, 248). Father Pedro Calatayud in 1753 called plays “the plague of the republic and the ruin of many souls” (cited in Cotarelo 120; la peste de la república y la ruina de muchas almas). José Clavijo y Fajardo feared that bad plays “infect the young” (1763, 269; inficionen la juventud). This same rhetoric was picked up more than forty years later in Fray José Diego de Cádiz’s numerous denunciations, one of which (10 September 1799) warns against opening the city of Córdoba to “una peste” (ie, plays) in which “God is offended” (Dios es ofendido). “To deny this truth would be to want to deny the existence of light” (cited in Cotarelo 1997, 111; Negar esta verdad sería querer negar la existencia de la luz). A yellow fever outbreak forced the theaters in Seville to close in August of 1800, and the disease was linked as well to the theater’s “sinful character, which excited God’s wrath” (Bittoun and Valldaura 2011, 314).

Periodically, then, and in waves, theaters were shut down in provincial cities. Most of the time, a mere decree shuttered the doors of the theaters, but in some cases more extreme measures were taken. For example, around 1728 in Córdoba a preacher named Pedro de Alcalá even flung himself across the narrow street on which the theater was located, “stopping some [theatergoers] and terrorizing everyone” (cited in Cotarelo 1997, 50; deteniendo a muchos y atemorizando a todos).

The complex history of the censorship of one major play from the second half of the century—Vicente García de la Huerta’s tragedy, *La Raquel*—highlights some of the issues outlined in this chapter. As René Andioc recounts, the play was first performed on 14 December, 1778, to some apparent acclaim, yet it was pulled from the stage four days later (Andioc 2005b) and it was substantially cut prior to publication. The censors focused on three areas. One was simply that the play was too long (it exceeded most other serious dramas of the day by hundreds of verses), so it was trimmed to eliminate repetitions or tedious passages. A second was for stylistic reasons, that is, where the censors believed passages to be improbable or affected, too reminiscent of

Golden Age rhetoric or excessively grandiloquent (Raquel's long interventions as she is dying, for example)—what Andioc refers to as “particularities of style” (2005b, 396). The third centered on political concerns, where censors (probably correctly) detected contemporary allusions or where the central figure of the king (in this case, King Alfonso VIII) came off as somewhat unheroic. This is what the censor Santos Díez González complained about when he protested that the king was presented as “timid, thoughtless, obstinate, weak, vengeful, pious, with other mutually contradictory qualities” (cited in Andioc 2005b, 404; tímido, inconsciente, obstinado, débil, vengativo, piadoso, con otras cualidades mutuamente contradictorias). A king dominated by passion rather than policy is therefore a weak man incapable of governing, an implication that defenders of the monarchy strove to avoid in 1778, but also in 1802 and 1809 when the play was again considered for performance.

Authors could at times avoid problems with the censors by circulating clandestine manuscripts (this is what Nicolás Fernández de Moratín did with his infamously obscene poem *El arte de las putas* (*The Whores' Art*) in the early 1770s, writing under pseudonyms or including indirect allusions or allegory into their works. When José Cadalso's drama *Solaya* was rejected by the censors he never again signed his works with his surname (from then on he used his second surname, Velázquez, as his nom de plume; Domergue). His dramatized novel *Noches lúgubres* (*Lugubrious Nights*) suffered changes, edits, delays, and “suggestions” until it was completely banned in 1819; *Cartas marruecas* (*Moroccan Letters*), completed in 1774, was delayed by the censors and suffered four years in limbo before finally being approved (Domergue 1981, 25), although it was not published until years after his death in 1782. Cadalso himself served as a censor of at least one translation of a French novel that dealt with the life of a repentant actress, as Philip Deacon has demonstrated.

Besides complaining of the quality of the plays and the inherent immorality of their content, critics also singled out the actors themselves for opprobrium. Not all opposition was unfounded or unreasonable. Actors, already considered to be low class and loose of morals, unfit to perform in serious, sacred plays, allowed themselves to be ever more daring and more “crowd friendly” as the years went on (Palacios Fernández 1994, 1169). They frequently went off script, adding phrases, words, movements, or gestures that had not been previously approved by the censors, actions deemed immoral or potentially dangerous by the authorities (Bittoun and Sala Valldaura 2011, 318). In the case of the *autos sacramentales* audiences were paying more attention to the actors (and what they were wearing) than to the uplifting religious content of the work itself, so by mid-century the clamor to reform or ban the *autos* reached fever pitch. A typical complaint of the moralizers (for example, Dr. Pedro José de Vera y Baena, a professor at the University of Seville), was that actors “sit together promiscuously, talk to and look at one another face to face without any caution or fear” (cited in Cotarelo 1997, 586; siéntanse promíscuamente, háblanse y míranse cara a cara sin reparo ni miedo alguno). Such behavior, it was claimed, had a deeply corrupting influence not only on the playgoers but also on society at large. Vera y Baena elaborated his belief that seeing a play provoked dishonest behavior, which produced domestic turbulence and marital strife, the loss of family resources, internal household pressures, public scandal and perhaps even the “ruin of their own lives”:

On these stages everyone learns what was once done: incest, adultery; and, by chance, the woman who went to the play chaste, returns from it less prudent and more dishonest [...] This is the source of perpetual grief in noble married women, who cry and have bewailed the detachment, lack of love, and even cruelty of their husbands, seeing them captivated by those foreign beauties. From this arise domestic troubles in families, the clumsy love affairs that have

tangled up many men with these phonies; from this arise so many bad and perverse marriages; the loss of the parents' estate and fortune, that the children witness to the detriment of their own home and family, the outrage of cities, and perhaps the ruin of their own lives

(cited in Cotarelo 1997, 586)

En estas tablas todos aprenden a executar lo que una vez se hizo: el incesto, el adulterio; y, por ventura, la señora que fue casta a la comedia, vuelve de ella poco recatada y deshonesto [...] De aquí nacen las perpetuas pesadumbres de mujeres nobles casadas, que lloran y han llorado el despego, desamor y aun crueldad de sus maridos, viéndolos cautivos de estas ajenas hermosuras. De aquí salen los disgustos domésticos en las familias, los amores torpes que han enredado a muchos con estas farsantes; de aquí se ocasionan muchos malos y perversos casamientos; pérdida de la hacienda y caudal de los padres, que derraman profusamente los hijos en asistirlas, para estrago de su propia casa y familia, para escándalo de las ciudades y tal vez para ruina de su propia vida.)

By 1751, accusations of debauchery, vagrancy, and promiscuity had spilled over from the actors on to the theatergoing public itself. The Jesuit Francisco Moya y Correa reached a new level of hysteria by claiming these same evils for people who merely attended performances, "burning up in blind fires and vomiting up a Vesuvius in every gesture" (Cotarelo 1997, 474; consumiéndose en incendios ciegos y vomitando en cada ademán un Vesubio).

As might be expected, the actors fought back against the avalanche of criticism and denunciation they received. A long, thoughtful, and anonymous *Memorial* arguing against Gaspar Díaz's criticisms appeared in 1742 in which point by point, paragraph by paragraph, the author(s) attempted to counter Díaz's more egregious claims against the plays themselves and the performances of them. The authors are particularly indignant at being tarred with a broad brush, found guilty as a profession as a whole for the (possible) sins of a few. The following year the literate and ironic Manuel Guerrero penned an elegant "Rebuttal" (Respuesta) to Díaz's allegations, defending playwrights, plays and actors, and accusing the cleric of striving to wreak some sort of "vengeance" on his profession (Cotarelo 1997, 344). Another anonymous defense of acting came out in 1756 in reaction to a sermon preached in the San Sebastian parish church in Madrid in which the priest demanded that actors be barred from receiving absolution for their sins, taking holy communion, or being buried on church grounds. Such attacks threatened not only the actors' professional standing and livelihood, but their very existence and (as Catholic faithful) their soul's immortality. The criticisms were hardly quashed by such defenses. A decade later, in 1766 in Zaragoza, Nicolás Blanco demanded that actors be considered "abhorrent and excommunicated" (cited in Cotarelo 1997, 90; infames y excomulgados). When in 1785 Fray José Oredo stirred the crowd in Écija to burn the theater's interiors, he gleefully noted that now the actors had to "go away and teach how to sin somewhere else" (cited in Cotarelo 1997, 490; irse a enseñar a pecar a otra parte). And, sadly, so on.

Even since the previous century, what had once been plays with purely religious themes had degenerated into comedies about love, with slapstick interludes, jokes, dances, double entendres, and silly stage business (appearances and disappearances, flights down from the rafters, etc.). The sacred morphed into the profane, which provoked the ire in particular of religious guardians of public morality. A play that linked the Devil to religious oratory (*El diablo predicador*) or one that used San Francisco's habit for comic effect, for example, raised the ire of the religious community. Newspapers complained of these "bland" and "deformed" comedies. Jean Bélorgey details the case of a translated play entitled *La Eufemia o el triunfo de la religión* (*Eufemia or the Triumph of Religion*), from a 1768 French original by François-Thomas-Marie Baculard d'Arnaud, that

attempted to mask some rather subversive ideas behind the “triumph of religion” subtitle, but which was itself unmasked by the censor who saw in it “an abominable web of propositions that are false, impious, reckless, scandalous, injurious to the religious state and to religion itself, leading to error and blasphemous” (1999, 407; un tejido abominable de proposiciones falsas, impías, temerarias, escandalosas, injuriosas al estado religioso y a la religión misma, inductivas a error y blasfemas). As Cruickshank states it, “The fact is that for decades prior to 1800, the Spanish theater-going public had been trained in mediocrity, sensationalism and escapism” (1999, 37).

If the first half of the eighteenth century witnessed attacks on the theater (and plays and actors) based predominantly on moral and religious grounds, some opponents in the second half of the century switched tactics to denounce theater on aesthetic grounds. The more enlightened thinkers (*ilustrados*, enlightened men such as Jovellanos or the critic and poet Ignacio de Luzán) drew on the “rules” of classical theater to push back against plays that did not follow logic or reason in their literary endeavors, and tried to swing folks to their point of view by appealing to intellect or aesthetic taste, rather than employing scare tactics and threats. But Jovellanos himself was not completely free from whimsical or biased views, as his objection to some passages of Voltaire’s *Alcira o los americanos* (1784; *Alzire or the Americans*) that “offended” Spanish national sensibilities might suggest (Serrano y Sanz 1906, 36). Santos Díez González proved less than tolerant with views that contradicted his own Neoclassical bent. One such moment had him removing several verses from Fermín del Rey’s *sainete*, *La comedia de repente* (*The Sudden Comedy*) simply because it dared to make fun of the Neoclassical “rules” of time, action, and space. In the critic’s overheated mind, Rey’s “unfortunate” (*infeliz*) criticism of the rules could “bring horrific consequences to Spanish theater” (Cambrónero 1899, 599; Cantero 2002, 81; traer consecuencias horroríficas para el teatro español).

*El sí de las niñas* was not Moratín’s only play to run into problems with the censors. In 1817, *El viejo y la niña* (*The Old Man and the Young Girl*) was banned because its plot was considered to be “provocative, obscene, and consequently not in line with healthy morals and good habits” (Bolaños 2005, 177). By the time King Fernando VII’s despotic reign came to an end with his death in 1833, and his more moderate fourth wife, María Cristina de Borbón, took over as regent, hope rose that strict and oppressive censorship would somehow be eliminated. It never was (Gies). The journalist Mariano José de Larra, a fierce and vocal critic of censorship, asked in 1834 apropos of a new staging of *El sí de las niñas*, “Is it possible that they still think it necessary to preserve some of the meticulous disfigurations suffered by this play? Shame on the mutilators of the plays of a talented man! [...] Happily, one cannot ban memory” (1997, 156; ¿Es posible que se haya creído necesario conservar en esta comedia algunas mutilaciones meticulosas? ¡Oprobio a los mutiladores de las comedias de hombre de talento! [...] Felizmente, la memoria no se puede prohibir). Even on the centenary of Moratín’s death, a time traditionally reserved for taking positive stock of an individual’s accomplishments, he was accused by one befuddled critic of drinking the “foreign and cold liquor” of Neoclassicism and writing plays with “Voltarian dye” (Eguía 1928, 277). It was, indeed, a “relentless war” (Cotarelo 1997, 28).

## Note

- 1 All translations are by the author, unless otherwise indicated.

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# *Majos* in Madrid, *presidarios* across empire

## Territory, convict transport, and skits of the Age of Enlightenment

Rebecca Haidt

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The term *majo* and its typologies are fundamental to eighteenth-century Spanish studies.<sup>1</sup> Although Leandro Fernández de Moratín (and other Hispanic Enlightenment observers) understood *majo* characters to depict “the repulsive dregs of Madrid’s outskirts” (cited Huertas 1996, 136; *las heces asquerosas de los arrabales de Madrid*),<sup>2</sup> the image of *majos* is strongly associated with Spanish dancing and popular pleasures, along the lines of those captured by Goya in *cartones de tapices*<sup>3</sup> such as the 1777 *Baile a orillas del Manzanares* (Dance on the Banks of the Manzanares River).<sup>4</sup> Theatrical depictions of *majos* range from rogues to swaggering Andalusian strongmen to social-climbing artisans, but scholars agree that during the Hispanic Enlightenment, the terms *majo* (and *maja*) generally connoted an urban populace who lived by their wits, their backbone, or their hands: poor and proud day laborers, low-level artisans, coachmen, and street sellers suspicious of the court- and bureaucracy-connected aristocrats, administrators, *indianos*<sup>5</sup> and pretenders with which Madrid and Cádiz (the capital of the Empire and the main Peninsular port for transatlantic shipments and crossings respectively) teemed. Theatrical entertainment was one of the most important cultural sectors in large cities, and *majos* appear or are protagonists in dozens of *sainetes* (short one-act plays) and *tonadillas* (musical skits) penned for performances in Cádiz and Madrid by leading authors and composers such as Juan Ignacio González del Castillo, Ramón de la Cruz, Pablo Esteve, and Blas de Laserna.<sup>6</sup> In *sainetes*, music and dance were included yet incidental to dialogue and plot, while in *tonadillas*, a theatrical/literary argument served as pretext or frame for showcasing a rich variety of musical forms (Lolo 2008, 61–62), with composers and poets often overlapping in their contributions to lyrics, music, and choreography (Le Guin 2014, 66). However, these entr’acte forms were intimately connected, sharing similar themes, structures, dances, instrumentation, and characters (Lolo 2008, 61)—such as *majos*.

Entr’acte *majos* and *majas* were scripted as of, or identified with, “the people” (Huertas Vásquez 1996, 139–40), their confrontations with characters such as fops (*petimetres*) and people who put on airs (*usías*) depicting an elite vs. popular dynamic that seemed to capture larger social tensions. In this oppositional frame, theatrical *majos*’ boldness and pugnacity became synecdoches of a national spirit posited as superior. At the same time, *majos* frequently were scripted as poor

and/or marginalized (Haidt 2011a; Huerta Calvo 1999), with a propensity to neighborhood altercations and even violence. Audiences celebrated *majos'* scrappiness, though some observers complained (as did the censor Santos Díez Gonzalez in 1792) that *sainetes* and *tonadillas* featuring *majos* depict “crimes of robbery, beatings, stabbings, drunkenness, indecent dancing and little or no fear of authorities, and readiness for uprisings and disturbances” (cited in Subirá 1928–1930, vol. I, 308–309; delitos de robos, palos, puñaladas, borracheras, bailes indecentes y poco o ningún temor a la justicia, y prontas disposiciones para motines y alborotos). In fact, a regular feature of entr’acte *majo* experience is interrogation by municipal authorities such as *alcaldes de barrio* and *cabos*.<sup>7</sup> Caro Baroja long ago pointed to the “interference” of “prison life...with this rather unrestrained popular life, because not without frequency are the *majos* of *tonadillas* (and the *majos* of *sainetes*) hauled to jail for brawls or knife fights” (1969, 256). Yet, “prison life” seems to be not an interference, but rather a consistent feature of that “popular life,” in that *majos* are often depicted as keenly policed and subject to arrest, imprisonment, and transport to forced labor at peninsular public works projects (such as canals or roads) or *presidios* (garrisoned strongholds) in North Africa.<sup>8</sup>

This chapter will focus on depictions of the *majo* experience of arrest and transport imagined through *sainetes* and *tonadillas* written or performed for Madrid audiences during the second half of the eighteenth century, a period associated with the flourishing of Hispanic Enlightenment and increasingly the object of investigations into the interplay between unfree labor and capitalism in the history of colonial empires (Drapeau 2017, 290).<sup>9</sup> Entr’acte depictions of *majos* as (potential or returning) *presidarios* refer audiences to an expanding Bourbon program of penalty designed to channel workers toward imperial ends of construction, fortification, and economic development across imperial territory. From the 1740s onward “territory” increasingly implied “mobility” within an overarching Enlightenment program of maximized economic utilization both within the peninsula and across colonies (Sambricio 1991, 35–37). Period theorists of public works held that mobility infrastructure (roads, canals, bridges) would promote economic circulation, prosperity and civilization (73–74). The vast and ambitious planning, funding and staffing of arsenals and presidios, and of public works projects for roads and canals, presupposed “the subordination of every core community to the general program” (36–37) across a vast area from Madrid itself to the Philippines and the northern frontier of Hispanic America (Sambricio 2014, 57). Hispanic Enlightenment goals such as improving agriculture through the building of canals and irrigation channels, or increasing commerce through the construction of roads, were inseparable from goals such as policing cities and reforming peninsular and colonial populations toward useful work.<sup>10</sup> The depiction of *majos* as subjects of penalty and convict transportation refers audiences to Enlightenment reforms and ideology as much as does the inclusion of characters overtly espousing values of reform, utility, and *aplicación* (industriousness).<sup>11</sup>

From the late 1760s onward, across the Spanish empire, growing threats to Spain’s dominions and interests led to a series of reforms and programs designed to liberalize trade and reinforce or expand military defense systems (De Vito 2018, 174–176). In the ensuing (re)building of fortresses and castles, the maintenance of arsenals, and the construction of roads and canals, the Crown made ample use of a mix of convict labor, soldiers, civilians and slaves for the digging, moving, hauling and draining required. Convict labor for these ends was ensured through the implementation, from the late 1740s onward, of a “great legal construct” across imperial spaces, expanding seizure and sentencing of “vagrants” (*vagos*) and “miscreants” (*malentretidos*) (Pérez Estévez 1976, 47–48), and facilitating the transportation of those sentenced to sites where labor was needed.<sup>12</sup> Behavior liable to qualify as the offense of vagrancy included laziness on the job; lack of a clear occupation; failing to produce a good excuse for being in the streets at night; frequenting taverns during work hours; etc. (Pérez Estévez 1976; Pike). The related (and

often overlapping) offense of miscreancy was defined in 1759 as including gamblers, drunkards, disturbers of the peace, spousal abusers, vandals, and so on (Coronas González 1996, III, 70). Many other behaviors could carry forced labor penalties: for example, a May 1791 edict ordered that any “coachmen whose carriage teams race, gallop or trot quickly through the court city’s streets and promenades or other stipulated sites” would (upon arrest for the first offense) be fined ten ducats and sentenced to fifteen days’ “forced labor in the public works of the Prado” (Ezquerro del Bayo 1926, 113). The state appointed “squads for the rounding-up of vagrants and miscreants” (Duñaiturria Laguarda 2010, 160), who circulated through peninsular and colonial neighborhoods and towns with orders to seize anyone seeming disorderly or marginal—characteristics imputable to a large swath of the laboring population in any sizeable settlement or city during the period. In the last decades of the century, *cabos* hauled off a wider range of *vagos* and *malentretidos*, from men who beat their wives, to disobedient family members, to spitting neighbors (Pike 1983, 51–52).<sup>13</sup> Military impressment and large-scale roundups (*levas*) of vagrants seized more than 63,000 men as unfree labor between 1730 and 1789 (Alejo Llorente de Pedro 2006b, 110), while across the empire jurisdictions were ordered to play a role in the transport of convicts toward labor sites (Pérez Estévez 1976, 48).

Hispanic labor impressment through *cabos* and *levas* overlapped with, and complemented, convictions for a range of offenses such as pickpocketing or sexual assault (Ramos Vázquez 2008, 159); sentencing to workhouses and hospices, which expanded after the 1760s (Santiago-Valles 2006, 37–38); and military recruitment. The mobilizations of convicts across imperial spaces performed several functions, including meeting military needs unfulfilled by recruitment and state and private needs at industrial and public works sites; cleansing undesirables from local populations; and meeting the enlightened goal of rendering “useful” the energies of those considered delinquents (Salillas 1918, vol. II, 39–40). For example, at mid-century, the manpower required by the arsenal at Ferrol had to be met by both “honorable recruitments” (*levas honradas*) (by which the crown offered incentives to entice locals to work in the arsenal’s enormous “military-industrial complex”) and the (wider peninsular) “impressments of vagrants and miscreants” (*levas de vagos y malentretidos*), which helped ensure that the hardest labors would be undertaken by impressed members of Spain’s poor and marginalized populations (Martín García 232) once they had been transported across regions to work alongside soldiers and incentivized local workers.<sup>14</sup> Proposals for infrastructure projects counted on the utilization of convict labor in their projections of profitability: the 1781 “Ordenanzas” for the building of the Canal Imperial called for manpower drawn from “sentencing to military service, forced labor at the Canal or at the project’s presidio” (Pérez Sarrión 1975, 71); around 1786, there were 400 *presidarios* laboring at the Canal Imperial Project, alongside soldiers from the Spanish and Flanders regiments, and peasants (68). During the second half of the century, the mobilization of convicts to peninsular and transatlantic installations reflected both evolving Enlightenment views on the purposes of punishment, and the needs of a state whose possessions and expansion became increasingly difficult to maintain without systematic roundups and sentencing of forced labor to “the least desirable of outcomes within its machinery” (Ramos Vázquez 2008, 160).

The forced impressment of vagrants in the Iberian Peninsula and the mobilization of prisoners to inland, coastal and overseas labor sites (in North Africa, Cuba and Puerto Rico) fed into an extensive imperial network of convict transportation across the Hispanic empire (De Vito 2018, 182–183). Records show that convicts regularly were moved among sentencing destinations according to need or the severity of their offenses. For example, the 1776 “Lista de los reos sentenciados a presidio” (List of prisoners sentenced to presidio) notes that Miguel Reynal, seized for pickpocketing and twice having escaped from arsenal sentencing, was sentenced to ten years in the north African presidio of Peñón, then moved to Puerto Rico (1222r); the

1777 “Lista de los reos ... sentenciados al presidio de Melilla” states that Felipe Rodríguez, convicted of stealing clothing, originally had received six years’ forced labor in the construction of the Canal de Murcia, but then was transported to serve time in North Africa (1312v–1313r).<sup>15</sup> When in 1767 manpower shortages in Ceuta and Orán became acute, convict laborers were removed from the peninsular arsenal at Cartagena and sent to those African presidios (Pike 116). In October 1784, the Conde de Floridablanca ordered that the need for labor at a public works project near Cádiz required convict labor not just from Granada and Seville, but also from Valencia, Barcelona, La Coruña, and even Aragón, “the transport of prisoners to be facilitated by shipment by sea” (*facilitándose por mar la conducción de los reos*).<sup>16</sup> As might be expected under a programmatic regime of impressment for broadly-defined delinquency, records from the 1770s onward reveal frequent incidences of recidivism: for example, Melchor de Ávila, to be sent overland to Cartagena in 1780 for eventual transport to four years’ labor in an African presidio, was sentenced “for inciting disturbances in the neighborhood, for which excesses he already has served time in the public works project of the Prado” (*por causar alborotos en la vecindad, por cuyos excesos se ha estado anteriormente en [the public works project of] El Prado*).<sup>17</sup>

In the late 1760s and 1770s, the forced impressment of hundreds of prisoners as vagrants, and the transportation of recidivist military deserters and repeat offenders from inland barracks and holding sites to coastal points of departure, ensured a flow of convicts across the Iberian Peninsula and beyond, to Havana and San Juan (De Vito 2018, 182–183). Havana “lay at the heart of a much larger network of convict transportation, including individuals sentenced by legal institutions in New Spain, Panama” and Guatemala (182–183). The globalized network of convict labor served the aims of both Enlightenment and capital, as “themes of utility, of the value of work, of happiness and of the prosperity of the State and of the individual” (Sambricio 2017, 128) were directed chiefly toward growing investment opportunities across imperial territories and indeed the globe: Havana, Veracruz, Genoa, Bristol and other coastal cities were projected as linked within imperial designs in which “geopolitical priority will be substituted by geoeconomic reality” (Reguera Rodríguez 1993, 63). A 1766 French proposal for the reconstruction of the *Acequia Imperial* (Imperial Irrigation Canal) in Aragón was “a grand solution to two problems: ensuring supplies to the Aragonese capital and eliminating the mass of beggars, vagabonds and the poor,” in addition to increasing the fortune of “propertied farmers” (Pérez Sarrión 1984, 58). In 1775, when jurisdiction over *levas de vagos* was transferred from the ministry of war to the council of Castile, the vagrant went from being a subject that only merited the attention of military authorities, to being a subject of vast plans for the social reform of marginal classes (Mehl 2016, 138).<sup>18</sup> Those plans (as Sambricio argues) coincided, across imperial spaces, with the objective of a project demanding that colonists be converted to a stable population in accordance with the new dictates and objectives of territory (Sambricio 2017, 127, 131).

Following the 1768 administrative division of cities into quarters (*cuarteles*) and neighborhoods (*barrios*) (a response to riots, among them the 1766 Motín de Esquilache),<sup>19</sup> the positioning of *alcaldes de barrio* to monitor residents, register neighborhood activity, and maintain order spread across the Atlantic during the 1770s and 1780s (Apaolaza-Llorente 2015, 7–8).<sup>20</sup> Dividing a city into *barrios* and *cuarteles*, whether in the Iberian Peninsula or colonial territories, made it easier to both maintain political control and stimulate trade and economic development (Sambricio 2017, 127). The intrusions of expanded penalty via *alcaldes de barrio* and *vago*-seeking *rondas*<sup>21</sup> were experienced in both small towns and large cities across the Spanish empire. The commissioner Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos, in his 1795 *Informe ... en el expediente de ley agraria* (*Report ... on the inquiry into agricultural law*), warned that in small towns, *alcaldes* could get carried away by their power within the new general program: “There is no *alcalde* ... who does not make rounds, go sniffing about, and continually persecute ... and the unhappy farm hand ... on his feast days and

at his dances, in his gatherings and picnics, always runs into the apparatus of the law” (Jovellanos 1885, 309; [n]o hay alcalde [...] que no ronde y pesquise, y que no persiga continuamente [...] y el infeliz gañán [...] [e]n sus fiestas y bailes, en sus juntas y meriendas, tropieza siempre con el aparato de la justicia). In 1775 in Madrid, the Sala de Alcaldes de Casa y Corte acknowledged that vast numbers of persons were unfairly being pulled off the streets without having committed crimes or even being particularly suspicious, including street sellers of fruit and baked goods, and “numberless others” (otros infinitos)—<sup>22</sup> persons such as the carpenter Joseph Corechano, who complained in 1780 that he was waiting in a plaza in Madrid with other work-seekers when an official of the *rondas de vagos* seized him “without any proof, other than his perception of things” (sin más probanza, que lo que le pareció);<sup>23</sup> or the “servant apprentice” (criado aprendiz) Francisco López Samaniego who (according to a complaint lodged by his master the trimmings-maker Juan Canosa) was in 1781 seized in Aranjuez by a *ronda de vagos*, sentenced to naval service, and held “in the barracks or jail for *presidarios* at [the public works project of the reforms of] the Prado” (en el cuartel o carcel de los *presidarios* del Prado) (presumably while awaiting transport).<sup>24</sup> *Alcaldes* such as Madrid’s Pedro García Fuertes, representing the Barrio de la Comadre, employed lists of residents for purposes of *levas*, seizure for eventual sentencing into labor, or simply social control (Pérez Estévez 1976, 205). García’s 1791–1792 diary reveals his work with a neighborhood full of laundresses, ragpickers, *jornaleros* (day laborers) and *menestrales* (skilled artisans) (Aguilar Piñal 1978, 18–19), along with persons referred to as *majos* and *majas* (19; 29).

In the context of an expanded regime of forced labor sentencing and impressment, *presidarios*, *majos*, and *guapos*<sup>25</sup> converged in the administrative and literary imaginations, in legislation and onstage. Cubas’s 1790 *sainete* “The return of the *presidiario* and the plasterer’s wedding” (La vuelta del *presidiario* y la boda del yesero) captures well *majos*’ and *presidarios*’ importance to the imagined intersection of delinquencies: Oruga, an easily-angered returning *presidiario*, picks a fight with someone while visiting his sister and challenges the man to take their dispute out to the street, for “there we’ll see/which of us is the most *majo*” (16v; allí veremos/quál de los dos es más *majo*). Neighbors call the *alcalde de barrio*, who demands to know why Oruga is “disturbing the neighborhood peace” (17r; escandalizando el barrio). Oruga, well acquainted with the role played by *alcaldes* in targeting potential convict labor, responds that he would be content with six months’ forced work in the (nearby) Presidio del Prado as long as he sees the other man punished too (18r). The *alcalde* cautions Oruga to be grateful, as family and friends have intervened to prevent his being marched overland to eight years’ labor in an arsenal: “you should be grateful/that these women have interceded/to prevent you from being sent to Cartagena/for at least eight years” (18v; usted puede agradecer,/que estas señoras cedieran,/para no ir a Cartagena/por ocho años a lo menos).<sup>26</sup>

A year after the Motín de Esquilache, a 1767 Madrid police report equates *majos* with “swaggering bullies, who by our laws are called ruffians, or gypsies” (baladrones, que en nuestras leyes llaman rufianes, o gitanos).<sup>27</sup> The report recommended that the wearing of sideburns (supposedly typical of *majos*) “in every age [has] been considered...a characteristic calling for surveillance of him who wears them, and for his seizure as a vagrant if he is one, and as a delinquent should he in any way prove to be so” (se ha considerado la patilla en todos tiempos [...] como un distintivo para velar sobre la conducta del que la usa, y prenderle por vago si lo es, y por delincuente si hay de ello indicios, o pruebas).<sup>28</sup> Decades earlier, the *Diccionario de Autoridades* had defined “majo” as “The man who affects boldness and bravery, in actions or words. Commonly used to refer to those who live in the edge districts of this Court” (1990, II: 460; El hombre que afecta guapeza y valentía, en las acciones o palabras. Comúnmente llaman así a los que viven en los Arrabales de esta Corte).<sup>29</sup> In the 1790s, *alcalde de barrio* Pedro García Fuentes described the disturbances caused among neighborhood inhabitants by “thugs” (matones) and “*majos* of the

same ilk” (Aguilar Piñal 1978, 29; majos de semejante calaña). It is likely that García, writing in 1791–92, was acquainted with the theatrical linking of *majos* and delinquency: *tonadillas* featuring *guapos* and *matones* had featured perennially in the fare written for Madrid theatres, including the circa 1779 “Tonadilla del guapo” (Bully’s *tonadilla*), seen by Jovellanos; the circa 1767 *tonadilla* “El Guapo (Bocanegra)” (The bully [Bocanegra]), in which a *majo* protagonist threatens an *alcalde* who tries to arrest him; or Esteve’s 1776 *tonadilla* “El majo matón” (The *majo* thug), which opens with a neighborhood celebration upon a *majo*’s return from a ten-year presidio sentence for murder.<sup>30</sup> The *guapo*, the *majo matón*, and the recidivist *majo-presidiario* protagonizing Cruz’s *Manolo* all incarnated for eighteenth-century audiences an older popular type, the bold ruffian, who from the seventeenth century onward appears in numerous Spanish texts celebrating the exploits of bandits, strongmen, and challengers to established authority, referred to along a lexical spectrum including *guapos*, *valientes* (strongmen), *manolos*—and *majos* (Huerta Calvo 1999, 53–59).<sup>31</sup>

By the second half of the eighteenth century, the Madrid districts of Lavapies and Barquillo were associated with *majos* and delinquency. Cruz’s circa 1776 “Los bandos del Lavapies y la venganza del Zurdillo” (The Lavapies gang lays down the law, and Zurdillo’s revenge) features a *majo* recidivist convict and pimp as the Barquillo neighborhood’s “top tough guy” (Cruz 1944a, 398; el baladrón más soberbio). Cruz’s *El muñuelo* (*The Fritter*) had its first performance in 1792;<sup>32</sup> in this *sainete*, two *majos* have returned from presidio labor in north Africa, and a character comments that Lavapies “has always been/the ‘non plus’ for flogged men and women” (Cruz 1944b, 44; ha sido siempre/el ‘non pus’ de azotados y azotadas). (Another character jokes that a particular *majo* will “know which of the city gates/is closest to the presidio” (1944b 27; qué puerta de la corte/está más cerca del presillo). Writing around the same time, *alcalde de barrio* Pedro García lamented disturbances caused by *majos* in the Barrio de la Comadre (a Lavapies district), and informed superiors of his difficulties in “attempting to fulfill the obligation, imposed by the law, of the rounding-up of vagrants, beggars and panhandlers, despite my being Alcalde of this neighborhood...where I believe the greatest number of this class of people have been pulled off the streets” (cited Huertas Vázquez 1996, 532; para cumplir la obligación, que la ley le impone, de la Recolección de vagos, mendigos y pordioseros voluntarios y hallándome yo como Alcalde de este Barrio...en donde creo se halla recogida la mayor parte de gente de esta clase).

Coulon contends that *majos* (such as those in Cruz’s *El careo de los majos* [*The majos’ confrontation*]) are accorded immunity from punishment in Cruz’s *sainetes* (Coulon 1993, 378). This seems to discount the plays’ depictions of *majos*’ questioning by *alcaldes de barrio*, and characters’ familiarity with penal sentencing. In fact, entr’acte plays depict specific steps by which *majos* and other persons were targeted by *alcaldes de barrio* and mobilized to forced labor installations. In Morales’s *sainete* “Los abusos corregidos” (Abuses corrected), the *alcalde de barrio* observes a mix of people coming and going from a lively party; suspicious, he sends *alguaciles* (marshals) in to investigate. After the *alguaciles* enter, the *alcalde* informs partygoers that authorities are there due to “disorderliness” (10r; el desorden); the *alcalde* then orders everyone present to jail (10r) for further questioning and detention.<sup>33</sup> Cruz’s *Manolo* details the typical passage of chained convicts from regional sentencing to forced labor in North Africa: “I sallied forth in public/from the Provincial Palace/with the chain gang,/at the center of the scoundrels’ army” (del Palacio de Provincia/en público salí con la cadena,/rodeado del ejército de pillos) notes the eponymous protagonist; there followed “terrible forced marches,/as we waded through rivers and slogged across terrain,/[until] we arrived at Algeciras, from whence/... /I saluted great Ceuta’s walls” (Cruz 1915c, 53; bien penosas y contadas marchas,/sulcando ríos y pisando tierras,/llegamos a Algeciras, dende donde,/...)/los muros saludé de la gran Ceuta).<sup>34</sup> Cruz’s *majo* protagonist further recounts details of the kind of work typically imposed on *presidarios* in Ceuta and Orán: “I

raised fortified walls; I dug out/the sand pits; mixed lime for mortar;/broke a thousand picks; unearthed quarries” (1915c, 53; Yo levanté murallas; de la arena/limpié los fosos; amasé cal viva;/ rompí mil picos; descubrí canteras).

Cruz’s plays *El Careo de los majos* (*The majos’ confrontation*), *El mal casado* (*The unhappily married man*)<sup>35</sup>, *La retreta* (*The return to the barracks*), *Los bandos del Avapies* (*The Lavapies gang lays down the law*), *El muñuelo* (*The Fritter*), and others depict an awareness of penalty consistent across a range of period *sainetes* and *tonadillas*. In Esteve’s 1775 *tonadilla* “Una cuajadera, una ramilletera y un tuno” (A curd-seller, a nosegay-seller and a rascal), a *maja* jokes that an unemployed *majo* is an “aspiring/*presidiario*” (2r; pretendiente/de *presidiario*); his 1784 *tonadilla* “La maja barbera” (The straight-talking *maja*) refers to convict laborers sent in chains to the Presidio del Prado: “masses/of them head to the Prado/in shackles” (con su grillete/van de montón/muchos al Prado).<sup>36</sup> In Laserna’s 1788 *tonadilla* “La venida del majo” (The majo’s arrival), a woman awaits the return of her partner “[Ni]colás, who has done six years’ hard labor in Orán” (1r). Fuentes correctly observes that entr’acte theatre does not generally scorn craftsmen or artisans (*menestrales*) as unsettled and marginalized (2014, 228–229); but in focusing chiefly on qualified craftsmen, and not on a wider range of (unqualified, less skilled) assistants and laborers, misses the frequency with which poor and edge district inhabitants, often noted as *majos*, are depicted as targets of law enforcement in period *sainetes* and *tonadillas*. Here it is worth noting that *majos* (and *manolos*) share typological roots with seventeenth-century theatrical characters such as the “lowlife” or “riff-raff” *hijo del barrio* (Caro Baroja 1980, 29). Eighteenth-century audiences knew that entr’acte depictions of *majos* as returning or potential *presidarios* referenced a range of poor, marginalized or low-born persons sent to forced labor through increasing legislative measures which (from the 1760s onward) actively extracted a “highly elevated rentability from the penal subject” (López García 2003, 93) through expanded *rondas* and *levas de vagos y maleantes*.<sup>37</sup>

In fact, audiences and readers interacted on a daily basis with the human and institutional manifestations of unfree labor circulations serving the ends of Empire. In the 1780s, near the Post (*Correos*) building in Madrid’s Puerta del Sol, John Howard observed cages or cells (“calabozos”) for the temporary imprisonment of *vagos* and other arrestees awaiting transfer; passersby would reach through the bars to give them charitable donations (Howard 2003, 340).<sup>38</sup> Indeed, Cruz’s 1770 *La retreat* (*The return to the barracks*) features a *cabo* and his patrol hauling a prisoner through the Puerta del Sol, past onlookers (1915d, 142). Most Cartagena-bound prisoner chains in the second half of the eighteenth century “originated in Madrid and contained a large number of prisoners from the jails of that city” (Pike 1983, 78); their exits were witnessed by the public.<sup>39</sup> Vendors sold edibles and wine to presidio convicts and those guarding them, as did Domingo Cardona and his wife Micaela Moreno in the 1770s and 1780s, contracted to provide prepared foods in Madrid for male convicts held at the presidio del Prado (Salillas 1918, vol. II, 22–23). The communities through which convicts were marched from jails to presidios and ports regularly complained about the costs they were forced to bear; in compensation, coffles were often ordered to serve as laborers or assistants in locations en route. For example, in 1758 the Marqués de Monterreal, from Madrid, informed the Intendant for Andalucía that all prisoner chains moving south for shipment to Ceuta were to work as peons in a tobacco factory until more prisoners could be gathered together to continue the coffles’ transport (Carmona Portillo 1998, 223). A 1738 order stipulated that during the eight days prior to departures of “chains with galley rowers, *presidarios*, or convicts for other destinations” (cadenas con Galeotes, *Presidarios*, o reos de otros Destinos), the cost of the previous transport must be publicly announced from the doorway to the Carcel de Corte in Madrid, “in case there might be someone better to benefit the Royal Treasury, than [did]the last conductor” (Alejo

Llorente de Pedro 2006a, 141; para el fin de si hubiere quién haga más beneficio [al] Real Hacienda, que el último conductor). Onlookers watched as convicts from the Cárcel de la Villa joined coffles mobilized from Toledo en route to Cartagena and forced labor overseas (Vales Asenjo 1800, 13)—the route overland (“por tierra”) to Orán which mirrors the route to North African presidios described in Cruz’s *Manolo*.<sup>40</sup>

Entr’acte theatrical depictions of *majos* as penal subjects refer audiences to managed, networked flows of populations transported out of towns and cities, down highways, across plains or bodies of water, and toward forced labor at private or state installations.<sup>41</sup> Through the inclusion of fictional, marginalized or working-class characters who, as “majos,” depict potential or returning fodder for the imperial penal system, *sainetes* and *tonadillas* make visible, through stagecraft, an increasing Enlightenment preoccupation with subordination to the “general program” (Sambricio 1991, 37) of Territory. Beyond “popular” Spanishness, depictions of *majos* in entr’acte texts further refer audiences to widely-understood mechanisms (from investigation by *alcaldes de barrio*, to overland chained transport, to shipment to North African and other overseas installations) by which everyday lives were harvested to serve larger territorial imperatives during the Hispanic Enlightenment.

## Notes

- 1 For more on *majos*, see Caro Baroja 1980; Coulon; Fuentes; González Troyano; Haidt 2011a, 2011b; Huerta Calvo; Huertas Vásquez; and Zanardi.
- 2 All translations from Spanish are done by Haidt.
- 3 *Cartones de tapices* were paintings that served as guides for the creation of tapestries in the Royal Tapestry factory.
- 4 For more on visual depictions of *majos*, including those by Goya, see Zanardi; and Haidt 2011b, 252–259.
- 5 *Indiano* refers to a Spaniard, emigrated to the Americas and returned to Spain, often having obtained wealth.
- 6 On *tonadillas*, see Haidt 2009; Labrador López; Le Guin; Lolo et al; Lolo 2008; Romero Ferrer 2008; and Subirá, Vol. I. On *sainetes*, see Coulon; Cotarelo y Mori; Haidt 2009; Huerta Calvo; Romero Ferrer 2005; and Sala Valldaura.
- 7 *Alcalde de barrio* is a neighborhood mayor while *cabo* is a corporal.
- 8 *Presidio* could refer, variously, to a defensive fortification; and to a holding site for the convict labor assigned to public works or other projects (e.g., the presidio del Prado). It can appear as a synonym for “site of imprisonment” with regard to convict destinations. For more on *presidios*, see Alejo Llorente de Pedro 2006b; Arnal Simón; Carmona Portillo; Lasala Navarro; Pike; and Salillas.
- 9 See: Anderson et al.; De Vito; De Vito and Lichtenstein; Donoghue and Jennings; Drapeau; and Mehl.
- 10 On cartography and mapping within this framework, see López Alós.
- 11 For more on Enlightenment theories of *aplicación*, see Díez.
- 12 “Convict destinations could be decided not just by the courts but by administrators, either before or after transportation, on the basis of labour needs” (Anderson et al. 4). See also Donoghue and Jennings.
- 13 In this discussion I address male sentencing to naval, military and public works presidios. Women convicted of *vagabundaje* and *malentretimiento* in Madrid received punishments such as whippings and forced labor in prisons and workhouses. For more on the unfree labor of female *vagabundas*, see López Barahona.
- 14 The eponymous *majo* protagonist of Cruz’s sainete *Manolo* recounts details of the sorts of “least desirable outcomes” to which convicts might be sentenced (in the case of Manolo, with reference to presidios in North Africa): “I raised fortified walls; I dug out/the sand pits; mixed lime for mortar;/broke a thousand picks; unearthed quarries ...” (Cruz 1915c, 53; Yo levanté murallas; de la arena/limpié los fosos; amasé cal viva;/rompí mil picos; descubrí canteras ...).
- 15 AHN Consejos, Libro 2808.
- 16 AHN Consejos, Legajo 3011, f. 1r–2v.
- 17 “Lista de los reos...sentenciados a presidio” 1476v, AHN, Consejos, Libro 2808.
- 18 See also Pérez Estévez 1976, 197–222.

- 19 The Esquilache Riots (1766) were popular uprisings, in and around Madrid, against a climb in food prices and other consequences of reforms set in motion by Carlos III's minister Leopoldo de Gregorio, the Marquis of Esquilache; perhaps the most famous reform mandated a reduction in the public's ability to wear large capes and wide-brimmed hats known as *chambergos* (an accessory often associated with Madrid's *majos*).
- 20 On *alcaldes de barrio*, see Aguilar Piñal; Apaolaza-Llorente; and Cuesta Pascual.
- 21 In the context of the *rondas de vagos*, *rondas* can mean "roundups done by patrols," or the "patrols" themselves.
- 22 AHN Consejos Lib. 1363, fol. 1037v; in Pérez Estévez 1976, 63.
- 23 AHN Consejos, legajo 39821, exp. 5.
- 24 AHN, Consejos, legajo 39821, exp. 6. For more on *presidarios* and naval sentencing, see: Lasala Navarro; Martínez Martínez; and Pérez Estévez 1979.
- 25 *Guapo* could mean "bully," "thug," or "strongman."
- 26 The arsenal at Cartagena had a naval presidio to which Madrid *vago* convicts often were sentenced (see Lasala Navarro; Martínez Martínez; and Pike 70–73).
- 27 AHN Libro de Gobierno fol. 638 sq; in Coulon 1993, 347–348. For more on *gitanos* in *tonadillas*, and the targeting of gypsies by law enforcement during the period, see: De la Fuente Ballesteros 1984; Gómez Alfaro 1993; and Martínez Martínez 2013. On "swaggering" by *majos*, see Zanardi 2016, chapter 2.
- 28 AHN Libro de Gobierno fol. 638 sq; in Coulon 347–348.
- 29 Caro Baroja 1969 surveys *guapo*, *bandido*, and *matón* lore, 103–143 and 254–259.
- 30 "El Guapo (Bocanegra)" is transcribed in Le Guin 2014, 170–172. The title may refer to a bandit known in romance lore as Boca-negra, from Málaga (mentioned in Caro Baroja 1969, 127). Jovellanos's viewing of "Tonadilla del guapo" is in Coulon 1993, 348.
- 31 *Manolos* and *majos* are linked typologically within an urban framework studied by Caro Baroja 1980. For more on musical-theatrical and literary depictions of ruffians and bandits, see Bergman 2014; Caro Baroja 1969, 103–143; Di Pinto 2014; Le Guin 2014, chapter 4; and Marco 1998.
- 32 Cotarelo 1899, 384
- 33 It is worth noting, however, that in his 1791–1792 diary, the *alcalde de barrio* Pedro García seems more often than not to have admonished and threatened, rather than outright arrested, residents perceived as disorderly ("Libro de asientos," AHN, Estado 3011).
- 34 In Cruz's text, the protagonist's boast that he sallied forth from a palace is consistent with the burlesque of dramatic convention for high-born characters. However, Cruz's audiences would have understood that the ruffian *majo* Manolo is likely referring to the Cárcel de Corte (the court jail), whose dungeons shared a building with court offices for the Sala de Alcaldes de Casa y Corte, and other provincial administration. Toward the end of the 1760s, the jail itself occupied adjoining space in a former convent. I am grateful to Jesús Escobar and Jesús Pérez Magallón for information that helped me work through this link. For more on the Cárcel de Corte, see Lastres. For more on Madrid's jails during the period, see de Ramón Laca.
- 35 In this play an unfaithful wife, plotting against her husband, is urged by a friend "woman, throw him into a presidio" (1915b, 90; *muger, échale a un presidio*).
- 36 A *barbera* is a straight razor; the play on words suggests the cutting nature of the *maja's* observations.
- 37 López García 2003, 91–93; Haidt 2011b, 268–276.
- 38 Howard's *The State of the Prisons in England and Wales* was first published in 1789; the translation from which I cite is based on Howard's 4th edition, of 1792.
- 39 As referred in Cruz's *Manolo* (1915c, 53).
- 40 Cruz 1915c, 53.
- 41 For more on the mobilization of forced laborers and other penal subjects, see Anderson et al. 2015; Carmona Portillo 1998; De Vito 2018; De Vito and Lichtenstein 2015; Alejo Llorente de Pedro 2006a; Martínez Martínez 2013; Mehl 2016; and Pike 1993.

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## Found in translation

### Homoerotica and unconventional Muslim masculinities in Gaspar María de Nava Álvarez's *Poesías asiáticas*

Mehl A. Penrose

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#### Introduction

Gaspar María de Nava Álvarez (1760–1815), better known as the Count of Noroña, was an Enlightenment writer who complicated received notions of masculinity and sexuality by presenting non-normative Muslim subjectivities in his *Poesías asiáticas* (*Asian Poems*), published posthumously in Paris in 1833. In this chapter, I study the homoeroticism expressed in *Poesías asiáticas* in order to argue that it serves to invent a distinct Muslim masculine identity in the Spanish collective imaginary based on a celebration of love and friendship between men that resurrects the Muslim subject in medieval Iberia's Hispano-Arabic literary traditions depicting such relationships. This is in contrast to the depraved, lascivious, and violent stereotype of a Muslim predator that was so common in medieval and early modern Spanish literature.<sup>1</sup> I examine Noroña's translations of one Arabic poem and several compositions by the Persian poet Hafez to show how the deployment of positive imagery of love between Muslim men redirects the Spanish Enlightenment's approach to poetry away from French influences and invokes Islamicate literary discourse and its fictional world as a sort of new Arcadia in the Spanish imagination and as a source of poetic inspiration.<sup>2</sup>

#### Political and cultural context

In 1700 the ascendance to the Spanish throne of the Bourbon dynasty in the person of the duke of Anjou as King Felipe V (1700–1746) immediately before the outbreak of the War of Succession resulted in a new configuration of the monarchical apparatus in relation to its empire throughout the eighteenth century. French financiers, administrators, soldiers, and others not only took on key roles during the armed European conflict, but also in transforming Spain's institutions (Storrs 2008, 323–24). Due to the fact that the new king was from France and a native speaker of French, the institutional if not social and linguistic framework for thinking about and acting on the body and its expressions was influenced by a French perspective. Also throughout the eighteenth century, France was a major producer of intellectual culture and French was the language of diplomacy throughout the Western world. Some economically privileged Spanish families sent their

youth to France to study or to go on private tours. Many noble families packed their children off to convents and schools in Pau and other frontier cities during the eighteenth century (Herr 1958, 73–74). These young men and women often returned to Spain armed with progressive ideas and values concerning society, politics, economics, history, and the sciences. Many adopted French dress, vocabulary, and social customs upon their return, as writings of the era attest.

One of the central issues of concern for Spanish Enlightenment thinkers and writers was the status of the body and gender in society.<sup>3</sup> Many of them satirized the speech and behavior of those who sought to defy conventional gender borders in such works as *La petimetra* 1762 (*The Female Fop*) by Nicolás Fernández de Moratín, *El señorito mimado o la Mala educación* (*The Spoiled Young Master or A Poor Upbringing* 1788) by Tomás de Iriarte, and the short plays (*sainetes*) of Ramón de la Cruz, to name just a few. Hence reflected in journalistic, theatrical, and literary discourse were the fears and preoccupations of the privileged classes, who envisioned Spain careening down a dangerous path that would lead to national ruin. Social class and nationalism were bound up tightly in these fictitious representations and non-fictional diatribes regarding biological sex, gender expression, and, implicitly, sexuality (Penrose 2014, 11–15).

However, as Joaquín Arce (1981), Guillermo Carnero (1983), David T. Gies (2016), and Irene Gómez Castellano (2012) have all argued, Spain's eighteenth-century cultural and literary discourse was often contradictory in that it viewed life through a rational, empirical lens and, at the same time, through a jovial, lewd, and decidedly non-enlightened one, the latter representing the “cara oscura” (dark side) in Carnero's words. Alongside traditional, moralist, and enlightened writings, we find erotic and even pornographic texts, especially in Anacreontic and Rococo verses of the second half of the eighteenth century. Poets like José de Cadalso, Nicolás Fernández de Moratín, and Tomás de Iriarte, who penned works more commonly associated with the Enlightenment, also authored ones steeped in lewdness, frivolity, and even scandalous sexual imagery that seemed to contradict their better-known works, as Carnero (1983), Gies (2016), and Gómez Castellano (2012) have asserted. Gies (2016) argues that erotic literary texts and visual arts derived directly and indirectly from the sensualism of empiricism. Eroticism and its excessive, best-selling outgrowth, pornography, were a direct result of the theory that man conceived of his world and life through the use of his five senses (Gies 2016, 77). Eighteenth-century Spanish poets defended the new notion that nothing deriving from nature is bad, a concept that Rousseau expounds upon in his novel *Émile*, in which man is shown to be inherently good and his most innocent state is found in the natural world (Gies 2016, 26). This sensualist approach to life and poetry created a chasm between writers' Enlightenment constructions of the ideal model of an enlightened male citizen and their Anacreontic, erotic, and/or pornographic notions of a flawed man given over to his emotions and sensations. Irene Gómez Castellano posits that Cadalso, Meléndez Valdés, and the other Salamanca School poets considered the gentleman (*hombre de bien*) as their ideal model of behavior, one that was very rigid in its intention to strike a balance between traditionalist, obscurantist masculinity and the new-fangled, French-inspired foppish masculinity of younger men (2012, 23–26).<sup>4</sup> The Salamanca School poets even understood and accepted homoerotic aspects of the Anacreontic tradition (Gómez Castellano 2012, 83–94).

## Enlightenment notions regarding masculinities, sexual anatomy, and sexuality

### *Anatomical models*

Interrogating the Spanish Enlightenment discourse related to genitalia, gender expression, and sexuality is an arduous task if we do not first delve into the question of what Spaniards

understood as the latter three notions. Anatomical sex seems to be, at least to the twenty-first-century Western reader, a straightforward fact of biology reflected on the body. However, eighteenth-century Europeans did not perceive anatomy in this way. Previous to the 1600s and dating back to the classical period, European societies conceived of sex as consisting of one sexual organ, the penis, which was exterior in males and interior—and judged inferior—in females (Laqueur 1990, 25–62; Gilbert 2002, 34–41). Sex was considered a sociological rather than an ontological construct with unstable foundations (Laqueur 1990, 122–123; 134–135). Beginning in the late seventeenth century, many European doctors and scientists promoted the two-sex model of anatomy, arguing that there were two different sexual organs, one on men's bodies and one on women's. This notion competed with the one-sex model until the twentieth century, when it became universal (Laqueur 1990, 149–192). This new model was first promulgated in Spain in the seventeenth century as a teleological episteme. Then, in the eighteenth century this knowledge was combined with physiological theories promoted by thinkers such as Feijoo and Martín Martínez. They established the framework for forensic medical writers and practitioners in the second half of the century, who in turn attempted to incorporate Spain into the trans-Pyrenean Enlightenment's non-teleological approach to this subject (Vázquez and Cleminson 2011, 25–31).

## Sexual expression

As a binomial framework for gendered identity and role-playing gradually took hold in eighteenth-century Spain (Cleminson and Medina Doménech 2004, 57–58), key writings by male authors reveal that men's anxieties were rooted in the fear of the influence and even uncontrollability of the feminine as well as of the purported deficiencies and slippages in male behavior and speech. According to many eighteenth-century Spanish authors and thinkers, masculinity as they understood and attempted to represent it in discourse was entering a decadent phase. Therefore, they promoted a new version of man in their writings through the employment of a negative, exclusionary model of what did *not* constitute normative gender and sexual expression. Archetypical figures such as the cuckold (*gurrumino*) and the fop (*petimetre*) were omnipresent in literary, cultural, and theatrical discourse as a comic means to alleviate anxieties around masculine gender and expression. Regarding *petimetres*, Haidt states that “he is an image that summarizes or contains the essence of an anxiety around gender figured through terms of otherness” (1998, 120).<sup>5</sup> Concerning masculinity, R.W. Connell (2005) and José Reinaldo Cartagena Calderón (2008), among others, make the notion of one kind of (heteronormative) “masculinity” problematic. Its hegemonic singularity has been the default setting in gender studies until recently, and indeed scholars have long assumed that it did not need to be interrogated or deconstructed. Only in the past few decades have critics begun arguing for the notion of “masculinities” to include, among others, queer, class-, and race-based expressions of masculine gender.<sup>6</sup> In this chapter, I refer to the masculinities of men, arguing that the Muslim male's performative, default masculine subjectivity in Noroña's work operated at the periphery of, yet was not totally excluded from, heteronormative masculine paradigms.<sup>7</sup>

Michel Foucault has contended that the notion of sexuality was conceived during the eighteenth century, emphasizing “the sensations of the body, the quality of pleasures, and the nature of impressions” over the “deployment of alliance” founded on kinship and marriage that had been dominant up until then (1990, 106–7). The notion of sexuality as “natural” with a specific object of desire is a product of the late eighteenth century (Laqueur 1990, 13). Sexuality was considered at the time to be a fluid dynamic of one-time acts rather than behavior of a recognizable and classifiable ontological category (Foucault 1990, 43).

Discursive representations of sexuality, whether dominant or not, during the Enlightenment were fueled in part by writers' comprehension of the multiple constellations in which sexual expression could be manipulated as a source of power and knowledge. Most images of men depicted in non-normative sexual situations were imagined, crafted, and disseminated from heteronormative male perspectives, which problematized and stigmatized any behavior that was not blessed by the Church (Penrose 2014, 16). In light of these Enlightenment tropes that problematized gender expression and sexuality, we will turn our attention to a creative work that exemplifies the notions surrounding these constructions. First, however, we will examine eighteenth-century Spanish poetry in order to give *Poesías asiáticas* some context.

## Eighteenth-century Spanish poetry

The poetic production of the first half of the eighteenth century was marked by late Baroque tendencies such as Gongorism (*culteranismo*) and conceptism (*conceptismo*) and figured poets such as Eugenio Gerardo Lobo (1679–1750), José Porcel y Salablanca (1715–1795), and the Count of Alonso Verdugo (1706–1767), Third Count of Torrepalma (Polt 1989, 21–23). While the Baroque wordsmiths were crafting their verses, Ignacio de Luzán published his seminal work *Poetics* (*La poética*) in 1737 in which he presented critical theories regarding poetry and theater. Among his precepts, he suggests remedies against the “havoc of the ultra-Baroque” (my translation; Sebold 1970, 89, 93–94). Luzán's treatise in its first and second editions (the latter dating to 1789) would end up serving, in essence, as the handbook for neoclassical poets of the second half of the eighteenth century, most notably the last decade therein and the first decade or so of the nineteenth century.<sup>8</sup>

Around the middle of the century a new poetry emerged that engaged different aesthetics and perspectives, including Rococo, Neoclassicism, Anacreontism, and Pre-Romanticism (Polt 1989, 26–37). Each tendency moved away from the Baroque or roundly rejected it. Although the Rococo and Anacreontic styles generally prevailed earlier on than Neoclassicism and Pre-Romanticism in the second half of the century, the four overlapped to a great degree, and many lyricists devoted verses to several different styles in their cumulative works.

The Rococo interpretation of Baroque literature began during the reign of Ferdinand VI in the poetry of such writers as the Count of Torrepalma and José Porcel and continued for many decades, although it was later influenced by Enlightenment perspectives on culture and society (Arce 1981, 167). As Arce (1981) and Gies (2016) observe, in Rococo poetry, images of scenes and objects are miniaturized in order to achieve, in the words of Arce, “an intimate decorative portrait” (my translation, 171). Sensualist epistemology promulgated principally by Locke in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1689) and by Condillac in *Essay on the Origin of Human Knowledge* (*Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines*, 1746) significantly influenced eighteenth-century Spanish poetry. One of its expressions is found in the Rococo “modality” (*modalidad*) in Arce's words or “tendency” (*tendencia*), to borrow from Gies.<sup>9</sup> This new-found manifestation of the world of the senses and sensations vacillated between the most refined tastes and the most scandalous perversions (Gies 2016, 14–27). In the poetry of Juan Meléndez Valdés, most notably, sensualism is converted into eroticism and the contemplation of the female body.<sup>10</sup> Among the other contributors to Rococo lyricism is José Iglesias de la Casa (1748–1791), a member of the Salamanca School of poets.

Another modality that became highly popular in the second half of the eighteenth century is Anacreontism.<sup>11</sup> It is a poetry that was inspired by the sixth-century BCE Greek poet Anacreon and his classical and Renaissance imitators. Anacreon composed verses regarding love, pleasure, wine, and the beauty of youth, especially his young male lovers' bodies. The same-sex

desire of the poetic voice of Anacreon's compositions imbue the genre with a homoerotic aura. Indeed, the eighteenth-century Spanish writers of Anacreontic poems, including the majority of the Salamanca School, understood this context as they worked under Anacreon's long shadow (Gómez Castellano 2012, 56–63). The enlightened poets celebrated male friendship in their anacreontics in addition to the themes of drink, parties, and amorous passions. These compositions are characterized by their brevity, levity, repetitiveness, musicality, and circularity and by their transmission of an aura of simplicity, sweetness, and apparent ease of style. Anacreontic poetry had neither the utilitarian-didactic purpose of neoclassic lyricism nor the open drive of clandestine pornographic and burlesque verses to spur the sexual imagination of the reader. It was, like the former, widely accepted as part of and by Enlightenment intellectual and creative circles (Gómez Castellano 2012, 48, 51, 58). Its relatively immediate precedent and stimulus was Henri Estienne's mid-sixteenth-century publication in Paris of *Anacreontea*, a collection of ancient Greek poems composed by anonymous imitators of Anacreon (Arce 1981, 184; Gies 2016, 22; Gómez Castellano 2012, 50). Esteban Manuel de Villegas composed lyrics in the Anacreontic mode in the seventeenth century, but it was not until the late eighteenth century when the major poets of the day, especially those of the Salamanca School, made it ubiquitous in the Republic of Letters (Arce 1981, 184; Haidt 1998, 88; Gómez Castellano 2012, 50, 57).

Luzán's *Poetics*, particularly the 1789 edition, definitively influenced neoclassical poetry and indeed Neoclassicism in general and acted as a catalyst for its development in Spain. Probably his most influential contribution to Spanish poetic discourse, it was a treatise on literary theory and rhetorical arts that incorporated notions from the works of Aristotle, Horace, Quintilian, Beni, Muratori, Corneille, Le Bossu, Lope de Vega, and Cervantes, among many others. It mapped out the major tenets of rationalist classicism, including the utility of literature as a didactic and moralizing instrument and the importance of the entertainment factor for readers (*enseñar deleitando*) as well as the importance of "good taste" (*buen gusto*). The latter notion was a continuation of Baltasar Gracián's seventeenth-century theory of good taste, which he defined as the equilibrium of imagination and judgement; taste was viewed as the ability to conceptualize perfection and discern high-quality ideas and objects from among low-quality ones (Haidt 1998, 115). Neoclassicism intended to foment an idealized vision of classical antiquity, specifically of Greek and Roman civilizations. As a reaction to the excesses of the Baroque and the sensuality and frivolity of the Rococo, Neoclassicism was configured as a theory only in the 1760s and did not reach its zenith until the 1770s or 1780s (Arce 1981, 465). Employing classical tropes and references to mythological figures, neoclassical poetry attempted to perpetuate the philosophical, rhetorical, and aesthetic achievements of ancient Greco-Roman and Renaissance societies. It is marked by its refined and severe tastes, controlled and balanced verses, and consciously elaborate form (Polt 1989, 35). It eschews excess and embraces harmony, agreeableness, and perfection; it represents the culmination of the rationalism and classicism of eighteenth-century Spain, first introduced by Luzán (Arce 1981, 462, 469). It flourished as a genre in the Age of Reason, especially during the reign of Carlos III and the early years of the reign of Carlos IV. Some of the principal exponents of neoclassical poetry include Manuel de Cabanyes (1806–1833), Manuel José Quintana, (1772–1857), Alberto Lista (1775–1848), and Leandro Fernández de Moratín (1760–1828).

Pre-Romanticism is a tendency that developed within the Enlightenment project during the last quarter of the eighteenth century and the first ten years of the nineteenth century and was at its zenith at about the same time that neoclassicism was (Caso González 1970, 11). It represents the literary culmination of the Enlightenment worldview and acted as a sort of evolutionary step from rationalist classicism to Romanticism. It engaged civic, scientific, and philosophical perspectives on sensualism, philanthropic sentiment, and a new religious

sensibility that was more intimate and puritan (Polt 1989, 31). Pre-Romantic poetry's sensibility oriented it toward the adoption of deeply human and intimately personal expressions of Enlightenment themes such as the opposition to impediments to a person's moral or intellectual growth and the defense of everything that liberated and perfected human beings: public institutions, scientific inquiry, public education, and philanthropy. Poets who wrote in the Pre-Romantic vein, like Cadalso and especially Jovellanos, Meléndez Valdés and Nicasio Álvarez Cienfuegos (1764–1809), created as their ideal human a man who had a sensitive and affectionate heart and a rational, clear mind. Pre-Romantic poetry was sensationalist and was given force by the new humanitarian philosophy. It was deeply committed to social causes. Verses that are incomplete or rushed are seen as valid reflections of the emotional turbulence and internal disequilibrium of the poet. Common themes include the mystery of man and the universe; social problems; penal reform; pacifism; family; work; melancholy; and sentimentalism (Arce 1981, 440–444).

### Muslims, Spain, and Noroña's *Poesías asiáticas*

Although José de Cadalso was known in his day for his poetry, probably his most enduring work is his epistolary novel *Cartas marruecas* (*Moroccan Letters* 1789). Upon the posthumous publication of his text, Cadalso improved the image of Muslims in the minds of Spaniards during the Enlightenment and beyond. The friendship between the Moroccan Gazel Ben-Aly and the Spaniard Nuño Núñez in the novel is exemplary in an era in which such transcultural bonds, especially between Christian Spaniards and Islamic North Africans and Middle Easterners, were indeed not well represented in literature. Gazel and Nuño's friendship served to popularize the notion in the Spanish collective imaginary that Islamic people were dignified, honorable, and worthy of such relationships. Cadalso's characters Gazel and Ben-Beley, his mentor residing in Morocco, represented Muslims as trustworthy persons who could sustain deep personal friendships, and they were created against a national discursive backdrop of hard-set stereotypes, as previously discussed, of Muslims as treacherous and debauched people.

In his seminal work, *Orientalism*, Edward Said referred to the "Orient" and the people who inhabit it as the "virtual invention" of European writers and thinkers; it is a "*distribution of geopolitical awareness into aesthetic, scholarly, economic, sociological, historical, and philological texts*" (emphasis original; 1994, 1, 12). In Spain, cultural discourse has produced a wide variety of images of the Middle East and North Africa since the beginning of the Renaissance, at times benevolent and at times malevolent, especially at the height of the Ottoman Empire. Islamic North Africa and the Middle East, as the so-called Orient that "was closest to Europe and most feared by Europe acquired the character that eventually marked all other Orients" (Sardar 1999, 31). This is especially true in the case of Spain. Not only was there a highly developed Muslim culture in the Iberian Peninsula from 711 until 1492, but also Islamic lands lay just across the narrow Strait of Gibraltar in the Maghreb. The notion of the "Orient" for Spain was hardly a fictional or remote entity, and indeed Spaniards were unsettled by the idea held by Europeans north of the Pyrenees for centuries that the East started in Iberia.

In Enlightenment discourse, the approaches to portraying the so-called Orient, especially Arabic, Turkish, and Persian nations, communicated confusion as to the nature of Eastern culture. Did it produce, as in the case of *Cartas marruecas*, trusted and serious confidantes who were curious about and respected Spanish and Christian cultures? That is not how the Enlightenment writer Félix María de Samaniego (1745–1801) chose to portray Muslims. In his unpublished pornographic collection of verses, *El jardín de Venus* (*The Garden of Venus*), written during the late eighteenth century, Islamic men represent satirical, fuzzy, and clichéd figures, images which

fit the “figure of fun” to which Said refers—a risible Asian stereotype that is bereft of a human face. Combined with this “figure of fun,” Samaniego continues traditional Christian narratives regarding Muslim men by constructing sadistic sexual predators whose victims of choice are Christian European men (and, to a lesser degree, women).

In contrast to those images of Muslims and more in line with those portrayed in *Cartas marruecas*, Noroña transmits a very flattering portrayal of Middle Eastern culture several years later in *Poesías asiáticas*, a translation of various Arabic, Turkish, and Persian classical poets’ works. In this collection of verses, there are several poems that present tropes of male friendship and desire between men in a context of revelry and drinking wine, revealing the degree to which classical poetry from Muslim lands, especially that of Hafez, ran parallel to Anacreon’s poetry, a point that Noroña makes in a note to “Gacela XVI” (Ghazal XVI), which celebrates spring, falling in love, wine, and merrymaking.<sup>12</sup>

Literary tropes that portray men who desire other men in a sympathetic and positive light are indeed very rare in Spanish Enlightenment literature. Often these depictions occurred within the safe setting of male friendships in an age that encouraged male sentimentality, and for the present-day reader it is often difficult to discern whether the emotions expressed by one man to his dear friend were simply platonic or of a romantic nature. One example of homoerotic Enlightenment poetry is that of Manuel María del Mármol (1769–1840), who published his *Romancer* in 1834, which contains the *only* explicit expressions of men in love that were actually published as original compositions in Spain in the period between the eighteenth and late nineteenth centuries and perhaps since the medieval period (Penrose 2014, 139). In *Romancer*, Mármol follows the pastoral tradition in re-creating Arcadia where shepherds express emotion to one another and exalt a sentimentality that marks this literature as pre-Romantic.

However, it is in the translations of the Count of Noroña that we get a glimpse of what Spain considered the East, at once internal (in terms of its culture and history) and external to it: the Islamic cultures of the Middle East and North Africa. Noroña translated Joseph Carlyle’s *Specimens of Arabian Poetry* (1796) and Samuel Rousseau’s *The Flowers of Persian Literature* (1801) into Spanish, as well as William Jones’s Latin translations of major Arab, Persian, and Turkish poets in *Poeseos Asiaticae Commentarii* (1774) (Polt 1989, 298; Fortuño 2003, 31). Today, Noroña is as well known for his translated verses as for his original compositions that recreate an idyllic, love- and wine-filled world reminiscent of Virgil’s, Horace’s, and Anacreon’s. In the prologue to *Poesías asiáticas*, Noroña promises to offer compositions “full of fire and picturesque images” and to spare the reader of “insipid, philosophical rhymed prose” and “Gaulic coldness” that have come from France “for some time now” as “good merchandise” (my translation; 1925, 471) and which influenced Spanish poetry. With that promise, Noroña intended to reform Spanish lyrics and to seek inspiration in non-Western traditions. He was instrumental in weaving Pre-Romanticism, with its socio-humanitarian and exotic themes, sensualist and melancholic style, and enlightened symbolism into the Spanish poetic tapestry of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Polt 1989, 298). In effect, the Count was attempting to transform poetry, moving it away from a neoclassic aesthetic toward more passionate, alluring themes such as Orientalism that were characteristic of Pre-Romanticism and which would be elaborated and exaggerated by Romanticism. Noroña added this approach and themes in his verses to the classic repertoire consisting of authors such as Horace, Anacreon, Catullus, Virgil, Seneca, and the Spanish Golden Age masters Garcilaso de la Vega and Esteban Manuel de Villegas.

Noroña’s academic and literary training was rooted in both classical and early modern literature and philosophy. He drew upon the works of these writers and Spanish poetic traditions in developing his Anacreontic and pastoral lyrics. As Santiago Fortuño Llorens argues, Noroña converts the true Eastern spirit of the verses into pure Anacreontic compositions (1997, 38),

consistent with the conventions of his era. Noroña was well-versed in Aristotle's and Horace's philosophical writings about friendship and Virgil's eclogues in which male friendship played a central role. Aristotle considered friendship the cornerstone of community in *Ethics*. Of the three types of friendship, one was based on virtue and character ("true" friendship), one was based on utility/advantage, and one centered on pleasure (Mulgan 2000, 16–24). "True" friendship was exalted in Spanish Enlightenment poetry, especially among the Salamanca School of poets, who invented poetic names for one another and incorporated them into their compositions. However, friendship based on pleasure appears to be that which was celebrated by Mármol in his pastoral poetry, in which *amigo* is a word that could denote a platonic relationship or an erotic one.

In the poetry of Hafez, the Persian poet referred to in the eighteenth century as the "Anacreon of Persia" (my translation; Noroña 1925, 485) and whose work Noroña translates most often, the latter utilizes the words "friend" (*amigo*) or "friendship" (*amistad*) to refer to the masculine poetic voice's male beloved, which concords with Dick Davis's (2013) modern-day translations of Hafez into English. Hafez and other poets featured in *Poesías asiáticas* also use several other words besides "friend" to refer to the male beloved. For example, in Saíf Ad'daulet's original poem in Arabic, "The Happy Lover," Noroña employs "master" (*dueño*) to denote the speaker's object of desire. In Hafez's compositions, the images of the beloved are also translated as "king" (*rey*), "my boy" (*mi muchacho*), and "my Joseph" (*mi Josef*), which refers to the appreciation of the beauty of Joseph in Islamic literature, similar to Adonis in European literature. Noroña maintains the spirit of Hafez's poetic voices' open declarations of love of males by translating "lover" as "amante" and "beloved" as "amado," respecting his English and Latin sources.

Are the homoerotic poems really expressions of romantic passion, or could they just be platonic expressions of affection? I argue that we would misrecognize and misread the nature of the men's relationships in the homoerotic poems if we were to label them as merely platonic friends, but it is also anachronistic to label them as gay lovers in the contemporary, Western sense. The young male "beloved" referenced by the poetic voice in Noroña's translations of mostly Arabic and Persian poetry might serve some type of friend role, but he was clearly the object of amorous affection on the part of the speaker. The verses that Noroña translated into Spanish are unambiguous about the homoerotic feelings that the poetic voice expressed. Gómez Castellano refers to the "gay" [*sic*] aura that Anacreon imprinted on his imitators; Hafez shared Anacreon's praise of same-sex male love and wine (2012, 56, 192–93). In translating and reconstructing Hafez's lyrics and converting them into anacreontics, Noroña also was influenced by this aura and did not censor this praise. For example, in the poem "Gacela II" (Ghazal II) by Hafez, which Fortuño has identified as homoerotic (2003, 49), the poetic voice addresses himself to "that beautiful young man from Shiraz" (*aquel hermoso de Shiraz*), wishing that his object of affection would love him instead of spurning him, evidenced as the self-identified "Hafez" declares in a self-deprecating manner: "You spoke poorly of me, and How well you spoke" (Noroña 1925, 486; *Hablaste mal de mí; no es increíble. ¡Ay mí! Bien has hablado!*). He lavishes the man from Shiraz with praise, referring to the beauty of the mole on his face and his "rose-red lips." Even though the poetic voice makes use of the word "amigo" in the Count's translation, it is clearly a euphemism: "My friend does not need my love to show off his beauty" (Noroña 1925, 486; *Para ostentar mi amigo su hermosura/Mi amor no necesita*). His amorous love derives in part from the young man's aesthetic appearance.

In Hafez's poem "Gacela XXXV" (Ghazal XXXV), the poetic voice compares nature's bounty to his beloved or "mi muchacho." In each case, that of a rose, basil, a flower, and a cypress, nature's splendor cannot compete with the beauty of the young lover, who is "soft and mellifluous" (*blando y melífluo*) with a "nascent down on his upper lip" (*bozo naciente*), "voluptuous

and drunken eyes” (sus ojos [...] son voluptuosos, ebrios) and a “slender waist” (Noroña 1925, 496; *talla esbelta*). The possessive “my” indicates clearly that the speaker has an amorous relationship with the young man whom he praises.

In his translation of two of Hafez’s *ghazals*, XVI and XIX, Noroña notes that the poetic voice complains of the absence of his Batilo, a name that Hafez does not employ but which presumably designates the beloved, if we are to judge by the rest of Hafez’s lyrics. This name, however, complicates the translation. Bathyllus (Batilo) was purportedly the name of one of Anacreon’s young male lovers. According to Gómez Castellano, Bathyllus was Anacreon’s favorite lover to whom he dedicated his best poems (2012, 48). Batilo was also the pseudonym for the poet Juan Meléndez Valdés. It is a name that he employed as a homonym of one of the shepherds in his 1780 eclogue *Batilo* (*Bathyllus*). As Noroña notes on several occasions, Hafez makes use of a male figure as the beloved of the speaker. I argue that this is Noroña’s way of making these Persian verses more Anacreontic, more understandable, and perhaps palatable to his contemporary Spanish reading public. Spanish readers would have related to Batilo as the object of platonic affection in Meléndez Valdés’s anacreontics, and although it did not completely capture the spirit of Hafez’s lyrics, it approximated it for a public that would have been accustomed to this classic and renowned pastoral figure. It is curious and perhaps telling that Noroña chooses this name and figure since, as Reyes Cano posits, most Spanish readers were familiar with eroticism as almost all of the prominent eighteenth-century Spanish poets, following the Rococo sensualist convention of the time, composed verses in this vein (1989, 8).

By translating and importing images and poetic conventions of classical Middle Eastern verse into Spanish, Noroña let the Islamic world speak for itself, if quite indirectly and somewhat distorted, rather than present a wholesale Westernized notion of the East. Noroña did mediate the Eastern discourse to some degree with a Spanishness mentioned above *after* the original poetry had already been altered into Latin and English versions. This had several consequences. To Orientalists bent on showing Eastern cultures as inferior, the translations of English and Latin verses from the original Arabic, Persian, and Turkish showed the purported lack of morals and the unrestrained sexual drive of non-Westerners. Ziauddin Sardar underscores effeminacy and sensuality as typical characteristics of Islamic—specifically Ottoman—behavior in Orientalist discourse (1999, 31). Samaniego represented these traits in his poem “El piñón,” in which an Ottoman master sodomizes his Italian and Spanish male slaves. To some degree Noroña reinforced this image by translating Islamicate poetry with its themes of wine and desire rather than Islamic religious lyrics. Saíf Ad’daulet’s and especially Hafez’s verses had the potential to feed into the notion of the Muslim man as depraved, effeminate, and unable to control his supposedly unnatural desires. However, in his notes to the translations, Noroña does not denounce these desires or the purported lack of manliness of the poetic figures; instead, he focuses on how these translations can inspire a new kind of poetry in Spain. I suggest that one of Noroña’s aims in translating these poetic compositions was to construct what Gómez Castellano refers to as an alternative model of masculinity developed within Anacreontism to alleviate the rigid sense and pressures of the role of the body and masculinity inherent in the gentleman (*hombre de bien*) (2012, 50). By not denouncing the male behavior and speech in the verses he translated, Noroña constructs a male homosocial and homoerotic model in an age of heightened sensitivity and sensualism.

Another consequence of Noroña’s translations was that, despite presenting hedonistic images of Muslims, they had the effect of interrogating the inherent worth of Eastern cultures and their positive contributions to Spain. Muslims were no longer necessarily the blood-thirsty and cruel monsters of traditional Spanish literature, but rather contributors to culture and learning. In his notes to “Ferdusi’s Ode,” an Anacreontic *ghazal* purportedly written by

the Persian poet Ferdusi, Noroña theorizes that the structure of the *ghazal* is the origin of Spanish ballads such as *letrillas*. Additionally, in a note to Scherfeddin al Bossiri's poem in Arabic, Noroña comments that the sources of Spanish poetry are "absolutely" Arabic (1925, 479). With these comments, he reveals himself as an Islamophile, the likes of which we do not see in Spain again until a couple of decades later in the Romantic customs-and-manners (*costumbrista*) writer and Arabist Serafín Estébanez Calderón. These Islamophiles are often overlooked in the scholarship on Orientalism. As Sardar points out, Orientalism included pro-Eastern voices as well as anti-Eastern ones (1999, 70).

The effect of Noroña's translations of these Middle Eastern poems from English and Latin was that they upended traditional poetic rhetoric influenced to some degree by French poets. As he states in his "Prologue," Noroña wished to encourage his fellow Spaniards to abandon "cold" French verses and read Islamic poets, some of whom were Hispanic and whose compositions are full of enthusiasm and warmth of expression (1925, 471). In translating Islamicate poetry and referring to Hispanic Islamic poets whose works "lay buried in the Escorial" (1925, 471; *yacen sepultadas en el Escorial*), Noroña connected Spanish readers to the Islamicate cultural and literary world by way of an almost mythical Al-Andalus past and hence reveals his pre-Romantic spirit. According to Beik, Bragado, and Zapatero, "The European Romantic Orientalism in Spain takes on patriotic hues as the Arabic world was part of our history" (2007, 12). Although these scholars stress Romanticism, this thematic strategy indeed has its origins in the writings of the pre-Romantic poets, as Noroña demonstrates well.

## Conclusion

According to Said, "one of the important developments in nineteenth-century Orientalism was the distillation of essential ideas about the Orient—its sensuality, its tendency to despotism, its aberrant mentality, its habits of inaccuracy, its backwardness—into a separate and unchallenged coherence [...]" (1994, 205). In other words, the "Orient" was code for an expansive discourse about the non-European other. In Noroña's *Poesías asiáticas*, "Oriente" is code for a metaphoric paradise, an Islamic Arcadia, where "voluptuousness" and "passion" were part of a celebrated masculinity and where one could escape the harsh Christian judgements about same-sex love and hedonism. The figurative escape to the Middle East was, in effect, a literary maneuver on the part of Noroña to return Spain to its medieval Islamic past, later on exalted by Romantic writers, and to shake up Spanish Enlightenment poetry, steering it away from French intellectualism and ushering in an aesthetic that prized exotic spaces, cultures, and people and gave worth to the rebellious subject who sought a freer life and meaningful, sentimental relationships. Its effect was to create another paradigm of masculinity in the Spanish collective imaginary, one that included same-sex male relationships based on true love or, at the very least, desire.

## Notes

- 1 See John Boswell (1980), Louise Mirrer (1994), Mark D. Jordan (1999), Benjamin Liu (1999), Michael J. Horswell (2005), and José R. Cartagena Calderón (2008) for more discussion regarding the depictions of Muslim males in medieval and early modern Western Christian discourse.
- 2 I am using the term Islamicate here in the sense that Marshall Hodgson (1974) employed it in *The Venture of Islam*. He refers to countries or regions in which Muslims are culturally dominant but not necessarily observant. The term also refers to cultural and artistic products coming from these countries that do not convey religious messages.

- 3 Rebecca Haidt (1998) has published the most in-depth study of this topic to date, especially as it concerns masculine embodiment in Spain. Refer also to Vázquez García (1999) and Vázquez García and Cleminson (2011) for more on the eighteenth-century debates regarding gender and the sexed body as it involved androgyny.
- 4 For more about the eighteenth-century Spanish construction of the gentleman (*hombre de bien*), see Haidt (1998), Gómez Castellano (2012), and Penrose (2014).
- 5 González Troyano (1994), Haidt (1998, 1999), Prot (2002), and Penrose (2014) discuss the *petimetre* and the anxiety revolving around masculinities during the Enlightenment period.
- 6 For more information on this topic, see Whitehead (2002), Connell (2005), Howson (2006), Cartagena Calderón (2008), and Simonton (2008).
- 7 As Judith Butler has argued convincingly in *Gender Trouble* and *Bodies That Matter*, gender is a performative social construction that is reiterated across generations according to an idealized and mythic value of heteronormativity. It is “not always constituted coherently or consistently in different historical contexts” (*Gender Trouble* 1990, 4).
- 8 See Polt (1989, 24–26) regarding the eighteenth-century discussions and influence of Luzán’s first and second editions of *La Poética*.
- 9 Gies avers that Rococo is not a movement, a school, or a specific period but rather a tendency or attitude that appears in certain verses by some poets, mostly in the period between the late Baroque and the onset of the Enlightenment and Neoclassical poetry (2016, 30–31).
- 10 Gies (2016) dedicates Chapters 2 and 3 to Rococo eroticism in eighteenth-century Spanish poetry. He discusses major Rococo artists such as Boucher, Fragonard and Watteau and the erotic power of their works’ symbolism. Rather than attempt to connect the aforementioned artists’ visual art to Spanish poets’ verses or to show the formers’ influence, he instead suggests the need to search for a synchronic language and symbolic ties between poetic and pictorial images that may shed light on the Rococo aesthetic.
- 11 For more detailed discussions of Anacreontism in Enlightenment Spain, refer to Salinas (1983), who is one of the first critics to emphasize the importance of this modality in Spanish and Latin American poetry; Polt (1989); Sebold (1970); and Gómez Castellano (2012).
- 12 Gómez Castellano (2012) comments on the similarities in content in Anacreon’s and Hafez’s verses in Chapter 3.

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# Inquisition and Enlightenment

*Daniel Muñoz Sempere*

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In February 1813, the *Cortes de Cádiz* (Spanish constitutional congress), issued a decree abolishing the tribunal of the Spanish Inquisition based on its incompatibility with the 1812 Constitution. This abolition was not the first, nor would it be the last (the Inquisition had been abolished by Napoleon in French-occupied Spain in 1808, and it would be restored by Ferdinand VII in 1814), but it was surrounded by an unprecedented public debate about the Tribunal, its nature, and its role in national history. Both inside the parliament and outside, in the pages of the pamphlets and periodical articles that appeared defending and attacking the institution, the past and present of the Inquisition were subjected to a level of public scrutiny never seen before inside Spain (Escudero 2005, 361–422; Muñoz Sempere 2008, 95–121; La Parra and Casado 2013, 86–131). Although the definitive abolition would have to wait until 1834, the debates at Cádiz—and the wide echoes that they found in the press and the print culture of the War of Independence—were the culmination of a long-standing confrontation between different ways of understanding the role of an institution that had defined the early-modern history of Spain.

Rather than a definitive blow, the decree of 1813 signified the final reckoning of a question that had not been the object of public examination before, precisely due to the vigilance exerted by the Inquisition on writings and utterances that might compromise its own reputation and public image. The abolition debates often hinged on ideas that are familiar to the student of eighteenth-century Spanish history: from Jansenist vindications of the independence of the bishops and the king versus the Holy See and the Jesuits, to complaints about the interference of the Inquisition in secular matters and in the censoring of books.<sup>1</sup> For the Cádiz liberals, however, the Inquisition was not just an institution whose power rivalled the king, but also one that was incompatible with popular sovereignty, as well as historically linked to the abuses of despotism. The abolition of the Inquisition, together with that of fiefdoms and the declaration of freedom of the press (itself a deathblow to the tribunal, which was deprived of one of its main functions), was one of the key revolutionary moments of the 1808–1814 period. It was also significant that, as befitting a revolution that was liberal but also monarchist and eminently Catholic, the abolition decree established other means to protect the integrity of the Catholic religion and kept the observance of the crime of heresy.<sup>2</sup>

Enlightened ideas were crucial in the configuration of a set of discourses against the tribunal in the run-up to 1813. A glance at the intellectual ascendancy of the liberals at Cádiz shows that the issue of the Spanish Inquisition, its reform, and its effect upon the Enlightenment, was a question that haunted many of the *ilustrados* or enlightened thinkers (García Cárcel and Moreno Martínez 2002). The Count of Toreno, one of the most prominent of the liberals, declared that he had not known anyone “endowed with lights” who had not suffered harassment from the Inquisition (cited by La Parra and Casado 2013, 109). The aim of this chapter is to consider the role of the Inquisition in the transmission and reception of enlightened ideas, as well as the way in which some authors deployed strategies to criticize the Tribunal before the freedom of the press and the abolitionist debates at Cádiz enabled a public discussion about it.

## **The Inquisition in the eighteenth century: Between adaptation and reform**

The Spanish Inquisition was originally established in the fifteenth century to combat the heresy of crypto-Judaism (the supposed secret observance of Judaism among some newly-converted Christians), but over the centuries it extended its jurisdiction over *moriscos* (Christianized Muslims), Lutherans, and other groups and individuals that deviated from Catholic dogmatic and moral orthodoxy. Like similar Tribunals in the Portuguese Empire and the Papal States, it differed from the medieval Inquisitions that took place in Europe during the XII and XIII centuries in that it was a permanent institution rather than an investigative process initiated in response to specific heresies. Its permanent nature meant that its attributions and duties evolved throughout the centuries in response to new threats to religious orthodoxy. Once the mass heresies of the first two centuries began to dissipate, the Tribunal became more concerned with book censorship—exerted via denunciations, the publication of edicts of prohibition, and the compilation of an index of forbidden books—vigilance over book trade and import, blasphemies, priestly solicitation (the sexual abuse perpetrated by clergymen during the sacrament of confession), and other social and sexual mores.

Although the eighteenth century was traditionally seen as a time of institutional decadence for the Inquisition, the truth is that its operational capacity and organization remained largely unchanged. Despite the loss of many of the privileges traditionally conferred on its members, it managed to keep a high level of activity and it still held considerable political power. After the break occasioned by the War of Succession (1701–1714), the Inquisition renewed its activity with a virulent campaign against some newly-discovered foci of Judaism between 1721 and 1727 (Lea 1907, III, 318). Later in the century, it managed to adapt to new circumstances in a largely successful bid for survival. The Inquisition had a more discreet public presence (the grand autos-da-fé of old were now private affairs held inside churches or monasteries), but it still had considerable power and managed to sustain a constant level of activity throughout Spain and the Spanish American viceroyalties (Pérez 2002, 233–252; García Cárcel and Moreno Martínez 2000, 82).

The change in the profile of crimes persecuted by the Inquisition and its increasingly political nature would be central arguments in the campaign to show that the tribunal was anachronistic and deviated from its original purpose. The Inquisition had been adapting to the new times by turning its attention to enlightened and revolutionary ideas, resembling more and more, in the words of Henry Charles Lea, a kind of “haute police” (1907, IV, 117). This transformation became more evident towards the final part of the century. A study of the typology and frequency of crimes during the first half of the 1700s showed that priestly solicitation was the most numerous (155 cases) followed closely by superstitious practices, including witchcraft

(144), Judaism (138), *proposiciones* or heretical propositions (126), and a string of anecdotal cases of bigamy, Protestantism, Islam, blasphemy, sodomy, Freemasonry, Molinism, Jansenism, false testimony, or abuse of the office of the Inquisition (Egido 1984, 1380–1404).<sup>3</sup> The “new” heresies linked to the Enlightenment only show up occasionally—the references to Jansenism—,<sup>4</sup> and the mainstay of the Tribunal still seems to be the most traditional targets of ecclesiastical discipline, superstition, and the imposition of Catholic morals via social and sexual control. Things changed in the second half of the century, when, in the words of Joseph Pérez, the Inquisition refocused its activity in two main strands which, although not necessarily new, were now almost exclusive: the fight against superstition and moral wrongdoing on one hand and, on the other, vigilance over impiety and irreligious thought (2002, 238). This last concern will be progressively centered around book censorship and the vigilance over the book trade and the importation of books, both those coming into Spain and those being sent to the Americas.

The history of the Spanish Inquisition until this point had been, among other things, that of an institution that encroached upon other jurisdictions aided by its formidable power and, in the case of book censorship, it had had free rein and independence from the Crown since the times of Philip II (Martínez Bujanda 2016, 184). This trend was reversed with the Bourbon monarchy. The 1760s saw several attempts to subordinate the Inquisition to the King and end the traditional jurisdictional ambiguity of an institution that had always benefited from its mixed nature—subject to the monarch but established by a Papal bull and therefore dependent on the Pope. The plans were greatly influenced by the desire to end the powers of the Inquisition over book censorship, a royal faculty exerted via the Council of Castile that had to coexist with inquisitorial censorship and the Index of forbidden books. A royal decree in 1768 established a series of guidelines aimed at the ways in which the Inquisition performed its censorial duties. The core of the decree was the subjection of the Tribunal to the King, whose verdict should be sought prior to the publication of an inquisitorial edict of prohibition. Perhaps more importantly, the authors of the decree (the crown prosecutors Pedro Rodríguez, Count of Campomanes and José Moñino, Count of Floridablanca) introduced a series of measures that limited inquisitorial censorship to a near-advisory role. Catholic authors should be heard before their works could be forbidden or expurgated, inquisitorial prohibitions should be circumscribed to questions of dogma and morals, and books under suspicion could not be blocked before a final verdict by the inquisitorial *calificadores* or officers.

Although the impact of the decree was uneven and its main aim was to strengthen the power of the monarch, some of the ideas contained in it suggest a rebalancing of the question of freedom of conscience and autonomous use of reason versus the preservation of Catholic orthodoxy. In a report written by Campomanes and Moñino as a clarification of the decree, the authors argue that the expurgation of books may be performed by book owners themselves upon reading a decree. In other words, owners of books that have been found to contain heretical propositions—but not enough to be forbidden as a whole—could simply cross out the sentences themselves without the need to submit the book to the Inquisition, regardless of whether or not other religious or civil authorities could act against the owner if he or she decided not to expurgate the book.<sup>5</sup>

Things were not substantially different under Floridablanca. In the “Instrucción reservada de la Junta de Estado,” which he issued in 1787 as a set of guidelines for the advisory body to the Crown that he had created, he recommended that the Inquisition ought to be protected and enhanced, but also that this protection should be conditional to the circumscription of the institution to its remit: that of prosecuting heresy, apostasy and superstition. In a not very subtle warning aimed at the inquisitorial encroachment on issues such as censorship—the following section recommends that the *calificadores* should be chosen amongst well-educated individuals

and approved by the king—Floridablanca finishes this section of his “Instrucción” with the following reflection: “Moderate and regulated power is durable; but that which is excessive and extraordinary is rendered despicable and it is destroyed when there comes a time of crisis” (Floridablanca 1867, 217–218).

The historical events suggest that what lurked behind this warning was more a reminder of the pre-eminence of the king rather than a strict desire that the Inquisition limit itself to purely religious matters. In his work on Charles III and the Enlightenment, Francisco Sánchez-Blanco has noted how the monarch allowed *carte blanche* to the Inquisition in its repression of “philosophers” as long as it recognized the superiority of the crown over the altar. The trial of the administrator Pablo de Olavide, a famous case that sent shockwaves through Europe, can be read as a good example of a royal policy that in cases of conflict between the Inquisition and the Enlightenment would err on the side of the Tribunal as a guarantor of order.<sup>6</sup> Olavide, a devout Christian with an unconcealed contempt for external ceremony and superstitious beliefs and who corresponded with Rousseau and Voltaire, was denounced as a materialist philosopher due to some careless utterances. He was convicted of heresy, paraded in an auto-da-fé to which prominent members of the nobility were invited, and was sentenced to exile and conventual prison (Defourneaux 1959). This process, one that was conceivably staged as a warning against other *ilustrados* via the public humiliation of a close collaborator of the King, signalled a mutual understanding between the monarch and the Church on the importance of containing the spread of the more radical tendencies of the Enlightenment (Sánchez-Blanco 2002, 148).

From 1789 onwards, the Tribunal was a prime instrument for the minister Floridablanca in his attempt to isolate Spain from the influence of the French Revolution. On the 21st of September of that year, Floridablanca issued a royal command to the Grand Inquisitor Rubín de Ceballos asking him to guard against writings and other propaganda that challenged the subordination to the King, since revolutionary and anti-monarchical ideas are contrary to Catholic dogma (Domergue 1984, 24–29). In the last decades of the eighteenth century the Inquisition concentrated its power on the control of focal points for the introduction of subversive ideas, such as the border and port cities of Cádiz, Barcelona, and Logroño, as well as on the prosecution of works of revolutionary propaganda (Dufour 1990; Alejandre 2006, 91–130).

## Counter-Enlightenment and thought control

Although, as we have seen, the Inquisition did not have the same unrestrained powers over censorship that it had in the past, it still held a fabulous arsenal with which to counteract the tide of new ideas. In 1747 the Spanish Inquisition published an Index of forbidden books that included titles linked to the Enlightenment such as Bayle’s *Dictionnaire Philosophique* and Benito Jerónimo Feijoo’s *Teatro Universal*, whose eighth volume was the subject of an expurgation. The next Spanish Index was published in 1790, but in the meantime several prohibitions were issued via edicts against Diderot and d’Alembert’s *Encyclopédie*, Montesquieu, Voltaire, Rousseau, Condillac, Mably, and so on (Defourneaux 1973).

The inquisitorial turn against enlightened ideas included the expurgation of works of literary value or scientific utility (and therefore were allowed to be published except for specific passages), as well as the prohibition of books and the whole oeuvre of authors who were considered to be damaging to religious unity. Voltaire and other “*esprits forts*” were, in the eyes of the Counter-Enlightenment, a new sect akin to those that threatened religious unity in the past: the *filósofos* or *philosophes*, whose main aim was to subvert religion and undermine the institutions of the Church and the monarchy (Herrero 1971, 35–53). The edicts and indexes of forbidden books did not normally elaborate on the actual ideas that were considered heretical

and preferred to deprive them of publicity. Rather, edicts of prohibition would simply claim that the condemned writings were inspired by well-known heretics such as Hobbes, Helvétius, Spinoza, Rousseau, Voltaire and others. Brief justifications would often simply refer to the rules of the *Index Expurgatorius* and sometimes affix labels such as that of irreligious, blasphemous, materialist, deist, lascivious, “offensive to pious ears,” subversive of religion and/or government, and so on.

The culmination of the inquisitorial campaign against the *filósofos* was the 1790 Index of forbidden books, presented by the inquisitor Rubín de Ceballos as a response to the “circulation of numerous shameless and deceitful writings with which the libertines and the unbelievers and such monsters have flooded the globe for the last half a century” (*Índice último* 1790, xiii). Voltaire and Rousseau featured prominently as two authors who had their complete works banned since the 1760s even for readers with a license to read forbidden books, a distinction that was also granted to texts deemed particularly subversive such as Louis-Sébastien Mercier’s *L’An 2440* (1770). Many of the forbidden books in Spanish are manuscripts since printed ones would have gone through a priori censorship before being published. These include works of popular literature of an anticlerical or revolutionary nature, but also many pious readings (hagiographies, religious prints, prayer books, etc.) that were considered superstitious or erroneous. Few printed books in Spanish were forbidden (rather than expurgated), and most are Spanish translations of Beccaria and Montesquieu as well as some periodicals (Martínez Bujanda 2016, 196).

The 1790 Index gathered together previous prohibitions against ten periodical titles, most of which were condemned after the 1780’s, when the Inquisition awakened to the danger posed by the periodical press (Larriba 2005, 79; Domergue 1996, 175–178). *El Censor* (1781–1878), one of the most important enlightened publications of the time, featured in the index with as many as twenty-two of its issues forbidden and its editor, Luis Cañuelo, was subjected to an inquisitorial process (Deacon 2013, 42–44). Other important names in the late-eighteenth century Spanish Enlightenment were the subject of prohibitions, such as Manuel de Aguirre, whose defense of religious tolerance triggered prohibitions against two of his articles for being heretical, seditious, and immoral (Elorza 1986, 81–92). In an edict of prohibition published in 1789, the only two works in Spanish that appear forbidden *in toto* are issues from Julián de Velasco’s *Discursos literarios y morales* (Literary and Moral Discourses) and from the *Semanario Literario de Cartagena* (Cartagena Literary Weekly; Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición 3730, Exp. 282). Other titles such as *El Duende de Madrid*, *El Corresponsal del Censor* and *El Diario Pinciano* (The Spirit of Madrid, The Censor’s Correspondent, The Valladolid Daily) were totally or partially forbidden in the coming years. The multiplication of heterodox thinking in the periodical press was seen by the inquisitors as a threat comparable to that posed by the most revolutionary of the French books in their attack on Catholic morals and doctrine and on the absolutist conception of the State. In the inquisitorial report in the third issue of José Marchena’s *El Observador* (The Observer), the inquisitors noted the same alliance of unrestrained reason and unchecked passions common to the most daring libertines, an apology “of the brutish and the philosophical pleasure. The former a sensual one, and the latter stemming from a corrupted and disorderly reason” (cited by Larriba 2005, 82).

The effectiveness and impact of inquisitorial censorship have been the subject of much debate, and although a comprehensive appraisal of the matter would exceed the limits of this chapter, it might be worth insisting on some broad features. Inquisitorial censorship was never a perfect tool when it came to the surveillance over the introduction and circulation of philosophical books. Poorly-trained and often lax local inquisitors, late prohibitions—years or even decades after the books had circulated—the inclusion of books in the indices that were nevertheless unlikely to reach Spain, smuggling of books and pamphlets via the frontier and the

numerous ports, etc., meant that the intention of safeguarding the kingdom from dangerous ideas was never fully achieved (Defourneaux 1973, 111–127; Kamen 2008, 139–142; Torquemada Sánchez 2001). Spanish indices of forbidden books were often copied from other European compendia and included only a relatively minor number of texts that are heretical by virtue of radical enlightened thought, while a majority of them are religious books and pious readings condemned or expurgated due to doctrinal errors or controversies between religious orders. There were also long gaps when few “philosophical” books were forbidden: in the edicts of prohibition published between 1768 and 1776 fewer than fifty books were condemned, and many of them dealt with the suppression of the Jesuit order.

The Inquisition was not the only censoring institution and it shared its duties with the a priori censorship of the Council of Castile and the religious and academic bodies on which it relied for the approval of manuscripts (Domergue 1996, 69–95; Durán López 2016). This thick first layer of censorship meant that the impact of inquisitorial censorship upon national literary productions was limited. In the 1790 Index, for instance, although over 40% of the works forbidden were in Spanish, a large proportion of these (around 80%) were only subjected to a light expurgation, probably because printed books had already gone through a first filter of a priori censorship (Martínez Bujanda 2016, 195). The case of the periodical press, one of the main channels for the diffusion of advanced enlightened thinking, was slightly different in that a higher number of previously approved titles were later found to contain heterodox thinking. However, due to the system of denunciations, prohibitions were often issued years after the issues had circulated and had reached a wide readership.

Moreover, permissions to read forbidden books were issued more generously to individuals and institutions as the century advanced, hence the prohibition issued to books “even for readers with license” in the case of particularly incendiary texts (Defourneaux 1973, 175; Domergue 2004). Nor can we see inquisitorial censorship as being radically different to that of other European nations when it came to the surveillance over which books were being imported. As Martínez Bujanda has recently noted, a large proportion of texts forbidden in the 1790 index were also prohibited in France where their circulation was clandestine and, as in Spain, sent in from cities near the French border such as Geneva or Neuchâtel (2016, 199–200). Additionally, the characterization of the Inquisition as the archenemy of the Enlightenment should not distract us from the fact that some of the later Grand Inquisitors of the eighteenth century were often relatively open to new ideas as well as invested in Jansenist projects to reform the institution—the case of Manuel Abad y La Sierra (1793–1794). Many of them had personal subscriptions to some of the more advanced enlightened magazines (Larriba 2013, 133–135). Archival evidence of the inquisitorial procedure in the eighteenth century also suggests that officers of some local tribunals, such as that of Valencia, “were tolerant of some limited forms of enlightenment” (Haliczer 1990, 345).

On the other hand, the Inquisition still exerted considerable influence over the book trade into Spain and to the Americas, and the fear of denunciation must have had a psychological effect on readers and writers which is hard to quantify. In 1820, the prologist to an edition of Valentín de Foronda’s *Cartas sobre la policía* (*Political Letters*) lamented that during the previous generation “the taste for learning was stunned by the terror caused by the stupid and barbarically cruel tribunal of the Inquisition” (cited by Astigarraga and Usoz 2013, 112). An emotional picture of this psychological terror was drawn by José María Blanco White in his *Letters from Spain* (1822), in a semi-autobiographical account of the education of a young priest in Seville. Blanco dwells on how the Inquisition and the “Catholic divines” subject young students to a form of vigilance and mind control that not only stall the general pursuit of knowledge but also become

ingrained in their own selves, causing conflict and anxiety when their minds attempt to grow intellectually, as well as an insane appetite for irreligious books (1825, 95–118).

It could be argued that convictions of intellectual figureheads were relatively rare in the eighteenth century, but beyond the most famous cases of Olavide (Defourneaux 1959; Israel 2013, 389–395) and Ramón de Salas (Robledo 2013), there was a lower profile but persistent activity of surveillance, denunciations and processes with minor outcomes for many *ilustrados* such as Benito Feijoo (Aguilar Piñal 2003), Jovellanos (Caso González 1957; Domergue 1971), Tomás de Iriarte (Herr 1958, 211), Leandro Fernández de Moratín (Deacon 2004) and others (Márquez 1980, 59–75). A good example of the inquisitorial persecution of enlightened thought and the attention paid by inquisitors to the way in which enlightened ideas were popularized—what we might call enlightened sociability—was the trial of Ramón de Salas. Salas was one of the first popularizers of Bentham’s utilitarianism in the Hispanic world, and he used his position as an academic in the University of Salamanca to publicize new ideas on political economy. The accusations to the Inquisition emphasized the fact that Salas liked to translate pernicious French books for his students and would regularly lecture his students outside of the halls, taking walks with them and instructing them with “small books,” as well as inviting them to his house where, apparently, gambling and sexual promiscuity were rife. The proceedings reveal a certain emphasis not just on the heretical nature of the ideas being scrutinized but also on the transmission and the ways of reading encouraged by Salas. In tune with a wider clerical strategy to educate the Catholic reader in counter-enlightened ways of reading underscored by revealed truth and singularity of meaning (Rodríguez Sánchez de León 2017), the atmosphere of critique and open debate fostered by Salas was, for the inquisitors, a key part of the litany of incriminating evidence.

The role of Salas as a popularizer of dangerous ideas had converged with rumors about his lifestyle in a perfect reactionary portrait of the libertine and of the salon culture where he thrived. The testimonies provided against him pointed out his sexual depravity, his gambling and his informal lessons on economy as examples of his corrupting influence on his young devotees (Robledo 2013, 5). The Inquisition absolved Salas due to lack of evidence, but an intervention by the Bishop of Salamanca—head of the Council of Castile—sent him back to jail. As Ricardo Robledo argues, the intervention in the case might have ultimately come from the crown which, during the War of the Convention against revolutionary France, had issued directives against the introduction of pernicious books and ideas and was partial to the conservative plans to “Christianize” the university (2). The Salas case is a good example of the role of the Inquisition in enlightened Spain and how its repressive role cannot be understood as that of an isolated agent. The opposition to Salas and his teachings was widespread among sectors of the university, the clergy and the crown, but only the intervention of the Inquisition was effective in imprisoning him and removing him from his university chair.

In the prosecution of Ramón Salas, as in that of Olavide, the charges pressed were substantiated in the form of heretical propositions. The charge of *proposiciones* was one of the main weapons at the disposal of the inquisitors in their campaign against the Enlightenment. Sometimes overlapping with the less serious crime of blasphemy, propositions (the public or private utterance demonstrative of heresy) was in the eighteenth century one of the principal occupations of the Inquisition. As it has been observed since the pioneering work of Lea, the system of accusations fostered a climate of fear, since the most innocent, careless words could be twisted by accusers and inquisitors to show heretical intent. A drunk retort about the uncertainty of the afterlife and the imperative of enjoying the present, for example, could be turned into an accusation of heresy and trigger a full investigation into the person’s past (Lea IV 1907, 140). The statistical prevalence of one particular form of proposition throughout the history of the tribunal—that fornication between an unmarried couple was not a mortal sin—suggests that the crime of propositions was

increasingly used as a tool for social and sexual control rather than as a means to uproot dangerous heresies.

A quick survey of inquisitorial activity during the eighteenth century shows that the prosecution of verbal propositions was one of the key fronts in the repression of subversive enlightened thought and, in many provincial tribunals, the most numerous amongst the crimes prosecuted (Ramis Barceló 2011, 289). Although it is not always easy to distinguish between careless comments made in a spirit of jest or provocation and deeper ideological manifestations, both the accusations and prosecutorial allegations in cases of propositions during the second half of the century reveal the influence of modern philosophical currents. In a study of propositions in the tribunal of Seville there are several cases of utterances of a political or “philosophical” nature concerning freedom of thought, the merits of secularization, sympathy for philosophers such as Voltaire, defenses of Olavide and criticisms of the Inquisition or praises for the French Revolution (Alejandre and Torquemada 1998, 133–144). As the authors note, these propositions were often rooted in a vague association of ideas between names such as Voltaire and Rousseau and notions of individual freedom from despotism and clerical control as a means to build a better society (135).

To what extent are these propositions a sign of the transmission of enlightened ideas? Although a thorough study of the substance of eighteenth-century propositions might bring up interesting conclusions, in most cases it is not always easy to distinguish between provocative comments and expressions of a deeply held conviction—although the role of the Inquisition was, precisely, that of ascertaining this very distinction in its interrogations. In his recent study of the tribunal of the Inquisition in Galicia, Martín González Fernández mentions one example that is to some extent archetypical of the way in which the inquisitors twisted careless propositions or blasphemies to discover a more “philosophical” background to the mental convictions of suspects. Juan Rezano, an official at La Coruña’s maritime post bureau, was denounced to the Holy Office for propositions—he claimed once in public not to believe in hell—and the possession of forbidden books. Although the second accusation was not substantiated in the first instance, after several reports, interrogations, and, finally, imprisonment in the inquisitorial dungeons, a more precise profile of the suspect emerges: a well-travelled libertine, contemptuous of religion and who had in his possession several heretical books, among them Delisle de Sales *On the Philosophy of Nature* (*De la Philosophie de la nature*) (González Fernández 2008, 210–219). The maritime post bureau was also found to be a focus of heterodoxy, and he was condemned to imprisonment, public abjuration in an auto-da-fé and eight years of exile.

## Challenging the Inquisition before 1808

The Inquisition had been the subject of critiques since its establishment. In the eighteenth century, these critiques had mutated from their origins in testimonial literature and religious controversies (Max; Bethencourt 1989, 364–415) into a secularized and long-lasting political myth with a highly symbolic value (Peters 1989). In France, the *philosophes* portrayed the inquisitor as their natural enemy: a risible figure guided by cynicism and moral dishonesty, but also a symbol of the barbarism and the arbitrariness of the ancien régime (Erhard 1992; Julliet 2010, 31–37). In Britain, the Inquisition also helped define literary representation of Spain in Gothic narratives, although this was probably far less uniform or central than it is often thought (Wright 2018).

During the periods of *de facto* press freedom during the War of Independence and the 1820–1823 revolutionary triennium, the literary landscape was flooded with satirical attacks, testimonial accounts, apologies, historical essays and dramas about the Inquisition, often drawing from enlightened and modern gothic sources. However, enlightened or revolutionary criticisms of the

Tribunal in Spanish before 1808 were, with few exceptions—such as some vague criticisms of inquisitorial thought control in the press (Sánchez-Blanco 2002, 183)—necessarily either clandestine or published abroad. These included manuscripts as well as works published by exiled Spaniards in revolutionary France and distributed in Spain, such as José Marchena's "A la nación española" (1792; To the Spanish Nation), a propagandistic text against despotism that compared the Inquisition to the Bastille, or Luis Guitiérrez's *Cornelia Bororquia* (1801), an epistolary novel with sentimental and gothic overtones in which the virtuous nature of the protagonists is tested by a barbaric Inquisition and lecherous clerics. Some of the most important critical texts about the Inquisition that emerged as part of reformist attempts—such as those by Melchor de Macanaz or Jovellanos—remained as private documents that were only published in the following century.<sup>7</sup>

There are exceptions. One such case is that of Nicolás Jesús de Belando and his lawyer José Antonio de Quirós. Belando was a Franciscan friar who wrote a *Historia Civil de España* (1740–1744; Civil History of Spain) which was forbidden by the Inquisition despite having had royal approval. Aided by his lawyer José Antonio de Quirós, Belando wrote a complaint to the king where he defended himself of the charges. Belando's memorial refutes some of the accusations thrown upon his *Historia Civil* and defends the superiority of the king and his royal approval over the Holy Office. But Belando also mounts a general attack on inquisitorial censorship following Gallican authors (who asserted the freedom of the Church from papal authority) such as the Belgian canonist Zeger Bernhard van Espen and calls for a more rational process of religious inquisition. Rather than prohibiting certain works or propositions without a public examination of the erroneous doctrine—something that the inquisitors normally wanted to avoid and one of the reasons why local inquisitors were often deprived of specific details about what to look out for when persecuting modern radical doctrines—a fruitful Catholic Inquisition should discuss the substance of condemned heresies in public, hear condemned authors, and bring these ideas into the open (with the exception of authors who had been condemned as heretical, wherein the prohibition of his or her books is a consequence of their heretical status). In a reading of St. Paul to the Corinthians that provoked the ire of the inquisitors, Belando argues that heresies are necessary for the exercise of reason, since only discussing them in public would allow Catholics to transcend a state of "brutal puerility" (Belando and Quirós 1744, 4).

If the aim was to seek protection by bringing royal attention upon the case, the effect was the opposite. The Inquisition was alerted to the text and all Belando's papers were swiftly confiscated from his home and from the printer before his memorial could be bound.<sup>8</sup> The pamphlet was denounced and Quirós was arrested and subjected to a meticulous and detailed interrogation where he had to defend a list of specific paragraphs from his pamphlet (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición 3732, Exp. 5). He was sentenced by the Inquisition to exile and perpetual reclusion in a monastery, where he was deprived of writing materials for the rest of his life. Belando and Quirós did not reach the wider readership that might have helped their case by turning the affair into a public issue, although the text had a limited circulation in print and manuscript form.<sup>9</sup>

If Belando and Quirós defied inquisitorial control in the hope, presumably, of getting the attention and favor of the king, the case of Bartolomé José Gallardo and his defense of the poems of José Iglesias de la Casa revealed a riskier strategy of undermining the Inquisition by exposing inquisitorial proceedings under the public light. José Iglesias de la Casa was a priest and a poet, friend of the poet Juan Meléndez Valdés and linked to the Salamanca group gathered around the author and military officer José Cadalso. After Iglesias's death in 1791 he had left his papers to the editor Francisco de Tójar, including several unpublished poems, some of them of a satirical and erotic nature, which Tójar published in 1793 and then again in 1798. While in the process of preparing a third edition, the book was denounced to the Inquisition, which deemed the poems

“lewd and lascivious,” prohibited its reading, and eventually added it to the 1805 appendix to the Index of forbidden books. Unhappy with the prohibition of a book whose third edition was in progress, Tójar enlisted the help of Bartolomé Gallardo who wrote an anonymous rebuttal of the censorship and, like Belando and Quirós, published it (Muñoz Sempere 2004).

Gallardo was an interesting character in the Spanish Enlightenment and a perfect choice for Tójar’s defense. An erudite philologist who dedicated much of his life to the study of medieval and Golden Age Spanish literature, Gallardo was also a sharp satirical writer as well as a student of Destutt de Tracy and other enlightened philosophers. He became a prominent liberal during the *Cortes de Cádiz*, where he oversaw the library of the *Cortes* and achieved prominence with mordant satires such as the daring *Diccionario Crítico-Burlesco* (1811; *Burlesque-Critical Dictionary*). His satirical writings are a very interesting mix of Volterian humor and critique, traditional anti-clerical jokes and a very *castizo* (authentic, traditional) use of language and the Spanish literary tradition.

In the *Memorial*, Gallardo uses his vast knowledge of Spanish literature to openly mock the inquisitors and their sanctimonious reading of Iglesias’s poems. The text begins with a transcription of the inquisitorial censorships, which explain at length the reasoning behind the verdict of prohibition of a book that was considered dangerous to public morals and to the imagination of the excitable youth due to its lascivious content. Moreover, as we have seen in the case of Ramón de Salas, the inquisitors saw the format of the book—brief and likely to be read and commented on “in circles where humorous people gather” (Muñoz Sempere 2004, 176)—as a threat due to the form of reading that it encourages: public, festive, and critically engaged with the interpretation of sexual euphemism and innuendo.

The second part of the pamphlet consists of Gallardo’s defense of Iglesias’s poems and the license afforded to satirical writers in their moral exploration of the human heart. To do this, Gallardo provides examples of comparably suggestive literature in the literary canon and contrasts them with the poems by Iglesias which appear milder by comparison. The overarching argument is that if the poems by Iglesias are prohibited due to lasciviousness, anticlerical satire, and the use of mythological images, the same should be done with many passages by the Arcipreste de Hita, Quevedo, Góngora, Argensola, Tomás de Iriarte, Camoens, the *Romancero* (popular ballads) or even the Bible. The *Memorial* thus becomes a short anthology of salacious and irreverent Spanish poetry interspersed with condescending remarks towards the inquisitors; but it also reproduces in print form the forbidden poems by Iglesias, with the excuse of explaining their moralistic and satirical intention. In his readings of the poems, Gallardo justifies, and expands, the portrayal of marital infidelity, the licentiousness of clerics and the critical depiction of academics as a legitimate satire of abuses. By trying to defend the irreverence of Iglesias as being a fair attack on abuses, Gallardo insists on the very criticisms that attracted inquisitorial attention, bringing forth more examples and rubbing salt into the wound. The inquisitors, however, were aware of the joke and the provocation intrinsic to the printing of the text and swiftly commanded that all copies of the *Memorial* be destroyed (Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición 3730, fol. 275).

The *Memorial* is a mockery of the Inquisition that subverts the all-important secrecy of the proceedings and brings both the censorship and defiant defense of Iglesias to the public sphere. The erudite and irreverent reading of the poems by Gallardo contrasts with the strictly religious interpretation undertaken by the inquisitors, wherein the sexual reference of the poem can only have a pernicious effect on minds.

The *Memorial* is an interesting showcase of the confrontation between opposed ways of reading, between the interpretative freedom and irreverence of Gallardo and the secrecy of inquisitorial proceedings, but also between an enlightened conception of intellectual emancipation in the public sphere and the religious—and absolutist—idea of the human being as a child

in need of a pastor. Although examples of challenges to the Inquisition of this sort are scant before 1808, the flood of criticisms of the Tribunal once press freedom was established suggests that opposition to it during the eighteenth century was both persistent and shaped by the role of the institution as a prime weapon in the arsenal of the Spanish counter-enlightenment.

## Notes

- 1 Jansenism was a Christian movement of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries based on the works of the Flemish theologian Cornelius Otto Jansen and characterized by moral rigor and asceticism.
- 2 As Emilio La Parra and María Ángeles Casado have observed, the debates of Cádiz were, at heart, about the obsolete nature of an institution inherited from the ancien régime and the relation between Church and State, rather than about the confessional nature of the State or Catholicism itself (2013, 99).
- 3 Molinism, named after sixteenth-century Spanish Jesuit theologian Luis de Molina, is a philosophical doctrine that attempts to reconcile the providence of God with human free will.
- 4 In eighteenth-century Spain, the term Jansenism was applied by the inquisitors in a rather loose manner. Inquisitorial denunciations were not limited to examples of French Jansenist theology but they were also deployed generally against instances of anti-Jesuitism and the defense of royal prerogatives and that of bishops against the Holy See. As H. C. Lea has shown, French Jacobins, Cádiz liberals, and even the *afrancesados* who supported the French during the War of Independence, or those who swore loyalty to Joseph Bonaparte in 1808, were often stigmatized as Jansenist by the Inquisition (1907, IV, 297).
- 5 Obviously, this implies that book owners would read the offensive passage before expurgating it themselves. Antonio Mestre argues that behind this measure lies a defense of individual freedom of conscience and a conception of the role of the Inquisition as advisory rather than coercive (1984, 1256).
- 6 See also the conflict between Government and Inquisition over the prohibition or expurgation of a work by Beccaria, and how the Inquisition secured a prohibition despite governmental and academic approval after it pointed out the dangers posed by “philosophers” to the respect of, and subordination to, the monarch (Deacon 2013, 40–41).
- 7 It goes without saying that translated works where the Inquisition was discussed in critical terms had the relevant passages expurgated. This was the case with the article “Espagne” in the unfinished Spanish translation—overseen by the Inquisition itself—of the *Encyclopédie méthodique* (Donato and López 2015, 58–64).
- 8 There are several references to the case in the correspondence of the humanist Francisco Mayans. See the letter from José Borrull to Mayans dated 10 of April 1745, where Borrull explains that most copies of the pamphlet were confiscated from the printer although some were sent away (Mayans 1996, 374–375; see also Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición 3732, Exp 5 and 10; Stiffoni 1989, 154).
- 9 We have only found one copy of the printed pamphlet, in the repository of library of the Universidad de Valencia. However, Melchor de Macanaz wrote a defense of Belando that includes a copy of Belando and Quirós’ memorial and exists in manuscript form in several libraries (Aguilar Piñal V, 1981, 321).

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## Positive and negative presence of a “radical Enlightenment” in New Spain\*

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The Enlightenment in the Hispanic world is as controversial a subject as is the concept of Enlightenment itself.<sup>1</sup> Many historians study it as part of a great transformation in Western thought or culture, while others defend the idea of a “Spanish” or “Catholic Enlightenment” with its own characteristics that may have even been contrary to other “Enlightenments” (critics of this view warn of the danger of broadening the term too much). Some see greater intellectual openness in the first half of the eighteenth century, others in the second half, and still more emphasize the transition to the nineteenth century; but everyone agrees that in Spain and its territories the doors were always shut to the most “radical” expressions of Enlightenment.<sup>2</sup>

Brian Hamnett’s excellent overview (2017), which has the advantage of not being limited to the Peninsula, would seem to justify precisely that view of a single moderate Enlightenment in the Iberian world, and especially in America, limited by censorship and the weight of religion. Does this mean, then, that the more “radical” Enlightenment did not have a significant presence in the Spanish world, and therefore in New Spain? Before attempting an answer, I should note that I consider “radical Enlightenment” as a relative concept, related to opinions and ideas but also to the variable limits, terms, and practices of censorship. Therefore, it does not coincide with an ideological, exclusive definition such as Jonathan Israel’s (2001, 2006, 2011).<sup>3</sup> For the purposes of this chapter, interested in the social and cultural reception of texts, opinions and ideas, I prefer Margaret C. Jacob’s view (2006) of a “radical Enlightenment” as a variable range of authors and arguments.<sup>4</sup>

We begin, then, with a principle of differentiated censorship that strengthened in the eighteenth century. The Spanish Inquisition, supreme representative of censorship in the Hispanic world, created its own division of enlightened literature, prohibiting the entire corpus of certain authors, and stating in its edicts that some works were simply prohibited while others were “prohibited even to those who have permits to read prohibited books.” That principle of differentiation (the bad and the worst) gained force in the second half of the century, to the extent that, on the one hand, the censors better defined the idea of extreme danger, and on the other, numerous readers exerted greater pressure to gain access to the “less dangerous” works. From the reform of 1768 on, at the behest of the Council of Castile, the Spanish Inquisition increased the granting of permits to read prohibited books, a practice that just a few years before it had attempted to abolish.<sup>5</sup> However, the Inquisition never gave up the idea that no reader was safe

from certain books that were as evil as they were persuasive. But what were these books that we could call “radical” from the perspective of censorship?

Given that most of the censorship *a posteriori* fell within the daily work of the Inquisition censors, it was natural that they would identify as most dangerous those books that criticized the confessional principle of the State, the ones that openly embraced philosophical systems that opposed religion, violently attacked the “fanaticism” and “superstition” of the Catholic Church, ridiculed Christian morality, attacked the Inquisition and defended freedom of religion. After all, this range of elements ensured that the most extreme prohibitions would include authors as diverse as d’Holbach, Helvetius, Rousseau, Voltaire, Diderot, and La Mettrie, as well as many other anonymous works (sometimes fragments of French books translated to Spanish) that were considered libelous, “libertine,” or “lustful.”<sup>6</sup>

For Israel, the generic identification of works and authors with such marked differences between them was an error which historians would have to take care not to make (2011, 16). However, that judgment on the part of the Inquisition censors, mistaken or not in ideological terms, is the starting point for this article, since that classification of “prohibited works” was what the “the public” of that time had in mind and what they had to struggle with before deciding whether or not to read certain works or share their opinions with others. Likewise, it was those same prohibitions that caused other readers and the rest of society to scold, warn, or report their neighbors; in short, they were what marked the border between a more or less acceptable Enlightenment and another one that most definitely wasn’t. In this sense, the *negative presence* of the “radical Enlightenment” in New Spain seems to be as important as its *positive presence*.

## Defining limits

The Inquisition did not call them “radical enlightened men,” because it did not consider their opinions enlightened; but it did call them “false philosophers,” “sophists,” “modern philosophers,” “new heretics,” and other similar names. They were European authors (almost always French) whose works had been printed clandestinely or in places that practiced greater tolerance, such as Amsterdam, and were prohibited in practically the entire Catholic world, at least nominally. But the Inquisition took its time identifying those scattered works as a collective threat distinct from the one that Protestantism normally represented.

By studying the Inquisitorial edicts, we can verify that in the first half of the century, the main concern was with Jansenist works, the controversy over the Jesuits, the divisions between religious orders, and the spread of Lutheran ideas. In those years the works of Spinoza, Locke, and Bayle were not listed in the Inquisitorial edicts and did not even represent a minor worry in the most serious cases of heresy and unbelief that were detected in New Spain, such as the case of Brother José de San Ignacio in the 1710s.<sup>7</sup> Denounced for Calvinism, the accused also spoke in favor of tolerance and was interested in finding common elements between Catholicism, Protestantism, and even Judaism. Before the Inquisitors, he confessed to being “inquisitive by nature, reading different books, although by Catholic authors”, which had made him doubt and lean toward Lutheranism. The Inquisition did not investigate whether he had read foreign books; they were hardly interested in the Franciscan Juan de Riquelme’s minor work, which, according to the accused’s statement, had aroused his curiosity to compare religions.<sup>8</sup> San Ignacio’s proximity to Lutheran businessmen in Cádiz and the possibility of family ties to Jewish *conversos* worried the Inquisitors more than his readings. The prisoner’s propositions and his resistance to taking communion during his prison sentence made his case worse, and the Inquisitors ended up sentencing him to being burned at the stake, completely convinced that his opinions were the product of his erratic life and his personality.<sup>9</sup>

In 1752, the Inquisitors in Mexico also failed to investigate the readings of a group of young creoles, led by a druggist named Juan José Alemán, accused of promoting atheism. The prosecutor read a long list of chapters that the censors attributed to the errors of “ancient” and “modern” philosophers. Some opinions on the Quran and Judaism and on the impossible measurements of Noah’s ark are similar to those that caused such a scandal at the time in Europe, but the Inquisitors were not interested in that aspect. After numerous interrogations, they attributed the errors to the excessive inquisitiveness of youth. Was Alemán an independent freethinker, or a reader of books and manuscripts that were never investigated? It is impossible to know, since the danger of the “new philosophers” was hardly even a blip on the horizon.<sup>10</sup>

According to Marcelin Defourneaux, the prohibition of Pierre Bayle’s *Dictionnaire* in 1747 marked the start of an offensive against the “critical thought” associated with the French Enlightenment (1973, 135).<sup>11</sup> As Defourneaux notes, the prohibitions against French books began increasing from that time on: in 1748 Montesquieu’s *L’Esprit des lois* (The Spirit of the Law) was banned; in 1751 it was the first volume of *L’Encyclopédie* and in 1755, Rousseau’s *Discours sur les origines de l’inégalité* (Discourse on the Origins of Inequality). The change in attitude is also seen in another edict from 1747 in which the Inquisitor General rescinded all permits to read prohibited books with a long disquisition against the “abominable delusion of curiosity and the arrogance of the “novatores.”<sup>12</sup> The permits would be reinstated some years later, and would even increase, but with the previously mentioned warning that some books could not be read even with a permit. The chart constructed by Abel Ramos based on the edicts of the Mexican tribunal shows that in the period 1745–1759, there were more titles prohibited by edict (395) than in the next fifteen years, 1760–1774 (159). However, in the first period, the preponderance of titles was for works by Spanish Jansenists, and for libels, sermons, and manuscripts about the Jesuit controversy, which inundated the Catholic monarchies in those years (Ramos Soriano 2011, 156).<sup>13</sup> In the decades of the 1760s, 1770s and 1780s, on the other hand, many books, periodicals, and libels in French were prohibited, both newer and older titles (Defourneaux 1973, 157–158).

The many dossiers created at the end of the 1760s against foreign soldiers (almost all accused of Protestant opinions) contributed to the growth of Inquisitorial fears at precisely the moment when the King and the Extraordinary Council of Castile decreed the expulsion of the Jesuits from every monarchy: a measure that perturbed the Inquisition and caused a crisis of opinions about the sudden (and for many, dangerous) turn in Spanish politics (Torres Puga, 2010, chapter 1). This is what makes the Inquisitorial edict of 11 July 1767, published in Mexico barely a week after the expulsion of the Jesuits, so noteworthy. In this edict, there were a number of prohibitions justified by the strongest of indictments: the *Dictionnaire Philosophique de Voltaire* (Voltaire’s Philosophical Dictionary), for its “heretical, erroneous, blasphemous propositions, which were offensive to the Church, seditious, and contrary not only to religion, but also to the wellbeing and peace of the States;” the *Lettres écrites de la Montaigne* (Letters Written by Montaigne) by Rousseau, for containing “heretical, unholy and abominable errors against the Catholic religion;” the *Pensées Philosophiques* (Philosophical Thoughts) by Diderot, for its ideas that were “destructive of religion and revelation, which lead to atheism, materialism, debauchery, and the undoing of good habits.” What is most notable is that the same edict contained a few Jansenist and anti-Jesuit titles with the same note as the others; that is, prohibited “even to those who have a permit to read prohibited books.” Were the Inquisitors insinuating that both these books and the others were inspired by the same irreligious spirit?<sup>14</sup>

That is precisely what is suggested in a document prepared in 1768, after the Mexican Inquisitors received the order from the Council of the Supreme Inquisition (pressured in turn by the Council of Castile) to not prohibit any paper attacking the Jesuits. The inquisitor prosecutor declared his disgust with a new era in which the Church felt threatened by the onslaught of

books, periodicals, and libels that inspired people to write their opinions about the Church and religion. Unable to take action, he settled for demonstrating his desire to pass an edict prohibiting “every layperson and religious who was not a theologian or canonist from talking about or disputing our sacred dogmas.”<sup>15</sup> The impotence of the Inquisitors at that time was revealed in many ways, among them the inability to bring to trial several people accused of expressing irreverent opinions against the ecclesiastical state and particularly against religious orders. One of these was Hipólito Villarroel, a Peninsular official in charge of governing Cuautla de Amilpas, a small city located between Puebla and Mexico City, who was responsible for expelling the Jesuits from that city and seizing their property. For carrying out such a difficult mission, Villarroel was accused of offending the Jesuits, mocking what he called “superstitions” and showing disdain for holy places and the sacraments. There were signs of religious indifference and suspicions of materialism, but the Mexican Inquisition could not investigate what he read nor complete his file.<sup>16</sup>

The danger of the new philosophers seemed to be ever nearer. In 1769 a well-known theologian, very close to the Inquisition and the Jesuits, issued a terrible report about a book that had been found in circulation in Mexico: “not only Christians, with heretics coming from all sects, but even Muslims and pagans will detest this abhorrent production that undermines every religion and everyone who worships a supreme being.” It was two volumes by La Mettrie, discovered in the baggage of a soldier recently arrived from Spain, that appalled the censor and made him exclaim that he had discovered “another Voltaire, a name that will horrify anyone who holds the slightest belief in a religion.”<sup>17</sup> The shift, therefore, was apparent not only in the increase in prohibitions against French books, but in their identification as radical works. If Jansenism and Protestantism had threatened to break the Church, the new authors were even more terrifying, since they attacked religion itself. Hence, they were described as potential destroyers of the Church and religion, of society and the State.

In subsequent years, edicts became increasingly descriptive, as if, beyond merely prohibiting, they wanted to raise awareness of the poison and remind people of the importance of Inquisitorial activity in preserving the social order. Thus, the edict of 1778 against the book *L'An deux mille quatre-cents quarante* (Memoirs of the Year Two Thousand Four Hundred Forty) defined it as “unholy, reckless, and blasphemous, favoring and promoting Deism; very harmful to the High Pontiffs, Holy Fathers, Clergy, Religions and to the entire Ecclesiastical Order; defaming [...] Kings, especially those of Spain [...] with vehemently furious invectives to sedition, independence, and lustfulness, the author is demonstrated to be in every way an implacable enemy of the State and the Christian religion.”<sup>18</sup> With the idea that the book was designed to “destroy all proclaimed religion [...] and even, if it could, to destroy Kingdoms and Monarchies” blossomed the fear that books could cause revolutions.<sup>19</sup>

Other indictments arising from accusations about the presence of “pernicious” books in Veracruz and Mexico City used similar terms:

The supposed *esprit forts*, who call themselves modern philosophers and are in reality impious, libertine atheists, deists, materialists who attack religion and the State in our century, are, in so many words, the corps that it seems the Abyss held in reserve for the purpose of destroying, if it could, both State and Religion down to their very foundations through its blasphemies, its impiety, its calumnies.<sup>20</sup>

The books in question, some not yet prohibited by edict, appeared upon reviewing the certified lists or the luggage of their owners; but they were always isolated copies that were never sufficient to allow for the supposition of the existence of a traffic in prohibited books.<sup>21</sup> However, the censors that battled with a particular work (sometimes from a single known copy) did it as part

of a larger war against the group of *philosophes* and their readers; that is, against the “*esprits forts*,” La Bruyère’s ironic term that was adopted by anti-Enlightenment censorial discourse against the unbelievers who boasted of their unbelief.<sup>22</sup>

## Negative presence of the “radical Enlightenment”

The review of library inventories has not been very effective in identifying the direct presence of the prohibited books of the Enlightenment; but those who have taken this path have at least been able to announce the finding of a significant number of books on secular topics (Gómez Álvarez 2009, 30). However, we should not overlook the indirect presence of Radical Enlightenment in a controversial genre: the refutations of the new philosophers.

This is found even in Viceroy Bucareli’s library of almost six hundred titles, among which were numerous books of science, education, public improvements, and philosophy, as well as the fourteen volumes of Feijoó’s *Teatro crítico* (Critical Theater). A recent investigation based on an inventory performed upon the death of the viceroy asserts that the religious books take a back seat in what appears to be, if not an “enlightened” library, at least a “secularized” one, and even so, only five prohibited books were found (Rodríguez Gutiérrez 2017). Three of them were by Voltaire, and all were his historical works: *Histoire de l’empire de Russie* (1761; History of the Russian Empire), *Précis du siècle de Louis XV* (1769; Abstract of Louis XV’s Century), and *Historia de Carlos XII* (History of Charles XII) in the authorized Spanish version (1771). Voltaire’s philosophical theories, on the other hand, were only present (and distorted) in others of the Viceroy’s books: *Les erreurs de Voltaire* (Voltaire’s Mistakes), by Abbot Nonnotte in both its French (1770) and Spanish (1771) editions; *El oráculo de los nuevos filósofos Mr. Voltayre...* (The Oracle of the New Philosophers Mr. Voltayre) by Guyon (1769); and the numerous passages dedicated to him in the tomes of *La falsa filosofía* (The False Philosophy), by Brother Fernando Ceballos.<sup>23</sup> Viceroy Bucareli had a permit to read prohibited books (on one occasion he used it to keep in his possession an *Enciclopedia* that had been requisitioned by the Inquisition), but he probably had no real interest in obtaining the books that the Inquisition prohibited so vehemently. For him, as for many other readers of the time, the safest way to approach the radical philosophers was through the critiques of the French or Spanish clerics who had the habit of partially quoting them.

The anti-philosophical literature of French origin began to be translated and disseminated in the Hispanic world in the decade of the 1760s. The importance of this genre should not be overlooked, since, being a product of intensive readings and critiques, they disseminated the philosophers’ principles, although they might have distorted or weakened their arguments (Burson 2008, 960–961; McMahon 2002, ch. 1). The reason for translating and printing these types of books in Spain, in particular those against Rousseau and Voltaire, was clearly expressed by Nicolás de Aquino, translator of *El Deísmo refutado* (a work by Nicolás Bergier that he initially criticized): “some will think it superfluous to print in the vernacular the critiques of these libertines,” he said; but it had never been so necessary: “The *Emilio*, the *Philosophical Dictionary*, the *System of Nature*, the *Examination of Religion*, the *Persian Letters*, the *Christianity Discovered*, the *Philosophical Commentary*, the *Questions of Tolerance*, etc. are books of some free men who are being discovered among us” (Prologue to Bergier 1777, iv). According to Ludovico Muratori, the translator assumed the need to use arguments “to respond to all the apparent difficulties, all the sophisms and accusations that are being leveled against and that will always be leveled against the dogmas and rites of the Catholic Church by men of perverse nature or deluded understanding.” In his view, there was no help for it: since some Spaniards “[who are] uneducated in dogma read prohibited books,” “since the poison of false doctrines abounds,” it is necessary for them to “have the antidote ready to hand” (Bergier 1777, ix–x).

This Counter-Enlightenment discourse, which was also evident in sermons, journal articles, book prologues, public censure, and even in the plans for educational reform and school curricula, could be interpreted in various ways. I have indicated previously that some criminal and inquisitorial trials against subjects who freely expressed their opinions about religion and the Church were related to the reading of these anti-philosophical literature (Torres Puga 2010, ch. 6; Torres Puga 2018). Several accusers were unsure if the opinions heard from any given person came from a direct reading of philosophical works or from their critiques; and in fact, one witness's testimony is quite notable in that, in referring to the *Deísmo refutado por sí mismo*, instead of understanding that Bergier was the author, he described it as a book "written by a heretic and refuted by a Parisian cleric." The reader's confusion was all the greater, as he acknowledged that he had bought the work and started to read it, "but seeing that they had printed more expressions from the author than from his critic, he stopped reading it and returned it to the bookseller, but he doesn't know that it is prohibited."<sup>24</sup> A similar case can be found in the trial against the young cleric Juan Antonio Montenegro (Torres Puga 2009). Several ex-schoolmates of his from the School of San Ildefonso accused him of defending religious tolerance and maintaining that religion was a "political system" that rulers took advantage of "to restrain the people." But one of them, who later became a distinguished theologian (Manuel Gorriño), explained things differently. He had also thought that Montenegro was "influenced by the maxims of our century, and by the teaching of many French books," that he followed "the most defended principles of Voltaire, Rousseau, and especially of the author of the *System of Nature* [d'Holbach]." But later he had realized that Montenegro had no solid arguments, that he spoke to surprise his listeners, that he was nothing more than "the kind of fanatic that wants to make himself known for the novelty of a doctrine."<sup>25</sup> The review of Montenegro's library seemed to corroborate the previous testimony. No prohibited books were found, only some controversial ones like Barruel's *Helvian Letters* (*Cartas Helvianas*) and Montengón's *Eusebio*. Other testimony demonstrated that most of Montenegro's opinions came from Guyon's *Oráculo de los nuevos filósofos*, whose second volume (published in 1770) contained a rebuttal of Rousseau's *Émile*. Of course, the confirmation of "incorrect" or "inverted" readings of the critiques should not lead us to suppose that the accused subjects never possessed prohibited works. In many cases, the investigations suggest that the mention of critiques could be a conversational strategy designed to hide the true sources of their opinions.

The fear of books reached its height with the edict of 1789 (published in Mexico in March 1790), through which the Spanish Inquisition, empowered by a Crown fearful of the contagion of revolution, prohibited without prior censorship an enormous list of texts produced in France due to the convening of the French Estates General. In Mexico, antirevolutionary sentiment grew in 1794, when the government attempted to dismantle a supposed revolutionary "conspiracy" there. The Inquisition took advantage of the occasion to arrest and try several individuals suspected of deism or of approving of the opinions of prohibited authors. The arrest of these persons was accompanied by an Inquisitorial offensive against "philosophical" venom. It is not surprising that in that very year a friar should feel the need to denounce the Spanish translation of the *Oráculo de los filósofos*, which had been circulating freely for almost two decades. And that is precisely what he told them, aware that the work "has become so common that I understand that it has reached the hands of many people, and I believe it will even wreak as much havoc as Voltaire's own works, whether because of the weakness or unsoundness of the challenge made to it; or because many people will more likely agree with the words of the challenged than the challenger."<sup>26</sup> The complaint suggests the highest point to which the Inquisition aspired in its prohibition of books, by assuming that the Counter-Enlightenment literature contained too much poison to circulate freely. The case was strengthened by another complaint and by several

opinions. One of these asserted that Inquisitorial prohibition was the only effective way to avoid the contagion: “It should not be permitted for the work of the *Oráculo*’s critic to be publicly available, translated to the vernacular of our Spain, because it is useless (I will say it again in summary), impertinent, and very likely detrimental to the masses of simple believers, both in our Spain and in these American domains.”<sup>27</sup> The Mexican Inquisitors added to these assessments the prosecutor’s opinion: “the experience of this Holy Office is that many of the accused who have already been sentenced have been harmed by reading the *Oráculo de los filósofos*,” which is why they decided to prohibit the book through an edict that was probably never executed because it was not authorized by the Supreme Council.<sup>28</sup>

### Limiting “esprits forts”: Readers of radical works

One of the greatest challenges faced by the Inquisition in New Spain was establishing the causal relationship between reading a radical book and adherence to its contents. But this challenge, which is not so different from that faced by cultural history (Darnton 2010) was seen in particular trials in the decade of 1770; that is, once the crisis caused by the expulsion of the Jesuits had passed and several years after the danger of the new philosophy had been identified.

The change occurred about 1775, the year that the *intendente* (governor) of Andalusia, Pablo de Olavide, was arrested and put through an Inquisitorial trial. This was a well-chosen case at just the right time, since the Spanish Inquisition had waited long enough so as not to be acting in *motu proprio*, but rather in accord with Rome and with the King himself, who had sworn to put limits on the Enlightenment in Spain. That is what the Archbishop of Santiago’s *Carta Pastoral* (Pastoral Letter) seemed to suggest against the theories of Rousseau, Voltaire, and their “supporters,” as well as against the supposed *esprits forts* “who, as soon as they read their books, do not delay in embracing their doctrine, adopting their falsehoods, denigrating the Church, mocking the Law and speaking so presumptuously about everything.” The bishop’s letter, published in response to an encyclical by the Pope himself, ended by acknowledging the King and “the admirable zeal with which he has protected the Inquisitor General so that he might defend the Catholic religion and punish with holy freedom anyone he determines to be deserving of punishment, to the full extent of his power.”<sup>29</sup>

The *auto-da-fé* against Olavide fulfilled its cautionary function throughout the Spanish monarchy. Olavide, a successful politician born in Peru and an avid reader of modern authors, had made a faux pas in attempting to establish a lay society in the new towns of Andalusia. His punishment made an example of a Spaniard who for the sake of “becoming enlightened” had passed the bounds of what was allowed. If the Inquisitorial reform attempted in 1768 had “clipped the Inquisition’s wings,” the *auto-da-fé* that took place ten years later demonstrated that excesses could still be combated, and that the Church, and not just the Inquisition, was determined to fight that battle (Defourneaux 1965). Olavide’s story was well known in New Spain, in its official version as well as its more satirical one: “The Enlightened Century, or Life of Guindo Cerezo,” a conservative libel circulating in manuscript form that sought to show the futility of “enlightened” vanity. It was a mocking way to show how easy it was to exceed limits, and at the same time to remind people that there would be punishment for those who did so (Terán and Dubuis 2010).

In New Spain there were several significant inquiries which were on the verge of generating their own Olavides. The previously mentioned Hipólito Villarroel was subpoenaed for a hearing of charges in 1777, to let him know that the Inquisition had been investigating him for ten years and to warn him that it would be vigilantly watching his readings and opinions. Many other individuals, who had felt not the least regret for introducing prohibited works, changed their

tune during that time, such as Colonel Miguel Bustillo, investigated by the Inquisition for the fraudulent introduction of prohibited works into San Luis Potosí; among them were more than thirty volumes of the *Enciclopedia*, the works of Puffendorf, and very probably a selection of more “dangerous” books that never appeared.

Pressured by the investigations being carried out by the Inquisition in San Luis Potosí, Bustillo decided to turn himself in in 1779. The following year, upon being subpoenaed by the Mexican tribunal, he attempted to pass himself off as a critical reader, who had read Helvétius, Voltaire, and Rousseau in Madrid when he was studying at the *Colegio de Nobles*; but he swore he had become undeceived and distanced himself from those evil readings before embarking for America. The Inquisitor did not believe anything he said, since if he had renounced those authors before embarking, why had he brought other prohibited books? And why did they have testimonies that on that same boat that brought him to America, the companions with whom he had discussed philosophy called him “Voltaire”? Bustillo tried to blame his accusers for their “lack of Enlightenment” and misinterpretation: he had told them about Voltaire, Rousseau, and other authors, but he never said he had brought them to America. The hearing of charges lasted for several days, and over the course of it, Bustillo ended up acknowledging that he had also read Bayle’s *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* and other dangerous books, but he maintained to the end that he had never violated his Catholicism. Since the Inquisition had no more proof against him than his own confession, it decided to severely reprimand him and warn him of what was to come.<sup>30</sup> Almost at the same time, the Marquis of Moncada, a military man who had introduced La Mettrie’s work and one thirty-volume edition of Voltaire, decided to leave New Spain, warned that the Inquisition was after him (López 2019).

During the 1780s, the Inquisition gathered information about more readers and introducers of prohibited works; but it was always careful not to go beyond the line, especially during the government of Viceroy Bernardo de Gálvez, who came from Louisiana and owned an extensive library with prohibited books. After his death in 1786, the Inquisition tried to obtain them, but apparently several had been sold or removed before the official inventory was made. One of them, *Le balai* (The Carpet Sweeper) by Henri Joseph Dulaurens, which was later published without the author’s name, was assessed as the “most horrible [book] that has been able to abort the most shameless debauchery.” Its censor requested that the libertine who had introduced it be prosecuted (was he unaware that it had been the Viceroy?) (Torres Puga 2010, 261). Only in 1789, shortly before Mexico learned of the magnitude of the revolution in France, did the Inquisition decide to impose cautionary punishments in special *autos-da-fé* against three prisoners accused because of their radical opinions. The first was a Venetian painter, Felipe Fabris, accused of holding heretical opinions, belonging to the Freemasons, and accepting orders to paint obscene pictures. The Italian, who was sentenced with banishment from America and confinement in a convent in Spain for ten years, turned out to have already been investigated previously by the tribunal of Seville. The other two were Francisco Laxe, a barber, and his mentor, the multifaceted Francisco Muñoz Delgado, a military physician and surgeon, watchmaker, magician, and “machinist.”<sup>31</sup>

An extremely complete investigation of Muñoz Delgado maintains that he was a true atheist, enlightened in the most radical sense, a great reader of his time, and a critic of the ecclesiastical state. Both Laxe and Muñoz had been heard espousing dangerous opinions not only in Mexico, but also earlier in Madrid and Havana, where they had also possessed prohibited books, primarily the work of the mathematician Christian Wolff and *Le Christianisme dévoilé* (Christianity Revealed) by Baron d’Holbach, which later circulated anonymously (Santos 2016). The Inquisitors were also convinced of the radicality of his opinions and judged him a heretic, imposing upon him the obligation to recant and the penalty of confinement for ten years; but

at his *auto-da-fé* in the church of Santo Domingo, the defendant claimed he was Catholic and accused the Inquisition of fabricating evidence against him. The cautionary spectacle that should have ended in the repentance of the accused (as the Inquisitors expected, because in the trial he had confessed to wanting to flaunt false knowledge), turned against the Inquisition, or at least called its proceedings into question. The defendant was returned to prison to make him undergo a second *auto-da-fé*, which the Inquisitors chose to perform in the courtroom, where the accused moderated his scandalous utterances but nonetheless managed to perturb the court when, at the moment of truth, he said that he had nothing to recant because he was Catholic (Torres Puga 2010, 398–399). Once again, the *esprit fort* identified in New Spain confused those present by boasting that he had drunk the venom without becoming infected.

Muñoz Delgado's case highlights the problem of judging someone's reading. How plausible was it that someone could read these kinds of books without being affected by their "venom"? In thinking about representatives of the Enlightenment of those years—avid readers who left writings and even published numerous works designed for their "usefulness" to the public, such as Francisco Xavier Gamboa and José Antonio Alzate, the great journalist and one of the most educated men of his generation—it is necessary to recognize a great capacity to promote science and to reflect on modern authors without falling into problems of heterodoxy.<sup>32</sup> Alzate had a permit to read prohibited works, and there is no evidence that he read more than what was permitted, although it might be difficult to believe. Be that as it may, his prudence and his Catholicism ensured that he had no problems with the Inquisition, other than the time when he came forward to accuse the mayor of Mexico City (Torres Puga 2010, 385–386).<sup>33</sup> Other people close to him, but lacking his communicative skills, were not as lucky. Such was the case of the French physician Esteban Morel. This person, hardly recognized by historiography but greatly praised in his own time by Alzate himself, also wrote in the *Gaceta de México* on various topics—sun spots, the best way to drain mines, the life of termites—in which he revealed something of the "vitalism" he had learned at the University of Montpellier.<sup>34</sup> He also carried on some discussions with Alzate from which it was clear that he customarily opened his library to the famous journalist. In none of those texts does there appear even a glimmer of "radicalism"; nor did the Inquisition bring him to trial for it. Rather, it was his day-to-day opinions on religion and politics that made up the file that they built against him over time; among many charges, he was accused of arguing over the materiality of the soul and scandalizing physicians and ecclesiastics by not permitting them to give Last Rites to a distinguished patient. In 1789 Morel was saved from the house arrest to which the Inquisition sentenced him; but his luck changed some years later, as we will see, when news of the execution of Louis XVI sharpened fears of the danger of revolution.<sup>35</sup>

## The new radicalism: Revolution

In the summer of 1794, the viceregal government arrested several French residents of Mexico City, most of them based on unfounded suspicions but fed by a fear of conspiracy that was caused by a misleading criminal investigation. Based on testimonies about their political opinions, which were for the most part gleaned from periodicals, libels, and recent news of the French Revolution, the Audiencia of Mexico built "State cases" and decided to order a general expulsion of all Frenchmen from the kingdom, which was only partially carried out. Although the prosecution vehemently demanded it, none of the accused was sentenced to death and the only thing they were found guilty of was criticizing the monarchical system. In the corresponding files, there are few mentions of the old radical philosophies. News communicated in private letters, especially if they included fragments of libels or revolutionary proclamations, were now the main source of worry for the government (Torres Puga 2012). Simultaneously, the State Council at Madrid

warned the viceroy of *El desengaño del hombre* (The Disillusion of Man), a libel printed in the United States whose author attempted to bring it into New Spain. The author was Santiago Puglia, an Italian emigrant and Spanish teacher in Philadelphia who never set foot in New Spain but had strong connections with several inhabitants of the kingdom. This little book, although not eloquent, clearly exposed its objective: to criticize Spanish despotism, confessionism, and the activities of the Inquisition. His political objective seemed doubly dangerous, since it seemed to be financed by numerous North American subscribers. For the viceroy, the interests of the United States government were added to the intrinsic threat of new political ideas. Facing the threat of revolution, the secular authorities turned their hopes to the Inquisition to stop the new titles that caused their anxiety.<sup>36</sup>

The Inquisition, for its part, arrested some young men—such as José Contreras, Juan Pablo Catadiano, and the previously mentioned Juan Antonio Montenegro—suspected of reading prohibited books and expressing opinions on dangerous topics. It also took advantage of the situation to bring to trial various individuals whom it had been investigating for some time. In these latter cases, the Inquisitors wanted to “prove” their assumption that the prohibited books, combined with licentiousness and political curiosity, produced “revolutionary” behavior. Such was the case of three Frenchmen who had lived in Spanish domains for a long time: the above-mentioned Doctor Morel, Captain José María Murgier, and Jerónimo Covarrubias Portatui. The case that most closely approached the idea of a “radical enlightened man” was that of Morel, who faced serious charges of “deism” and “materialism,” in addition to evidence of his republicanism. In his initial, timid testimony, the physician did not remember if he had possessed any prohibited books in Mexico, although he confessed that “in France and its islands” he had read “Rousseau, Voltaire, Montaigne, Montesquieu, Raynal and probably some other works that would be prohibited in places where the Inquisition exists.”<sup>37</sup> The trial, however, took an unexpected turn. Just as the questioning was beginning, a crisis in the prisons paralyzed the court’s activities: Captain Murgier attempted to escape, kidnapped a doctor, and ended up committing suicide when he found himself surrounded. When the inquisitors reconvened, Morel tried to respond to the prosecutor’s long accusation, only to realize that he was not inclined to prove his “innocence.” After defending the creation of Earth according to Buffon’s scientific model, Morel cut his throat in his cell.<sup>38</sup>

The cases of two Peruvians living in Mexico are related to the previous ones, although their sentencing took place some months later. One of them, the lawyer Pascual de Cárdenas, had to respond to hundreds of testimonies about his irreverent conduct, criticisms of the ecclesiastical State, and suspicions of having had some connection with Tupac Amaru’s uprising. Cárdenas was an assiduous reader of Voltaire and probably of other French authors but claimed to have read them in his home country, and not in Mexico.<sup>39</sup> The other Peruvian was José Vidaurre, a wealthy native of Lima who had moved to New Spain under the name of Miguel Berrogaray and was engaged in mining in the town of Guarisamey, in the northern province of Durango. When it was discovered in that remote place that a book entitled *El desengaño del hombre* had been prohibited, the Peruvian said he had another one that explained why each society should seek the type of government the suited it best. Numerous witnesses and the Inquisitors themselves suspected that he referred to Rousseau’s *Social Contract*. The assessors who reviewed the case considered the charge to be very serious, by assuming that the Genevan had “been the clarion call of the French Revolution and its horrendous catastrophe that had spread its infernal fire throughout all the kingdoms of Europe.” The unavoidable conclusion was that the accused was a revolutionary.<sup>40</sup>

The trials convened in 1794 and 1795 were motivated by the old fears of proposals about religion, or by the new ones of revolutionary and republican opinions. In both cases, they

contributed to resetting the limits, as they had done twenty years earlier in Olavide's time. The idea of a decadent Inquisition implied that it was incapable of taking rigorous action and thus of imposing its parameters on Hispanic society. However, the intense activity of those years (more or less agreeing with all of the monarchy's Inquisitorial tribunals) suggests that the institution momentarily got what it wanted: to strengthen the boundaries of a very limited Enlightenment in which neither religious speculation nor criticisms of Church and State had a place.

The cases mentioned served as a warning to other young readers and opinion-holders. Besides being interrogated, Montenegro's companions had to attend the private *auto-da-fé* at which he was reprimanded and punished for suspicion of heresy. Fearing that the Inquisition would arrest him, young Andrés Sánchez de Tagle went mad, or pretended madness, and the seminarian Pastor Morales preferred to turn himself in. A recent study of the latter suggests that this avid reader of prohibited authors made a great effort to convince the Inquisitors that his out-of-bounds curiosity had not violated his Catholicism. The trial ended in a strong reprimand which frightened him greatly (Jiménez 2016). The generation of *esprits forts* in New Spain seemed to end during those years. The businessman Manuel de Enderica, mentioned by Morales and many others as an owner of prohibited books, confessed to the Inquisition at the end of his life. Indeed, he had obtained several prohibited books that he had secretly brought in from New Orleans through Captain José Basarte, who also turned himself in. The most serious of these books were by Raynal, Locke, Voltaire, Robertson and Mirabeau (a pseudonym of d'Holbach's). He had also possessed the works of Marmontel and Montesquieu. When the soldier Agustín Beven died in 1797, the Inquisition was able to prove that his library contained numerous prohibited books (many obtained from the library of the Count of Gálvez) and even received a final confirmation of his deist convictions, expressed as a confession shortly before he died.<sup>41</sup>

## New readers of old radicals

In the transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, the Spanish Inquisition experienced another setback that hindered its ability to act. Spain had been obliged to enter into an alliance with France, and that simple action had cast doubt on its indomitable opposition to the radical Enlightenment and to the republican revolution. That context and the presence of several Spanish emigrants to France who were "radicalized" during the revolutionary euphoria, such as Francisco Miranda (in terms of his politics) and José Marchena (both politically and religiously), created an atmosphere more suited to the translation and late dissemination of prohibited works. The core group of these emigrants was located in the border town of Bayonne, from where they were able to more easily get their writings into Spain, just when there was talk of another reform of the Inquisition.<sup>42</sup> The Mexican tribunal resented this generalized questioning of its institution and also detected new forms of communication and introduction of prohibited books, both old and new, thanks to an increasingly porous border with the United States. For many years the commissioner and priest of the Inquisition in New Orleans, Antonio Sedella, warned of attempts to bring books into New Spain and the difficulty of restricting a mainly French population unused to this level of vigilance. After Louisiana was incorporated into the United States, Sedella continued to inform the Crown and the Inquisition, through informal letters, of attempts to distribute libels and suspicious meetings of emigrants or travelers with interests in New Spain.

A case related to the previous phenomenon has to do with the defendant José Antonio Rojas, tried by the Mexican Inquisition in 1803. Rojas had been a mathematics teacher in Guanajuato and had scandalized various witnesses (among them his mother and his lovers) with his deist proposals. When the Inquisitor interrogated him, he confessed that his skepticism derived from

his readings of Helvetius, d'Holbach, and other older philosophers.<sup>43</sup> The Inquisition considered him a formal heretic, reconciled him to the faith in a private *auto-da-fé*, and sentenced him to ten years' confinement in a convent, a sentence that seemed light to the Inquisitors but was unbearable to him. Due to his complaints, Rojas was moved to an estate, from which he escaped and fled to New Orleans. From there he moved to Philadelphia and Baltimore, where he obtained support to publish a libel against the Inquisition based on his own experience. The pamphlet in question gave his own version of the trial, mixing it with praise for the Constitution of the United States, which guaranteed freedom of religion, and a series of private letters in which he cynically declared his deism and confessed several sacrilegious pranks in the churches of Puebla and Mexico City which he had carried out with one of his lovers.<sup>44</sup> The Inquisition followed Rojas's trail and recorded his attempts to distribute his scandalous libel from New Orleans; among other things, this led to the arrest of a boat pilot who declared to having been at a meeting with Rojas in New Orleans, where the latter lived as an "atheist", along with a Spanish businessman who followed Rojas as a "convert", and an Italian, Esteban Curti, who was openly deist and who had also been tried by the Mexican Inquisition.<sup>45</sup>

Another defendant tried at the same time as Rojas was José Antonio Olavarrieta, an ex-Franciscan friar who had lived in Lima and Cádiz, where he had become a secular cleric and publicist. Accused by the Inquisition of Seville, he escaped from Spain and headed to South America and then to New Spain, where he had earlier obtained the post of priest in a small town in the southern reaches of the Archbishopric of Mexico. There he wrote a small book, allegedly for a correspondent in South America, which was brought before the Mexican tribunal. This was a materialist dissertation echoing Condillac and Helvétius, which has been well studied by historiographers (Muñoz Sempere and Sánchez Hita 2003).<sup>46</sup> The trial against Olavarrieta ended with his reconciliation as a formal heretic in a private *auto-da-fé* and his exile to Spain to serve his sentence; although once in the Peninsula, the accused managed to escape to Portugal from where he eventually returned to Cádiz in 1820, now a fierce critic of the Inquisition and defender of a less radical Enlightenment than the one that had caused his imprisonment. The trials of Rojas and Olavarrieta were the most serious ones in a string of cases that the Mexican Inquisition opened at the start of the nineteenth century and which, due to the crisis that erupted in 1808, were never concluded, since the Inquisition was unable to prove that any of the other defendants were adherents of the "pernicious" enlightened men who supposedly inspired revolutions.

The preconceived idea that reading prohibited books was behind the revolutions was precisely what justified the anomalous pursuit of an Inquisitorial trial against the insurgent priest Miguel Hidalgo without the least evidence of a possible link to the more radical currents of the Enlightenment. Father Hidalgo, just like other ecclesiastics and laypeople of the Bishopric of Valladolid, had been reported for his liberal opinions about religion, but these were only related to Jansenist and Gallicist authors, who had gained new momentum after the postrevolutionary reform of the French clergy. Only the insurrection caused the Inquisitors to commit the imprudence of reopening a discarded case to accuse the defendant of formal heresy with the insurrection as their only proof; a consequence that definitely did not fit into their case and that ended up casting doubt on the Inquisition's case method.

In ideological terms, the "radical Enlightenment" continued to have a strong negative presence until the final abolition of the Inquisition in 1820. At least in the case of New Spain, where the insurrection had such a markedly ecclesiastical tenor, the Inquisitorial limits on enlightened thinking prevailed even in the revolutionary camp, which came to adopt that standard to insult the *gachupines* (native-born Spaniards) who were supposedly more inclined to be irreligious than the *criollos*, native-born Latin Americans descended from Spaniards (Avila and Torres Puga, 218).

It should not be forgotten that religious-style sermons and speeches were characteristic of the first insurgent governments and that one of them, presided over by López Rayón, initiated a case of faith against Lorenzo de Velasco, an ecclesiastic accused of materialism, who was later tried by the Mexican Inquisition.<sup>47</sup>

The publication of many pamphlets, thanks to freedom of the press and to debate in Cádiz, promoted the legal exchange of widely varying and even heterodox opinions in Spain and America, but it would be a mistake to suppose, as the Inquisition did after its re-establishment, that the constitutional revolution of the Spanish monarchy, as well as the revolutions of independence, had shared that purpose. This does not mean, however, that there was not a repressed curiosity and a constant desire to push beyond limits that were increasingly anachronous. This became clear in the opinions generated by the debates in Cádiz and the revolution between 1810 and 1814; but even more so in 1820 with the “war of papers” unleashed after the re-establishment of constitutionalism and the abolition of the Inquisition. Against the warnings of the bishops, who tried to keep the Inquisitorial prohibitions in force, the abolition of the Inquisition throughout the monarchy meant the rupture of the boundaries that until then had contained political and religious opinions, and war broke out with new “enlightened men” who defended with humor or with vehemence the necessity for expressing opinions on all manner of topics: the *sapere aude*, as it were, that censorship identified as the path to perdition of the *esprits forts*. None of this meant the triumph of one ideology over another, but it did mean the gradual disappearance of the narrow boundaries that had been imposed on the Enlightenment. The publication of those old monsters that threatened the destruction of humanity became increasingly harmless as the limits on reading gradually became a matter of conscience.

## Notes

★ Translated by Linda Grabner, University of Pennsylvania

- 1 The debate begins with Jean Sarrailh’s (1957) classic book about “enlightened Spain” which questioned a historiography that was more or less convinced that the Enlightenment had been a phenomenon limited to a few European countries, and that Spain was not one of them.
- 2 The well-known controversy between Antonio Mestre and Francisco Sánchez Blanco regarding the “novatores” is a good starting point for understanding this debate. Sánchez Blanco, defender of the unitary idea of the Enlightenment, has also criticized the supposed “enlightenment” of Carlos III’s reign and has pointed out the intellectual openness of the following period (Mestre 1990, Sánchez Blanco 2007).
- 3 Hamnett only partially shares the ideas of Israel, who also dedicates a few pages to Spanish America. For a critical reading of the latter’s interpretation, see Jacob (2013), Breña (2018) and Breña-Torres Puga (2019).
- 4 For a historiographical evaluation of the historiography of the Enlightenment before the appearance of Israel’s trilogy, see Bolufer (2003).
- 5 Defourneaux (1973), p. 180. Torres Puga (2010), pp. 252–258 and 273–376 (list of readers with a permit).
- 6 See Martínez de Bujanda (2016) for the most complete identification of works prohibited by the Spanish Inquisition, and Pérez Marchand (2005) for a classification based on the edicts and records of the tribunal of the Mexican Inquisition.
- 7 AGN, *Inquisición*, 729, file 26.
- 8 Juan de Riquelme, *Para qué tiene el hombre razón? [...] para júbilo del Católico y desengaño del infiel*, [Madrid, 1687?] (Why does man have intellect? ... for the rejoicing of the Catholic and the enlightenment of the unbeliever).
- 9 Account of the case against Brother José de San Ignacio. AHN, *Inquisición*, 1733, file 4. Another case of “tolerantism” attributed to a peripatetic life was that of the ship’s pilot César Falet, tried in 1752, Account of the case in AHN, *Inquisición*, 1730, file 31. See also Account of the case against Juan Pablo Echegoyen. AGN, *Inquisición*, 1008, file 2.

- 10 Trial of Juan Alemán Trujillo, for heretical blasphemy. AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 944, file 1.
- 11 Bayle was also included in the Supplement to the Index of 1747 (Martínez de Bujanda, 2016, 77–78).
- 12 Edict of the Inquisitor General of Madrid, 13 February 1747. AGN, *Edictos de Inquisición*, vol. 1.
- 13 Regarding the circulation of anti-Jesuit literature, see St. Clair Segurado (2004) and Vogel (2017).
- 14 Edict signed by the Inquisitors on 11 July 1767. It was a modified version of an edict that had been prepared in December 1766. AGN, *Edictos de Inquisición*, vol. 1.
- 15 File on “updating of edicts” (“renovación de edictos”). AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 1090, file 1.
- 16 Trial of Hipólito Villaroel. AGN, *Inquisición*, vol. 1068, file 20.
- 17 Report of Doctor Antonio López Portillo, 18 February 1769, in a file on the introduction of La Mettrie to New Spain. AGN, *Inquisición*, 1119, file 11, transcribed by Mariana López (2018). La Mettrie’s work was prohibited in 1771 by the Council of the Supreme Inquisition, probably because of its prohibition in Mexico.
- 18 Edict of 4 July 1778. AGN, *Edictos de Inquisición*.
- 19 See Roger Chartier’s (1995) famous question about Daniel Mornet’s classic book *Do Books Cause Revolutions?*
- 20 Manuel Rodríguez’s censorship of the *Historia filosófica de los establecimientos de Raynal* (Philosophical History of Raynal’s Settlements), 1773. AGN, *Inquisición*, 1140, file 1. Torres Puga (2010, 232–234; 243–246). José Manuel Rodríguez has been studied as an evangelist in Carlos Herrejón (2004, 77–81).
- 21 Pérez Marchand (2005), on the other hand, maintains that there was a significant change in the “spirit” of the eighteenth century in New Spain.
- 22 An antiphilosophical text criticized those who La Bruyere ironically called “*esprits forts*”; “not the simple unbelievers, but those who gloried in their unbelief” (“no de los simples incrédulos, sino de los que se glorian de su incredulidad”; Nonnotte 1793, 243).
- 23 Inventory in Rodríguez (2017, 166–212). The viceroy also had Nicolás Bergier’s *El Deísmo refutado por sí mismo* (Deism Refuted by Itself).
- 24 Testimony in the case against Catadiano. I made an initial estimate of these phenomena of reception (Torres Puga 2010, 501).
- 25 Trial of Montenegro, AGN, *Inquisición*, 1342, file 1, f. 9 r–v.
- 26 Indictment of Dr. Agustín de Quiniela. AGN, *Inquisición*, 1349, file 1, f. 2 r.
- 27 Evaluation of Brother Manuel Ovín, file qtd., f. 25 r.
- 28 Opinion of the prosecutor and decree of the Inquisitors. 25 April 1796, file qtd.
- 29 Francisco Alexandro Bocanegra, Archbishop of Santiago, *Declamación oportuna contra el libertinaje de el tiempo* (Timely Speech against the Licentiousness of the Time), Barcelona, [1777?], 1779. Jean Sarrailh brought this letter to light (1957).
- 30 Case against Bustillo. AGN, *Inquisición*, 1163, file 20.
- 31 Account of the case against Muñoz Delgado. AHN, Madrid, *Inquisición*, 1732, file 38.
- 32 Hamnett identifies Gamboa and Alzate as the most notable representatives of the Enlightenment in New Spain (2017, 167–183).
- 33 On Alzate, see Roberto Moreno de los Arcos (1980) and Saborit (2018).
- 34 On Morel’s education, see Schifter, Aceves and Bret (2011, 106).
- 35 Account of the case against Morel, AGN, *Inquisición*, 1379, file 11.
- 36 Antonio Saborit, introduction to Santiago Felipe Puglia, *El desengaño del hombre* (The Enlightening of Man), México, FCE, 2014.
- 37 Account of the case against Morel, AGN, *Inquisición*, 1379, file 11, f. 273 v.
- 38 Account of the case against Morel, AGN, *Inquisición*, 1379, file 11. After the tragedy, the third Frenchman, Jerónimo Covarrubias Portatui, was imprisoned for several years, facing a rather forced trial, since it wasn’t exactly about faith, but about his political and anti-Church opinions; he was also accused of reading Voltaire and Rousseau, as well as being a defender of Gallicanism. Trial of Covarrubias, AGN, *Inquisición*, 1273, file 2.
- 39 Testimony of the lawyer Ignacio Pérez Gallardo before Joseph Pereda, commissioner of the Holy Office. Speech of San Felipe, México, 18 de junio, 1787. Trial of Pascual de Cárdenas, AGN, *Inquisición*, 1280, file 1, f. 5 v–6 r.
- 40 Trial of Pascual de Cárdenas. AGN, *Inquisición*, 1280, file 1. Trial of Miguel Berrogaray, alias Juan José Vidaurre. AGN, *Inquisición*, 1314, file 26 and 1377, record 2.
- 41 Trial of Enderica. AGN, *Inquisición*, 1335, file 15. Self-incrimination of Basarte. AGN, *Inquisición*, 1365, file 4. Regarding Beven, see Trigueros Martínez, 2017.

- 42 One of these emigrants, Luis Gutiérrez, editor of the *Gaceta de Bayona* (Bayonne Gazette), was the author of a novel entitled *Cornelia Bororquia*, a fierce critique of the Inquisition written in a voltairian spirit and inspired by the models of the previous century. See the introduction to *Cornelia Bororquia* (Dufour, 1987). Regarding the Inquisitorial crisis arising from Bishop Grégoire's letter, see La Parra and Casado (2013).
- 43 Account of the case against José Antonio Rojas. Historical Archive of the Archbishopric of Mexico.
- 44 *Boletín del AGN*, vol. 5, no. 4, July–August 1934, and no. 5, September–October 1934.
- 45 Account of the case against Antonio del Día y Mendieta. AGN, *Inquisición*, 1445, file 33, f. 189 v.
- 46 “El hombre y el bruto” (Man and Animal) is published as an appendix to the Muñoz Sempere and Sánchez Hita edition (2003).
- 47 Trial of Lorenzo de Velasco. AGN, *Inquisición*, box 192, file 1.

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# Enlightenment, reform, and revolution in the Viceroyalty of Peru\*

*Claudia Rosas Lauro*

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## Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to study the complex relationship between Enlightenment, control, and subversion in the Viceroyalty of Peru in the final decades of the eighteenth century through an analysis of two key political events of the period: the rebellion of Túpac Amaru that broke out in 1780 in the southern Andean region and the impact of the French Revolution that occurred in the 1790s. These two events allow us to measure the scope and limitations of the dissemination of Enlightenment ideas and their application through Bourbon Reforms.

First, by way of introduction, we will discuss the rise of the Enlightenment in the Viceroyalty of Peru during the last decades of the eighteenth century, emphasizing the role of the enlightened elites organized around the Society of Lovers of the Country (*Sociedad de Amantes del País*), which promoted the publication of the *Mercurio Peruano* (*Peruvian Mercury*), a periodical whose goal was to spread knowledge throughout Peru to educate the public and generate favorable public opinion for reforms. In this regard, we will explain the relationship between enlightened ideas and the reforms they sought to implement through specific case studies.

In the second part, we will show how the Bourbon Reforms, especially in administrative-territorial, economic, and legal fields, ended up clashing with local interests and ultimately contributing to the indigenous rebellions of Túpac Amaru II and Túpac Catari in 1780, which convulsed the southern Andes (present-day southern Peru and Bolivia). Finally, we will study how a few years after the uprisings were quashed, the impact of the 1789 French Revolution was felt throughout the Viceroyalty of Peru. In the face of the circulation of information not only in written form, but also through conversations in spaces of sociability and the public spaces of the city, the State, the Church and the Inquisition launched a counterrevolutionary campaign. This was characterized by measures to control information; surveillance of public places that fluctuated between tolerance and repression, and xenophobic policies that led to the deportation of French natives. Likewise, the alliance between throne and altar was manifested through the collection of donations for the war against France, public prayer ceremonies organized by the Church, and military measures.

These difficult circumstances showed the limits of the Enlightenment; and in the counter-revolutionary discourse developed to counteract the French Revolution, criticism of the dangers

of the Enlightenment and condemnation of enlightened philosophers was clearly evident. A primary cause of these ills, according to contemporary thinking, were the ideas promoted by the Enlightenment. In the long run, these ideas worked to undermine the foundations of the *ancien régime*.

## Enlightenment and reforms in the Viceroyalty of Peru

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, and specifically during the government of Viceroy Gil de Taboada y Lemos (1790–1796), the Enlightenment began to flourish for a time, precisely because of support from the viceregal government. This was seen in the *Mercurio Peruano*, a prestigious periodical in which members of the clergy, the elite, and the state bureaucracy, among other sectors of colonial society, participated. It circulated between 1791 and 1795 as a means for enlightened elite intellectuals to disseminate their ideas, produced by the Society of Lovers of the Country under the auspices of viceregal authorities (Clément 1997). This institution, inspired by new attitudes of the Enlightenment, counted among its participants important members of the intellectual elite of Lima, such as José Baquíjano y Carrillo, Hipólito Unanue, Jacinto Calero, Diego Cisneros, and Toribio Rodríguez de Mendoza. However, not only American-born *criollos*, but also Peninsular Spaniards and even foreigners participated in this intellectual movement. Such is the case of the Spaniard José Ignacio de Lequanda and the Italian José Rossi y Rubí.

The journal was primarily devoted to topics related to the understanding Peru, with articles on history, geography, literature, culture, and daily life. In the prospectus of the publication, Jacinto Calero stated:

The paucity of news that we have about the country in which we live and about its inhabitants, and the nonexistent vehicles available for disseminating our ideas in the literary sphere are the reasons why a kingdom such as Peru, so favorably endowed by nature with the mildness of its climate and the abundance of its land, scarcely occupies a tiny spot in the picture of the universe that historians draw for us. Rectifying this lack is the object ... of the *Mercurio*.

(*Mercurio Peruano* 1791, vol. 1)

La escasez de noticias que tenemos del país mismo que habitamos y del interno; y los ningunos vehículos que se proporcionan para hacer cundir en el Orbe Literario nuestras nociones, son las causas de donde nace, que un Reyno como el Peruano, tan favorecido de la naturaleza por la benignidad del clima y en la opulencia del suelo apenas ocupe un lugar muy reducido en el cuadro del universo que nos trazan los historiadores. El reparo de esta falta es el objeto ... del *Mercurio*

Furthermore, the journal sought to refute the sharp criticisms of European authors such as De Pauw, Raynal and Buffon about the people, flora and fauna of America, accused of “inferiority,” “immaturity” and “decadence,” whether for the humidity of the atmosphere or the lack of “antiquity” of the continent (Gerbi 1982). There was strong incentive for enlightened Peruvians to study the reality of their continent, using the knowledge and methods of enlightened science that they could reveal to both continents through published books and articles (Hamnet 2017, 144–165).

In eighteenth-century Peru, the rise of this Peruvian Enlightenment occurred together with the consolidation of *criollo* identity, whose origins stretched back to the 16th century with the appearance of a class of the descendants of Spaniards born in America. Although they were

members of the Republic of Spaniards, in practice they did not have the same rights, nor were they regarded in the same light as Peninsular Spaniards. This fact caused a conflict between them that is clearly seen during the seventeenth century in things such as access to bureaucratic posts and religious orders (Lavallé 1993). Towards the end of the eighteenth century, this identity began to mature with the search for knowledge about their home country, and became a nationalist movement (Rodríguez 2006).

Along with the *Mercurio*, there appeared other publications like the *Semanario Crítico* (Critical Weekly) of 1791, directed by the Franciscan priest Juan Antonio Olavarrieta, which also dealt with the reform of traditions and customs; the *Diario de Lima* (Lima Daily), edited by Jaime Bausate y Mesa; and the *Gazeta de Lima* (Lima Gazette) of 1793. These were the four periodicals in circulation at the end of the eighteenth century. To give just two examples, between 1766 and 1776, the Lima native José Eusebio Llano Zapata wrote his *Epítome cronológico o Idea general del Perú* (Chronological Abstract or General Outline of Peru), an anonymous manuscript that, as Víctor Peralta noted in his preliminary study, is the only general history of Peru from the eighteenth century written by a Peruvian (Llano Zapata 2005 [1776]). As in other accounts, the author describes the coastal, highland, and Amazonian geography of the Peruvian viceroyalty, highlighting its natural riches. Likewise, he relates the Incan past starting with a list of its rulers and continuing through the Spanish Conquest (which he defends) and the civil wars between conquerors. Then he presents a chronology of various events, such as the reception of viceroys, pirate attacks, Inquisition *autos-da-fé*, earthquakes, epidemics, comets, evangelizing missions, and so on.

The enlightened, reformist view was also expressed through iconographic displays like the *Quadro de Historia natural, civil y geográfica del Reyno del Perú* (Painting of Natural, Civil, and Geographical History of the Kingdom of Peru<sup>1</sup>), which was painted in 1799 to represent Peru, its people, and its natural wealth. It was the brainchild of José Ignacio de Lequanda, an enlightened Peninsular who was a member of the Peruvian viceregal government, and was painted by Luis Thiebaut, who came from a family of French engravers who illustrated books on natural history like Humboldt's. The painting, accompanied by a long text, was intended for the Ministry of the Interior and the Indies, where reports and documentation of journeys and scientific expeditions of the era were sent. These documents had the further objective of collecting information to help implement reforms, and an economic purpose: the exploitation of the American territories. For all these reasons, the painting not only represents the Viceroyalty, but it also functions as a book, presenting a synthetic view of Peru; as a collection that organizes and compartmentalizes data; and as a box that contains and mobilizes knowledge (Del Pino 2014 [1799]).

Although the Peruvian Enlightenment followed scientific and intellectual advances, it should be remembered that it also attempted to combine faith and reason, faith and science. According to Clément (1997), Bible culture, a modernist critique of forms of devotion and popular religiosity, and the reconciliation of scholasticism and Enlightenment were all characteristics of the theories held by the *Mercurio Peruano*'s generation. Also, a rejection of European philosophers and a position against atheism, deism, Voltairianism, and encyclopedism all hindered, to some degree, the assimilation of many of the tenets of the European Enlightenment. In this sense, the weight of the Church and Catholicism on the Spanish—and thus, in turn, on the Peruvian—Enlightenment fed the ambiguities and contradictions in the application of enlightened ideals to reality. Despite this, wide-reaching reforms were launched: education, hygiene, urban planning, burials, women and families, and festivities, among others (O'Phelan 2016).

As an example, we shall look at some of these areas in which enlightened reforms were made. In the eighteenth century, the practice of medicine began to be institutionalized, formalized, and professionalized (Warren 2010, 49–76). This was expressed in several ways: the construction of

the Anatomical Amphitheatre, the reform of medical education at the University of San Marcos, the establishment of the Botanical Garden, and the foundation of the San Fernando College of Medicine, among other measures. Hygiene was the science of health, and the goal was to combat illness and achieve population growth, which was beneficial for the economy. Doctors began to gain prestige as custodians of knowledge and science, and their role also extended to the moral plane; concomitantly, shamans, healers and midwives were attacked for having only empirical, experience-based knowledge, with no medical training. At the same time, there was a certain medicalization of the discourse about society and the beginnings of a hygienic discourse, which was applied, for example, to the case of women and their role as mothers (Rosas Lauro 2004).

Another example comes from urban reforms that had as their goals order, hygiene, and the improvement of urban design, as well as the education of the masses. To achieve it, new legislation was passed through the New Police Regulation, an administrative organizational system based on dividing the city into headquarters and neighborhoods, and the proliferation of new spaces and structures like coliseums, public promenades, a cemetery outside the city walls, theaters and cafes (Ramón 2016). The reform of traditions and customs extended to all aspects of human life in society, was achieved through education, and had as its ultimate goal the happiness of all.

Enlightened men disseminated their ideas not only through universities and academies, but also through literary salons, the press, books, and travelers, thus establishing circuits of information (Sánchez-Blanco 2013, 17–55). The editor of one of the eighteenth-century Lima periodicals declared, “A newspaper flies easily from the Press to the hands of a Lady, a Businessman, a Craftsman ... it is read easily at a Soiree, in a Warehouse, in a Store, on a Promenade, at a Salon, in a Cafe and on a Porch” (*Semanario Crítico* 1791; *Un Papel Periódico vuela con facilidad desde la Prensa a manos de una Madama, de un Negociante, de un Artesano ... se lee con facilidad en un Sarao, en un Almacén, en una Tienda, en un Paseo, en una Tertulia, en un Café y en un Pórtico*). Thus, he made clear the variety of the reading public that periodicals enjoyed, the speed of their circulation, the ease with which they were consumed, and the spaces of sociability where they were read. These novel ideas circulated in new spaces of sociability like salons and cafes. In these places it was common to read aloud, a practice that also allowed the illiterate public to have access to the information contained in the written texts (Chartier 1993). The *Café de Bodegones*, located in downtown Lima, was one of the most popular restaurants where members of the elite met with upper working-class urban sectors to read the news from the periodicals and converse about politics. A police lieutenant who participated in the meetings remarked, “Sunday mornings in the congregation that frequently meets in the Café de Bodegones, speaking honestly about the news of Europe brought by the merchant ship” (*el Domingo por la mañana en el concurso que frecuentemente hay en el café de Bodegones, hablando con sinceridad sobre las noticias de Europa conducidas por el navio marchante*).<sup>2</sup>

## Enlightenment Bourbon reforms and indigenous rebellions

Bourbon reforms sparked changes throughout the Spanish Empire at different levels. The program consisted of a series of reforms aimed primarily at reinforcing royal power, reorganizing the Spanish Empire into different levels, and increasing income from the American colonies. To carry out this project, the Spanish Crown established an alliance with the local elites and sent both civil and religious officials to America, who were charged with implementing the reforms. Thus, different jobs addressed primarily economic, political, or military aspects, as well as reorganizing the colonial space by creating new viceroyalties and establishing a system of provinces (Fisher 2000).

In this context, the 1780 rebellion of Túpac Amaru II was significant. The outbreak of the rebellion had various causes. Structural factors, which were influenced by the very organization of colonial structure in the sixteenth century, included the mining *mita*<sup>3</sup> in Potosí, since the primary mine to which the *curacas*<sup>4</sup> had to send their people to perform this obligatory unpaid work was Potosí. In the time leading up to the rebellion, the *curacas* considered the Potosí *mita* unjust, since that region had been integrated into the new Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata.

Another factor was abuse by the magistrates, since, as John Fisher notes, the problem was the unbridled corruption of these officials. Magistrates with jurisdiction over indigenous populations charged them more than the established tax rate, used the indigenous work force for their own benefit, and handled the distribution of merchandise, which was done via a network of economic interests created between officials and businessmen. In the beginning, this activity was illicit, but Viceroy Count of Superunda legalized it in the middle of the eighteenth century, imposing a tariff for distribution according to zones. This measure avoided neither corruption nor the discontent of the indigenous population, since the magistrates' control over the Andean indigenous population became even greater. To all of this was added the impossibility for the Andeans to get justice at the local level, since this was in the hands of the magistrates, who were both judge and jury. Still another factor was the lack of a provincial court nearby to hear the grievances of the indigenous population, which constituted the numerical majority in the region. Also contributing to the situation were a rising Inca nationalism and the presence of a significant number of Cuzco nobility (Garret 2009).

The situational causes of the rebellion came from Bourbon Reforms. The creation of the Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata, which separated Lower Peru (the southern Peruvian Andes) from Upper Peru (Bolivia), affected the economic interests of the groups with business ties in that region. They felt the impact of legal reforms instituted by Inspector José Antonio de Areche, who increased rate of tribute and attempted to include both mestizos and criollos. He also increased the sales tax, and to eliminate tax evasion, he established internal customs offices, which were better able to control the collection of this tax. This explains why, in addition to the Andeans, Peninsulars, criollos, and mestizos also participated in the revolt, as their interests were likewise affected by these measures.

The uprising that Túpac Amaru mounted in November 1780 was just one more act of violence that took place in the region, one more expression of the contradictions that the colonial system had been exhibiting for decades. However, his movement was the largest and most significant, being the climax, as it were, of the cycle of anticolonial rebellions throughout the century (O'Phelan 1988). It was not just one, but many revolutions that converged and crossed one another. Even the movement that José Gabriel Túpac Amaru II led had up to three phases, with their own dynamics and characteristics.

The leader, José Gabriel Condorcanqui, was born in Surimana in 1741, the mestizo son of Miguel Condorcanqui and Rosa Noguera. He studied in Cuzco at the School of San Francisco de Borja, which the indigenous elites attended to be acculturated. A descendent of Túpac Amaru I, he inherited the chiefdom (*cacicaazgo* or *curacazgo*) of Surimana, Pampamarca, and Tungasuca. He operated a profitable business running a mule train to transport goods with the 350 mules his father had left him. In 1760 he married Micaela Bastidas, and they had three sons: Hipólito, Mariano, and Fernando. He owned a house in Tinta, a commercial town located on the main road running between Lima, Cuzco, Potosí, and Buenos Aires. The goods he transported were mainly sugar, cotton cloth, and mercury. He also had a house in Tungasuca, which became the center of operations during the rebellion.

The first phase was led by Túpac Amaru himself. It was the most symbolic and significant phase, more for what it unleashed than for what it managed to achieve in terms of goals. It

began with the capture and death of the magistrate of Tinta, Antonio de Arriaga, in November 1780. This was not just another riot, like so many others where the magistrates had simply been victims of the Andeans. Arriaga's execution was a symbol, by means of which the rebel leader initiated his proclamation of the return of the Inca.

Túpac Amaru's Andeans were organized hierarchically, with the Inca's family at the head of the army. The troops were Andean commoners, who spontaneously yielded to the military and political leaders who decided the moves. They gained their first military victory against a royalist military column that came out of Cuzco to suppress them, in an encounter in Sangará on 18 November. The rebels had been headed for Cuzco, ordering the *curacas* to arrest provincial magistrates, issuing proclamations announcing significant reforms of the working conditions of the Andeans, and attacking and destroying workshops.

The unrest was widespread. The rebels subjugated nearly all the southern provinces between Cuzco and Arequipa. The lines of command were drawn in the rebel army and in the royalist camp, which was strengthened when another great chief and Andean nobleman, Mateo Pumacahua, declared war on the rebel. In January 1781 the rebels laid siege to Cuzco, but the attempt failed. Thus began the decline of the first phase. In April 1781 Túpac Amaru was captured after his defeat at Checacupe. He was executed in May in Cuzco's town square, the Plaza de Armas, ending the first phase of the rebellion (Seriulnikov 2013).

The second phase was focused in the south, near Puno. A traditionally Aymara region, it had been converted to Quechua, and acted as a bridge between the Quechua zone of Cuzco and the Aymara highlands with their administrative center in La Paz. The leader of the rebellion was Túpac Amaru's uncle, Diego Cristóbal. This was a more military period, less symbolic and ideological, with neither proclamations nor political negotiations. It ended with the military victory of Diego Cristóbal Túpac Amaru in Puno, and the withdrawal of the royalist army, in which Pumacahua and his Andean soldiers served decisively.

The third phase was the Aymara phase, characterized by generalized violence and the convergence of various movements (Thomson 2002). Diego Cristóbal from Azángaro and Andrés Túpac Amaru, already in Aymara territory, joined forces with the chief of the Aymaras, Túpac Catari. The city of La Paz was besieged twice, strategic towns were taken over, and the war lasted until November 1781. After successive defeats, the execution of Túpac Catari, and military reinforcements from the Spanish army, the previous leader, Diego Cristóbal, signed an armistice in Sicuani in 1782. After a year of tense waiting, he was taken prisoner and executed in July 1783; at the same time, a series of punitive measures against the Túpac Amaru Andean noblemen and a campaign to repopulate Alto Perú and to politically and culturally subjugate the rebel populations were instituted. Regarding these measures, Charles Walker (2015) emphasized the violence of the repression against the social movement.

Túpac Amaru's rebellion was not a purely indigenous movement, since other ethnic groups also participated in it, including criollos and Peninsulars, who would later withdraw their support for the rebellion for fear of being overrun by the indigenous masses. Indigenous women had a decisive role in the leadership of the movement. Particularly notable were Micaela Bastidas, Túpac Amaru's wife, and Tomasa Tito Condemayta, *curaca* of Acos. Furthermore, the indigenous movement spread beyond the Andes all the way to the Atlantic (Thomson 2016).

The consequences were decisive and permanent. During the rebellion, Inspector Areche eliminated the distribution of goods, administrative reform was accelerated, resulting in the replacement of magistracies by provinces, and the Court of Cuzco was established in 1784 to resolve the issue of justice. In addition, reading the Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's *Comentarios Reales* (Royal Commentaries), which contained a list of the genealogies of the indigenous nobility and allusive references to the Incan past, was prohibited. In addition, other measures were introduced

to counteract Inca nationalism, including the abolition of the chieftainships of the leaders of the rebel villages, accentuating the crisis and decadence of the position of *curaca* (O'Phelan 1997). The *criollos* became fearful of movements involving the indigenous masses, which influenced their conservative attitude towards the latter. From then on, in their own movements, *criollos* would only rely on indigenous peoples as allies, not as leaders.

## The impact of the French Revolution on the Viceroyalty of Peru

In the Viceroyalty of Peru, after 1789 information about the French Revolution was spread by various means (Rosas Lauro 2006, 33–96). One of these was the press, both Spanish and foreign, as well as local. The latter fulfilled a political function and was used by the viceregal government to sway public opinion starting in 1793, due to the policy of silence imposed by the Spanish monarchy that prohibited any publications on the topic. Just when Louis XVI lost his head to the guillotine and Spain declared war on France, a fierce counterpropaganda campaign was unleashed, which explained the absence of news on the revolutionary events in the *Semanario Crítico* and the *Diario de Lima*, periodicals which ceased circulating before this change in the monarchy's policies regarding the French Revolution; meanwhile, both the *Gazeta de Lima* and the *Mercurio Peruano* did publish news. It should also be noted that the Haitian Revolution erupted at this same time, which had a significant impact on the Atlantic world, as Alejandro Gómez's study (2013) explains. However, this was eclipsed in the discourse of the time by its European contemporary.

The *Gazeta de Lima* was the official periodical that emerged as a result of the viceregal authorities' need to control information, with the goal of spreading a negative image of the revolutionary process to its reading public. This journal fulfilled its political function by channeling the information about a movement with global repercussions, following the model of the Peninsular press. This negative global image of the Revolution was produced through four main topics. First was the guillotining of King Louis XVI, which was condemned as regicide, sacrilege, and parricide, since it constituted a serious blow to the monarchical system. Some texts report “looking, horrified, upon the shattered sceptre in the hands of Louis XVI, and his head falling with the iron blow of the assassins” (*Gazeta de Lima* 28 Feb. 1794, 160; mirar con horror despedazado el cetro en las manos de Luis XVI, y caer su cabeza al golpe del hierro de los asesinos) and the “abominable assassination of a just and kind Sovereign” (*Gazeta de Lima* 6 May 1794, 262; asesinato execrable de un Soberano justo y benéfico). The second topic was the presentation of the revolution as an irreligious, atheist phenomenon that attacked the foundations of the Catholic religion and the Church, characterized by attacks on the papacy, the persecution of priests and religious, the destruction of Catholic symbols, and the criticism of its principles. Third was the topic of Jacobinism and the Terror, which arose mainly because of the actions of the National Convention, a disorganized, chaotic entity dominated by the Jacobins that is constantly associated with anarchy, violence, and tyranny. Finally, the war was a recurrent topic through which they sought to highlight allied victories, especially those of the Spanish army, such as the taking of Toulon.

Although it was wholly dedicated to offering information about Peru, the *Mercurio Peruano*, the criollo intellectual elites' vehicle of dissemination, made constant references to the most important political event of the period. Like the *Gazeta de Lima*, it offered the reader a negative image of the French Revolution; however, it chose to emphasize different arguments in its condemnation of the war. This journal underscored the defense of religion and monarchy by divine right, harshly condemning the “inhuman regicide” (31 Oct. 1794; inhumano regicidio), which was also judged as a “cruel and outrageous assassination of their sovereign (cruel e inaudito

asesinato de su soberano), “an atrocious crime” (atroz delito) and “the most unjust, cruelest, most inhuman outrage of all time” (el desafuero más injusto, más cruel, más inhumano que nos presenta a la memoria la historia de todos los siglos; 15 Aug. 1793). It also criticized Enlightenment philosophy and employed the argument of humanity to discredit the revolutionary principles that it referenced.

The representation that the elites developed of the French Revolution was not only fed by the newspapers, but also through reading books, pamphlets, and letters with allusions to events in France. Their rejection of the revolutionary process was due to their conservatism, which manifested among the elites as a deeply entrenched fear of revolution. However, as we shall see, images from the Revolution were also appearing in urban areas, produced in public spaces and through new practices of sociability, in which the elites participated as well. In this way, the French Revolution inspired greater political discussion, promoting the dispersion of what Guerra (1993) called political modernity.

Texts were another means of circulating information. These were of different types: those that had a permit and sought to project an image counter to the process—despite containing passages that had escaped censorship—as well as those seditious pamphlets and books that had been censored, which mocked the vigilance and control mechanisms of the authorities. Standing out among those is the *Declaración de los Derechos del Hombre y del Ciudadano* (Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen) which circulated in Peru starting in 1791,<sup>5</sup> well before the translation done by Antonio Nariño in Santa Fe de Bogotá in 1794 and about which the Peruvian Inquisition opened an inquiry for fear of its dissemination.<sup>6</sup> Likewise, the anonymous posters, published clandestinely in the busiest public places of Lima and sent to the provinces, were spread throughout the city, expressing favorable opinions of the Revolution. For example, one poster read, “What are you doing, city, that you don’t gain your liberty” (Qué haces ciudad que no procuras tu libertad), and another said, “Long live France and long live liberty” (Viva la Francia y viva la libertad).<sup>7</sup> Also, private correspondence circulating through the mail was the first source of news about revolutionary occurrences such as the events of 1789, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, debates in the Assembly, and difficult times in Floridablanca’s government. In a letter sent at the beginning of 1792, the businessman Diego Martínez de las Viadas commented to Judge Tadeo Díaz de Medina how his business was doing, expressing his worry with regard to “the matter of the French, nobody knows what to think of it, well, I think it will all end in tragedy, because it seems that all the powers are going to stick their noses into that difficult business” (el asunto de los Franzeces no sabemos que pensar sobre él, pues discurro que todo ha de venir a parar en tragedia, porque parece que todas las potencias van a meter la mano en ese negocio tan arduo).<sup>8</sup>

Finally, there was oral transmission, a privileged means of dissemination that developed in public spaces both through conversations in cafes, taverns, and streets and through proclamations and town criers that reinforced the authorities’ ability to maintain broad control over daily life. In a meeting in Carlos Fornier’s tavern, a toast was made to liberty; participating in it were the watchmaker Juan Tremaille, the tinsmith Clemente Sabino, the chef Pese, the baker Pedro Leblanc, Pedro Viana, and the Panamanian Joaquín Alzamora, among others. According to testimonies, the participants sang a seditious song called “The Bomb that Explodes in the Air” (La bomba que estalla en el aire), and after having lunch, they continued to drink until 11:00 at night. At the meeting, Blanc and Borrier argued about the date of Louis XVI’s death, betting a peso. Sabino decided the winner by checking a dictionary. Blanc lost and had to spend the peso on fish and drinks for the attendees.<sup>9</sup>

In a ceremony on 12 January 1794 that brought together the inhabitants of the Vizcaya estate in Lima in response to a request for donations to cover the costs of the war against France,<sup>10</sup>

the prosecutor of the Gorbea y Vadillo Court gave a speech in which he affirmed that power was God-given and that France went against this principle because of a “prideful philosophy” (*filosofía orgullosa*)—referring to the Enlightenment—that mistakenly proclaimed independence, liberty and equality (*Mercurio Peruano* 9 Feb. 1794).

Civil and ecclesiastical authorities informed the people of the Viceroyalty about Spain’s declaration of war against France and the campaign to collect donations. They also told them about the organization of public prayer ceremonies which the people should attend to pray for the victory of the Spanish army. These took place in Arequipa, Huamanga, Cuzco, Trujillo, and Lima. Finally, the sermons and processions, in a society with a high illiteracy rate and ruled by orality and Catholicism, caused a lasting impact on the collective mentality. The purpose of all the symbolic and gestural display of these ceremonies was to spread the counterrevolutionary discourse to the entire population, not only for fear that they would be infected by revolutionary principles, but also because it was part of a counterpropaganda campaign orchestrated from Spain with the aim of collecting contributions for the war. The goal was to instill an attitude of rejection and condemnation towards the Revolution in the various social sectors.

The viceregal government’s policy was developed on various fronts and evolved based on the Spanish monarchy’s position regarding revolutionary events, which went through three stages differentiated according to the attitude adopted by Carlos IV’s ministers. When the Revolution began, the ministry was headed by the Count of Floridablanca, who established a policy of silence regarding French activities and the rules of the *cordon sanitaire* in an attempt to avoid the contagion of revolution. Floridablanca’s panic caused the authorities, civil and religious, to establish repressive measures. This was the context for the issuance, in Madrid on 24 September 1789, of the first disposition to arrive in Peru. Its purpose was to avoid the spread of a spirit of independence and irreligion, which could lead to shaking off the yoke of Spanish domination by following France’s example.

His Majesty being informed that there are Individuals from the National Assembly in Paris, among them a Mr. Cotein, who have set themselves to introduce in America a seditious manifesto to provoke those inhabitants by any and all means possible through *persuasive seduction to shake off the yoke of Spanish Domination, following the example that France gives*, and that they have made several copies that they will send by every possible route so that as many of them as possible will arrive: His Majesty orders me to move it discreetly to Your Excellency so that without delay I may dispatch the files and take possible precautions to impede, by way of the ecclesiastical Bishops and Prelates, the introduction of the cited papers, *whose first objective is the spirit of independence and irreligion*.

Hallándose Su Magestad informada de que hay algunos Individuos de la Asamblea Nacional de París, y entre ellos, uno llamado Mr. Cotein que se han propuesto hacer introducir en America un Manifiesto sedicioso para suscitar aquellos habitantes por todos los medios que puede dar de si *una seducción persuasiva a sacudir el yugo de la Dominación Española, siguiendo el exemplo que les da la Francia*, y que han copiado varios exemplares que enviarán por todas las vías posibles para que lleguen las más que sea dable: Me manda Su Magestad trasladarlo a V.E. reservadamente para que sin perdida de correo expida las convenientes y tome las precauciones posibles para impedir, por medio de los Obispos y Prelados eclesiásticos, la introducción de los papeles que se citan, *cuyo primer objeto es el espíritu de independencia e irreligión*.<sup>11</sup>

The alliance between the Church and the king emerged to confront a common enemy. In this context, the Inquisition’s role became important, and it acted as an ideological police

force for the *ancien régime* since its activity was centered on the pursuit of prohibited works and the new ideas that they expressed (Guibovich 2013). Hence, it was dedicated to applying measures originating in Madrid related to the surveillance of books, periodicals, and pamphlets that entered and circulated in the country.<sup>12</sup> We see this in the Inquisitorial trials held against readers of prohibited works, in which notable members of the bureaucracy, the aristocracy, and the intelligentsia, among others, were implicated. Between 1780 and 1808 there were a total of 96 individuals tried in cases for reading prohibited books.<sup>13</sup>

On the other hand, the viceregal authorities swung between tolerance and repression regarding public spaces where conversations on the topic took place. With the program of reforms, control over these spaces had been emphasized, and it intensified at this time. One such case was the trial of the Panamanian Joaquín Alzamora, which took place when the first news of the occupation of Toulon arrived from Buenos Aires; and later, a letter arrived in the mail from Valles sent from Panama City. In it was the news that “the Spaniards had set fire to Toulon and set up artillery to empty it of life” (*haber incendiado los españoles Tolón y clavado artillería para abandonarla*). Alzamora copied the letter in the presence of a free *zambo* (of mixed black and indigenous parentage) from Arequipa and another person, saying that it deserved to be published because it belied the version that was making the rounds in the capital. He then passed the copy around to his acquaintances, asking them to read it and spread the news around the city. In the barber shop of the Panamanian mulatto José María Espejo, Alzamora read to everyone there the news about Toulon, which was more favorable to the revolutionaries than what was being talked about in Lima.<sup>14</sup> The Panamanian also read the letter to his compatriot Eusebio de Gómez, saying that he was going to bring it to a number of individuals for them to spread this good news. In the end, Alzamora was tried, and in a surprising statement he said they had accused him too late, since the letters written by the Convention or its members to the French residents of this capital, who had hired him to translate them to Spanish, had already been distributed in Potosí, Pasco, Trujillo and Lambayeque.<sup>15</sup>

Lastly, the viceregal authorities thought that French immigrants might be a significant means of dissemination of information favorable to the Revolution, which made them the primary suspects of sedition from the beginning. The prejudice that the authorities had against the French was framed by the mistrust that generally existed towards foreigners who belonged to enemy powers of Spain residing in the Viceroyalty. Hence, they instituted an anti-French policy and took measures such as revising laws pertaining to foreigners, making a list of French residents in the Viceroyalty, and deporting members of the French nation. Despite the inability to prove anything against them, two Frenchmen were sent to Spain: the watchmaker Juan Trimalle and the dentist Manuel Porret, because, according to the authorities, they had expressed “opinions that were too free” (*opiniones demasiado libres*).<sup>16</sup>

The authorities developed a series of counterrevolutionary actions that involved most of the population of the Viceroyalty of Peru (Rosas Lauro 2006, 157–226). In the beginning, an entire propaganda campaign was designed to collect donations to support the mother country in the war against France. Through the newspapers, they tried to project, on one hand, an image of a cohesive social body united in its support of Spain against France by people from all walks of life; and on the other hand, the idea of a universal crusade, since several countries were participating in this activity. However, the press was not the only source of this discourse; the public prayer ceremonies organized by the clergy to pray for the victory of the Spanish army also played a part, which showed considerable meddling from the Church. Both actions were carried out in all provinces of the Viceroyalty, with Arequipa and Huancavelica standing out for the intensity of their effort, under the guidance of Bishop Chávez de la Rosa and Head Councilman Manuel Ruíz de Castilla, respectively.

The counterrevolutionary propaganda bore fruit: donations were collected starting in 1793, an effort that was framed within an entire policy of donations that began with the rebellion of Túpac Amaru. An example of this is the Deputy Advisor to the Council of Arequipa, Pedro José de Zuzunaga, author of a document addressed in an open council meeting in 1780 to the people of Arequipa to encourage them to donate to help defray the expenses of the war against Túpac Amaru. The Deputy Advisor stated, “at least so the common people might agree, and confirm their due loyalty and subordination to our respectable and very kind Sovereign, saving him from the pernicious sect of France” (*siquiera para que los vulgares se afirmen, y confirmen en la debida fidelidad, y subordinación a nuestro respetable y amabilísimo Soberano, preservandole de la perniciosa secta de la Francia*).<sup>17</sup> The discourse they employed legitimated the monarchy’s position, and thus the monetary support, which contributed to defining political positions in the different social sectors, clearly profiling loyalist attitudes versus those of the malcontents. The last piece was the elaboration of a Defense Plan for the coasts of the Viceroyalty, which Avilés had to write, and which was recorded in the viceroy’s *Memoria de gobierno* (Government Record, Gil de Taboada y Lemos 1859 [1796], 320–350).

The ghost of the indigenous rebellions, especially of Túpac Amaru in 1780, generated fear of the potential impact of the French Revolution on the Viceroyalty of Peru (Rosas Lauro 2005). In a letter that Manuel José de Orejuela wrote to the Duke of Alcudia on 26 January 1795, he warned of the danger of future indigenous uprisings: “[T]he Indians of this Viceroyalty, as [they are] so educated in news obtained in these kingdoms and those of Europe” (*los Indios de este Virreynato, como tan instruidos en noticias adquiridas en estos reynos y los de Europa*), were aware of current revolutionary events, which they might take as an example. Furthermore, since “they are training in the art of war in their army regiments” (*están ejercitándose en el arte de la guerra en el regimiento de tropas*), they had access to firearms. And it was possible that their *caciques* would ally themselves with French revolutionaries, since:

there are so many wily Frenchmen in the capital, [...] many more in all the Provinces of the Kingdom, fearful of being exiled to others kingdoms. What you should know about them is that they unsettle and incite many of the native chieftains, who then do likewise to their Indians, who love them and obey their dictates, even more than they love God or King. [...] Given the example of licentiousness in France, they may want to follow them with the hope of seeing the scepter in their hands, which could plunge them into the utmost ruin.

hallandose en esta capital tantos franceses ladinos, ...muchos mas en todas las Provincias del Reyno, temiendo ser desterrados a otros; es debido revelarse de estos el que inquieten y alboroten al común de caciquez, y estos a sus Yndios, a quien aman y obedecen sus preceptos, aun mas que a Dios o al Rey; ...porque al ejemplo del Libertinaje en la Francia, quieran seguirles con la esperanza de ver el cetro en sus manos, los precipiten para sus mejores ruinas.”<sup>18</sup>

On the other hand, an anonymous document was sent to the colonial government denouncing the fact that in Lima there were people who “seem to have resolved to finish off this Kingdom” (*parece se han propuesto acabar con este Reyno*), since they disseminate “the damaging doctrine of the freedom of men [...] in favor of the current system in France” (*la perjudicial doctrina de la libertad de los hombres [...] a favor del actual sistema de los franceses*).<sup>19</sup> It notes the danger of an uprising due to the presence of a large number of Frenchmen who pass themselves off as Navarrese, and who could become allies of the masses and the upper classes, as well as of the urban artisans.

We see another example in the request sent by Manuel Rodríguez to the Council of the Indies on 4 November 1795, “to print and dedicate to the Council the work called Prints of Portraits of the Emperors of Peru and Mexico along with a printed summary of their lives” (para imprimir y dedicar al Consejo la obra de los Retratos en Láminas de los Emperadores del Perú y México con los sumarios impresos de sus vidas). Upon receipt of this request, Silvestre Collar checked to see whether, given the uprising of 1780, there was any prohibition on the use and sale of the work or on picture cards or paintings of the Incas. On 24 February 1796, the Council of the Indies denied permission, arguing that the measures put in place by Judge José Antonio de Areche prohibiting, among other things, portraits of the Incas and reading the *Comentarios Reales* by Inca Garcilaso de la Vega were still in force. Interestingly, the text also indicates that “if the work of Garcilaso had been examined in this report, and after the horrible experiences of the political revolutions of this century, the objection would have been raised now that was not raised then” (si la obra de Garcilazo se hubiera examinado en esta parte, y después de las funestas experiencias que presentan las revoluciones políticas del siglo se habría puesto el reparo que no se ofreció entonces).<sup>20</sup>

## Conclusions

The Enlightenment, the Bourbon Reforms, the rebellion of Túpac Amaru II, and the impact of the French Revolution on the Viceroyalty of Peru exhibit complex, and even contradictory, relationships. These processes are intimately related and characterize the situation of the Peruvian Viceroyalty in the final years of the colonial period, which is a good starting point for analysis of the topic of this part of the volume: Enlightenment, control, and subversion.

With the rise of the Enlightenment in the Viceroyalty of Peru, particularly in the final decades of the eighteenth century, the enlightened elites gathered at the famous Society of Lovers of the Country, from where they dedicated themselves not only to studying the different aspects of the country’s reality and disseminating it to the rest of society, but also, through their writings, to proposing economic, political/administrative, social, and cultural reforms. To this end, they spurred the development of modern journalism through the *Mercurio Peruano*, a periodical published by the Lovers of the Country with the aim of learning about Peru. The development of modern journalism together with the circulation of information, the change from reading primarily religious texts to reading more secular or political ones and broadening the sphere of readers as well as the new practices of reading in spaces of sociability, all made possible the formation of public opinion in some cities, particularly Lima. Likewise, these elites developed an enlightened way of thinking that dialogued and debated with the main currents of European thought, resulting in studies and documents in different fields of knowledge, a fact that reflected an already mature *criollo* identity by the end of the eighteenth century. Under the impulse of the Bourbon reforms in cultural and scientific fields, these advances continued developing in the Viceroyalty of Peru. But the *criollo* and Peninsular sectors were not the only ones who constituted this enlightened movement; the indigenous elites did not remain on the sidelines of this process in cities like Cuzco.

However, the Bourbon reforms, particularly in the administrative-territorial, economic, and legal fields, also clashed with local interests. They were one of the contributing factors of the indigenous rebellions of Túpac Amaru II and Túpac Catari in the 1780s that convulsed the southern Andes. This immense indigenous movement was the culmination of a cycle of anticolonial rebellions that bedeviled the century, which were also related to structural aspects of the colonial system such as the indigenous tribute system, the mining *mita*, the authority of the magistrates, and the distribution of goods. These social movements generated great fear, which

lasted through the wars for independence. Hence, the authorities' repression of the movement was very fierce and violent, and in the face of the danger of a *criollo*-indigenous alliance, it became even harsher. The viceregal government beheaded the indigenous elites and *curacas* committed to the movement and reinforced its alliances with indigenous sectors that had collaborated in crushing the rebellion, which reconfigured the sociopolitical panorama on the eve of the process of independence.

In this context, only a few years later, in 1789, the impact of the French Revolution was felt. In the American territories, the enlightened press served as an instrument of political propaganda for the Spanish monarchy; however, the texts showed the multiple and varying images of the Revolution, from books and pamphlets to anonymous posters with opinions favorable to the revolutionary process. In the face of the circulation of information not only in writing, but also through conversations in the spaces of sociability and in the public sphere of the city, the viceregal State, the Church, and the Inquisition launched a counterrevolutionary campaign. This was characterized by measures to control information; surveillance of public spaces, which fluctuated between tolerance and repression; and anti-French policies that expressed xenophobia and led to the deportation of French individuals. In addition, the alliance between Throne and Altar was demonstrated through the collection of donations for the war against France, public prayer ceremonies organized by the Church, and military measures through defense plans for the American territories.

This difficult situation showed the limits of the Enlightenment; and the counterrevolutionary discourse elaborated to counteract the French Revolution clearly demonstrated the critique on the dangers of the Enlightenment and the condemnation of enlightened philosophers. At the same time, the specter of an uprising like Túpac Amaru's that mobilized the indigenous masses was associated with the inversion of the world order that was taking place at that time in France and Haiti. Counterrevolutionary discourse was centered on four main topics: regicide, the attack against the Church and the Catholic religion, French Jacobinism, and the war. According to contemporary thinkers, the ideas propagated by the Enlightenment were a primary cause of these ills. The subversive potential of enlightened ideas became a reality in the French and Haitian Revolutions, which revealed just how complex the association was between Enlightenment and subversion, and how porous its borders. This was what allowed it to evade the control of even the viceregal authorities, who—paradoxically—had insisted on promoting Enlightenment ideas through reforms aimed at promoting the happiness of the people. In the long run, these ideas, associated with the practices that enabled their diffusion, undermined the foundations of the *ancien régime* in the Viceroyalty of Peru.

## Notes

★ Translated by Linda Grabner, University of Pennsylvania

- 1 The cover image of this volume comes from this painting, courtesy of the Museum of Natural Sciences of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid.
- 2 Letter from police Lieutenant José María Egaña. Lima, 3 May 1794. Archivo General de Indias (AGI), State, Bundle 73.
- 3 The *mita* was a system of rotating work done by groups of indigenous Andeans taking turns performing economic activities. It originated in pre-Hispanic times as a means of distributing shared community labor among all the residents, and the colonial State adopted the system and adapted it to their needs.
- 4 The *curacas* were the authorities of the indigenous peoples organized into *ayllus* or kinship groups. These positions of authority predated the Conquest, and with some changes, they were maintained during the Viceroyalty.
- 5 La Declaración de los Derechos del Hombre y del Ciudadano. Paris 1789. Biblioteca Nacional de Lima (BNL), Manuscripts, C 3728.

- 6 1795. Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid (AHN), Bundle 2216, No. 16.
- 7 Record of Padre Santiago González. AGI, State, Bundle 73.
- 8 Letter of Martínez de las Viadas to Judge Tadeo Díaz de Medina. Lima, 1792. Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Santa María Collection, 00137.
- 9 1794. BNL, Manuscripts, C 2875.
- 10 1794. BNL, Manuscripts, C 4018.
- 11 Antonio Porlier to the Archbishop of Lima. Madrid, 24 Sept. 1789. Archive of the Archbishop of Lima (AAL), Royal Documents, RC100. The emphasis is mine.
- 12 Communique related to the seditious manifesto that Míster Cotein wanted to bring to America to induce its inhabitants to shake off the yoke of Spanish domination. 1789. AHN, Inquisition, Bundle 4430, File 18.
- 13 See the accounting of people tried in Table 1 of the Appendix in Rosas Lauro 2006, 271–273.
- 14 Logbook of the case against Joaquín Alzamora for sedition. Archivo General de la Nación (AGN), Real Audiencia, Bundle 78, C. 949. 1794.
- 15 Logbook of the case against Carlos Fornier. AGN, Real Audiencia, Bundle 78, C. 950. 1794.
- 16 Royal order regarding Frenchmen remitted by the Viceroy. 6 May 1795. AGI, State, Bundle 73, No. 115.
- 17 Legal address of appeal made by Doctor Don Pedro José de Zuzunaga y Castillo. AGI, State, Bundle 75, No. 71.
- 18 Manuel José de Orejuela regarding giving arms to the Indians. Lima, 26 Jan. 1795. AGI, State, Bundle 75, No. 23.
- 19 Anonymous against Ventura Lamar y Cayetano Velon. Lima, 20 Dec. 1793. AGI, State, Bundle 75, No. 104.
- 20 Documents relating to the prohibition to print the engravings of Manuel Rodríguez. 1795–1796. AGI, Government, Lima 599.

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# The Constitution of Cádiz and Spanish-American independence\*

*Ivana Frasquet*

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## Introduction

Several decades ago, François-Xavier Guerra and other scholars introduced the concept of “Hispanic revolutions” as a way to define the events that took place in the American territories belonging to the Spanish monarchy in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Guerra 1992; Rodríguez O. 1999). In so doing, they not only included these events in the so-called cycle of Atlantic revolutions, but also gave prominence and lent a certain singularity to the processes of change that would give birth to the Spanish-American republics. The distinctive character of these processes is also due to the fact that the political debate in the Spanish-American world had been continuous since the second half of the eighteenth century. That is to say, these changes did not come about just because of the crisis of the monarchy, but rather stemmed from the exchange of ideas that were produced and spread by the Hispanic Enlightenment. Rooted in the Bourbon reforms, these transformations reached their peak with the birth of the nation-states that emerged from the dismantlement of the Spanish monarchy.

In Spain, the crisis of the monarchy began in 1808 with the “*vacatio regis*” and the war against Napoleon Bonaparte.<sup>1</sup> A popular movement then arose and led to the constituent assembly, known as the *Cortes*, in 1810 in the city of Cádiz in southern Spain, the only remaining safe haven from the French troops. Those attending the *Cortes* were elected representatives from the regions unoccupied by the Bonapartist army and deputies from the monarchy’s American territories, which had been declared equal and integral to those on the Iberian Peninsula. The *Cortes* that assembled in Cádiz sanctioned a liberal legislation and Constitution that, while containing a plenitude of enlightened ideas, also produced a revolutionary conception of them.

Specialized historiography stresses the crucial importance of the 1812 Constitution of Cádiz on the political configuration of the new Spanish-American states, beginning with the processes of independence. It studies the involvement of the American deputies in the *Cortes* and the drafting of the Constitution itself, as well as its practical application in the territories where it was adopted. Among other things, this research sheds light on the development of the electoral legislation that would give shape to the new institutions included in the Constitution, such as constitutional provincial councils and city councils. This scholarship has relied on local and regional history, which has found a common vein in the development of *gaditano* constitutionalism that

might explain the behavior of political communities in the territories where it was widely applied, especially in New Spain, Central America, and Peru (Ortiz Escamilla and Serrano Ortega 2007; Sala i Vila 2014).<sup>2</sup> Likewise, scholars analyze closely the new political categories that Cádiz liberalism created, such as that of the citizen. Scholars also study political mobilization, voting practices, citizenship and the different values it entails, such as participation in the urban militia (armed citizens), the acquisition of property, and the payment of taxes (direct contributions) (Irurizqui 2005; Chust and Marchena 2007).

Research on the armed conflict that broke out in 1810, the so-called “war of independence,” also calls into question the traditional view holding that the war was a confrontation between patriots and royalists or between creoles and peninsulars. For some time now, scholars with expertise in the study of militias, armies, and war prefer to define these processes as civil wars. They show that there were creoles and peninsulars on both sides and that the conflict was a catalyst for the revolution that would eventually affect the communities involved by transforming their economy, politics, and social lives (Ortiz Escamilla 2010; Pérez Vejo 2010; Thibaud 2003).

Studies of festivities and celebrations examine the reach that the constitutional culture of Cádiz had in Spanish America and how it was reflected in a constitutional and republican political construct in the new nations. They suggest that the formation of national identities in America had their origin, in many cases, in the legacy of the first Hispanic liberalism and in the emerging patriotic language from this period, both on the Iberian Peninsula and in Spanish America. For this reason, the importance of this process of building a liberal and constitutional political culture has been acknowledged and is no longer questioned, despite its being framed in a debate over continuities and ruptures (Eastman 2012; Ortemberg 2014; Hensel, Bock, Dirksen and Thamer 2012).

In short, if any progress has been made in research on the influence or significance of the Constitution of Cádiz in Spanish America, it has been in its consideration as more than merely a normative text. In fact, what emerges from recent work on this topic is that the Constitution of 1812 was not a “Spanish” norm applied to the American territories, but rather was, in essence, a “Hispanic” text, conceived of and elaborated from out of the bi-hemispheric dimension of the Spanish monarchy (Chust 1999 and 2014; Lorente and Portillo 2012).

## A particular liberalism

In recent years, scholars have taken renewed interest in the Spanish–American independence processes and their relation to the formation of a constitutional and liberal culture. One novel methodological approach to come out of conceptual history and the history of political thought attempts to define the concepts born out of that period, especially of liberalism. As J. Fernández Sebastián points out, the terms *liberal* and *liberalism* first began to be used during the debates at the Cádiz *Cortes* to define the set of ideas that some of the deputies were supporting and that were being spread at that time, mainly through the periodical press.<sup>3</sup> This is not to say that the concept first emerged at these *Cortes*, for we know that liberal ideas existed before being classified as such and that the word came to specify and define what was already known (Fernández Sebastián 2012).

The complexity of the moment in history when this definition emerged, and the diverse regional experiences that in Spanish America and Europe might be classified as “liberal,” has led to an agreement among historians to pluralize the term and to speak of *liberalisms*. This plurality, however, must not refer to just the recognition of a variety of cases, but also to the idea that the historical concept of liberalism, due to its origin and holistic logic, must also include its diverseness. For this reason, the set of ideas, discourses, and liberal practices originating in the

eighteenth century and leading to the beginning of nation-state building has been described as the “first liberalism.” Likewise and in addition to referring to a specific moment in time—the first third of the nineteenth century in the case of the Spanish monarchy and its colonial territories that became nation-states—the term must also include a set of general and specific characteristics for each one of these regional experiences.

This interpretation calls into question the traditional criticisms of Spanish-American liberalism, which is understood as something exotic and alien to the particular idiosyncrasies of Spanish-American societies. An anachronistic and ahistorical judgment up to now has stigmatized nineteenth-century liberalism as an ideology incapable of fulfilling the basic standards of twentieth-century democratic societies. In this traditional view, liberalism could not exercise a transformative, much less revolutionary function, a role reserved for the republic, whose ideological roots were much older and very different. For this reason, the Spanish-American independences until recently have been studied with republicanism as a substantial element in the establishment of the new states, denying the influence—and sometimes even the existence—of revolutionary liberalism in these processes. These visions gave rise to a debate on the interpretation of the independences in terms of classic republicanism, in which one part of the historiography went back to the theses of Philip Pettit and Quentin Skinner, which differentiated between the concept of the political in republicanism and that of liberalism, and applied them to the emergence of the first Spanish-American republics (Calderón and Thibaud 2006). However, recent research on the subject emphasizes that the first liberalism of the Spanish monarchy and Spanish-American territories was not an unrestrained model of unfettered individual freedoms, but rather one that assumed fundamental features of the corporate societies in which it was enacted.<sup>4</sup> Specialized historiography has affirmed that liberal practices cannot be reduced to a normative set of individual rights, but instead must attend to their enlightened, corporate—and in that sense, republican—elements, which came out of the traditional constitutional culture of the Hispanic world.<sup>5</sup>

Liberalism did not wipe out all the aspects of the state of absolute monarchy in Spanish America. Rather, it was the liberal elements that adapted to the new constitutional political language and which put into effect the similarly new configuration of the institutions and government of the monarchies and the republics. The liberal elements also generated a political culture with different meanings and practices, including the modern conceptions of sovereignty, nation, and representation. This interpretation clashes with one that considers liberalism’s corporate aspect to be essential and, therefore, steers its inquiry into the continuities maintained between the colony and new republics, rejecting any revolutionary transformation attributable to the first liberalism (Garriga and Lorente 2007).

As such, and in contrast to the above, some historians consider the processes of independence to be liberal revolutions immersed within the revolutionary cycle between 1750 and 1850 (Chust and Frasquet 2013). They note that the state implanted by the absolute monarchy in Spanish America was replaced by nation-states whose liberal transformations were not just limited exclusively to the adoption of the republic as a form of government but also included changes to social and economic aspects that took deeper hold throughout the century. This vision is also critical of traditional interpretations claiming that the independences were the founding stories of the nations, in which a preexisting and essentialist homeland was saved from centuries of oppression. Such stories identified the independences with a kind of “natural destiny” that the nations had to fulfill in the context of the fight against an overly simplified external enemy, in this case, “Spain.” In this view, the independences were considered revolutions because they fulfilled the need of being built upon the foundational myth of the nation and the homeland (Quintero 2012). It should be noted, however, that liberalism was at

the core of the founding of the Spanish-American republics because the triumph of independence transpired over a metropolis whose structural features were those pertaining to the ancien régime. That is, the wars of independence did not take place between nations because neither the Spanish monarchy nor the territories that it comprised in Spanish America were nations, at least not in the political and iusnaturalist sense of the term, since they were not subjects of sovereignty.<sup>6</sup> In this regard, given that the Spanish-American independences came to pass in the 1820s when the monarchical model of the Restoration was thriving in Europe, it was very difficult for Spanish-Americans to accept monarchy as a form of government and, therefore, the republic appeared as an exit strategy that would keep them safely away from European absolutism.

### **The political option: Monarchy or republic?**

The widespread adoption of the republic as a form of government beginning with Spanish-American independences excluded any historical interpretations that considered the influence of the Constitution of Cádiz on new states because the Constitution was monarchical in nature. It was thought to have provided little to the new republics from the perspective of the nature of the State. However, recent research has shown that, though Cádiz constitutionalism was meant for a monarchy, there was a non-negligible number of cases in which its clear significance can be traced in the legislation and constitutional norms of the new Spanish-American republics (Ramos Santana 2011; Chust and Frasquet 2004).

In addition, the republican tradition that was embedded in the Spanish monarchy and that considered communities to hold an original and natural sovereignty, one that is jurisdictional and territorial in nature, acted as a sort of common thread running throughout the shift from colonial to independent status (Hernández Chávez 1993; Botana 2013; Annino 2015). It therefore bears repeating that these republican experiences were not anomalous with regard to the classical paradigm with which they shared a pattern common across the various regional experiences. However, as I have indicated, this idea has begun to be nuanced in interpretations that regard liberalism as the political ideology in the nation-building processes in Spanish America. That is, state republicanism in these early stages would be a response more to the idea of governing without the king, than to continuing with the collective idea of political community.<sup>7</sup> We must keep in mind here that since 1814, the Spanish-American territories had been at war with Ferdinand VII—in the European context of the restoration of absolute monarchies—which would have made it quite complicated to establish constitutional monarchies that would distance themselves from the influence of an absolutist Europe.

Nevertheless, there were a significant number of political plans in favor of monarchy in the American territories, especially when Great Britain became arbiter in the disputes between the Iberian monarchs and their colonies. The Concert of Europe or the *Pentarquía europea*<sup>8</sup> rejected military intervention in Spanish America and gave the British the role of mediator in search of a “liberal solution” to the conflict. Research shows not just the number of liberal practices that were applied and experienced during these processes, but also the serious proposals that were made to form constitutional monarchies in Spanish America. This meant transcending the traditional interpretation of Ferdinand VII’s famous *máscara*<sup>9</sup> under which the real plans for independence were hidden (Landavazo 2001). Plans for monarchies did indeed exist and not only as a conspiratorial whim for those few who were still nostalgic for the absolutist regime, but also as real proposals for solving the political crisis begun in 1808.

The first of these plans would come from Princess Carlota Joaquina, sister of Ferdinand VII and wife of João VI of Portugal, who, having established herself in Brazil with the Braganza

Court, offered her candidacy to the crown to govern the American territories during the absence of the legitimate king. “Creole Carlotism” was made up of a large group of enlightened men and merchants, such as Juan José Castelli and Manuel Belgrano, known for their later involvement in the Río de la Plata Revolution. Their political proposals emphasized the legal ties binding the American kingdoms and the monarchy, and the threat that this union had to face with the 1806 British invasion of Buenos Aires (Ternavasio 2015).<sup>10</sup>

Plans for monarchies were also considered in Venezuela. The support for this kind of government offered by Andrés Bello from his exile in London as late as in 1825 shows that the republican option might have been more a question of peremptory need during the revolutionary process than any ideological conviction from the start. Furthermore, on several occasions José de San Martín proposed forming an autonomous constitutional monarchy for Peru, going so far as to send commissioners to Europe in search of a sovereign. In Mexico, the Iguala Plan and the 1821 Treaties of Córdoba declared independence and the formation of an empire to be governed by a Spanish king from the House of Bourbon. The same option was considered in Río de la Plata, whose representative to Europe, Bernardino Rivadavia, negotiated from 1815 to 1818 the sending of an Infante from one of the ruling houses.<sup>11</sup> In this case, the delay on the part of the European powers led by Great Britain in helping Ferdinand VII recover his territories in South America, was decisive to the failure of the negotiations. For their part, the Portuguese also failed to convince the Río de la Plata commissioner to accept Brazil’s support for setting up a monarchy in the United Provinces. Following the declaration of independence of Tucumán, the Supreme Director of the Río de la Plata, Pueyrredón, sent the canon Valentín Gómez to France in 1817 in search of a monarch from the House of Orleans. This attempt also failed due to British interests in the area and their rivalries with the French, but it at least shows that by 1818, the commitment to constitutional monarchies in Spanish America was still present as a viable option for consolidating independence.

Thus it is clear that the possibility of establishing constitutional monarchies in post-independence Spanish America was not just a pipe dream for anti-liberals and reactionaries, nor a dream for prolonging the colonial regime. There were no monarchical “masks” concealing the true desires for independence, nor was the monarchy seen as completely incompatible with constitutionalism and liberalism. In this regard, the republic was not the only possible option, nor much less the *sine qua non* condition for independent governments to be established.

## The Constitution of Cádiz in Spanish America

Historians of Spanish-American independences have shown the crucial importance that the Constitution of Cádiz of 1812 had in the writing of the first republican constitutions. This influence is clearer on the constitutions established from 1820s onward, when the Spanish monarchy was entering its second constitutional period and when in Spanish America, independence was being declared in the two great viceroyalties: New Spain and Peru. Each of the constitutions set up in the 1820s in Spanish America included, to some extent, a good deal of liberalism in its articles. *Iusrationalist* elements are mixed in with more traditional ones, the outcome of Spanish-American liberalism’s peculiar nature. Indeed, one can find elements ranging from the separation of powers and the organization thereof, to the declarations of rights and proposals for administrative land management. In many of these constitutions, the influence of Cádiz constitutionalism can be clearly traced, especially in the territories where it was in force. And this is observable in both the federal and centralist plans.

### *Sovereignty, nation, and territory*

One of the core issues in the liberal building of nation-states was the political and administrative organization of territory. This was unfailingly tied to sovereignty and representation, two aspects that were crucial to shaping the new constitutionalism in the nascent Spanish-American republics. It is undeniable that the definition of the nation as a new sovereign subject broke with the monarchical conception of power. This was set forth in all the constitutions approved during this time and in the third article of the Constitution of 1812 that was in force, as is well known, in many of the territories. The first Spanish-American Constitutions were tributaries of the idea of national sovereignty and took their inheritance from Cádiz by defining the nation as the reuniting of nationals.<sup>12</sup> Although it is true that from 1808 onward some regions had difficulties defining that sovereign subject because the crisis of the Spanish monarchy destroyed the existing territorial hierarchies in the colony and forced different subjects (towns, juntas, communities, cities, courts, etc.) to demand various kinds of sovereign powers, the outcome was that the constitutions would make national sovereignty a unifying element in the regions that formed centralist states.

Scholars offer two differing but not antagonistic interpretations of the issue of sovereignty during the revolutionary process. On the one hand is the idea, derived from the thesis of Antonio Annino (1994), that the monarchical crisis and the retroversion of sovereignty allowed the peoples to assume sovereignty and to refuse to obey any sovereign power that was held in the immediate capitals within the former colonial jurisdiction.<sup>13</sup> This meant sovereignty was spread out and left to municipal corporations, which began to exercise it independently of their former jurisdictions. This interpretation holds that what provided the groundwork was the validity of widespread municipal republicanism in the Catholic monarchy and not the adoption of the liberal idea of the sovereign subject. On the other hand, those of us who have defended liberalism as the main engine of change in Spanish America argue that the spread of sovereignty came about due to territorial fragmentation caused by the absence of a legitimate titleholder of said territory, the outbreak of war, and the application of the principle of retroversion of sovereignty as now understood in its modern sense. In places like the Kingdom of Quito, Peru, Chile, Charcas, New Spain, Central America, and New Granada, what was produced was what Marta Irurizqui calls the “territorialization of sovereignty” (Irurizqui 2012), which in some cases came early, though especially when the administrative organization provided for in the Constitution of 1812 became widespread. That is, the meeting of town councils and provincial councils contained, in practice, territorial autonomy compatible with the nation of individuals advocated in the first article of the charter. It is in this nationhood, the geographical limits of which are identical to those of the former territory, i.e. that of the viceroyalty, where there is indeed continuity, but not in the political conception of those territories with regard to the state as a whole, regardless of whether they are considered “towns” or “provinces” in a conceptual state of limbo that appealed to political and sovereign union as the only way of defining national identity.

When it came to applying the constitutionalism of Cádiz to the American territories, the formation of constitutional town councils and provincial councils provided the basis for autonomous territorial configuration. These institutions are elective in the Constitution of Cádiz, which is the reason the American deputies interpreted them as institutions with their own sovereignty. In this regard, sovereign power was thought to be capable of being decentralized in the various territorial hierarchies while also being represented at local and provincial levels. In the debates at the Cádiz *Cortes*, the Americans stated that the sovereignty of the nation was to be shaped by reuniting the provincial sovereignties that composed it, and these in turn by “the joining of the

sovereignty of the peoples derived from the collection of individual sovereignties,” upon which was based the concept of nation as a legal subject in *iusrationalist* natural law.<sup>14</sup> It was thus not incompatible to assume the concept of a single indivisible nation alongside the idea that a *de facto* sovereignty would be exercised in cities, allowing them to free themselves from the legal submission to which they had been subjected. With this, the American deputies called into question whether sovereignty had to be exclusively national and argued that it could be extended at local and provincial levels without rejecting the former. Therefore, proportional representation guaranteed equality among the territories belonging to the nation and gave sovereignty cohesion from the individuals to the nation.

This new idea of sovereignty not only transformed the legal conception of territory but would also be bound to how it was exercised in voting, as will be seen later. This was a central element insofar as it tied sovereignty to individuals and established the number of representatives according to the number of inhabitants. This meant drastically curtailing the corporate privileges and territorial hierarchies that had been in place during colonial times. That is to say, the sovereignty the deputies were demanding did not stem from an old idea of each community having its own dispersed and asymmetrical sovereignty, but rather was reconstructed from the idea of the nation as a sovereign subject, and was decentralized from there by the original allocation of this power to the individual.

This new conception of power generated an explosion of sovereignty in the Spanish-American territories which, in the face of the monarchical crisis, convened self-governing juntas and, in some cases, congresses. It was in these institutions that the people demanded representation and where the idea of individual sovereignty based on the number of inhabitants, not on the former colonial privilege, can best be seen. Once the ties to the king had vanished, the jurisdiction exerted by him through the territorial corporations vanished with them. It must be noted that colonial institutions were indeed what unavoidably assumed sovereignty when facing the crisis, though it is also important to point out that in the absence of the sovereign legitimacy of the king, a singular interpretation of the assumption of sovereignty was chosen. The peoples refused to be subject to the power of their principal cities or capitals as before and in so doing, broke the legal ties binding them—proclaiming loyalty to Ferdinand VII allowed them to exercise a kind of “direct sovereignty” in the monarch’s name. This was already a substantial change in the interpretation that these people made as to the adoption of sovereign power since the monarchical crisis, and as such the constitutional crisis, represented a shift in how people interpreted sovereignty, understanding it in the modern and liberal sense. They made use of the former territorial hierarchies insofar as they assumed themselves to be communities with the right to sovereignty but refused to respect the corporate part of these that forced them to continue to obey their principal cities or capitals. And with that, they substantially modified the sovereignty they claimed to possess. This was no longer a part of power belonging to a corporate idea, but rather an individual right of the people with respect to the nation as a whole, just as the American deputies in the Cortes had argued.

It should be noted, therefore, that the question of sovereignty was not limited to the definition of “sovereign people” or “sovereign nation” as a political subject, but rather encompassed fundamental aspects of how the territory was to be configured. The issue of sovereignty stirred great controversy in the nascent states because the practical application of the territorial powers assumed during the crisis of the monarchy resulted *de facto* in the enshrining of a federal model. In all the territories, attempts were made to maintain the sovereignty acquired during the rupture of the territorial hierarchies, the greater or lesser success of which depended on the political and wartime events that ensued during the 1820s.

## Suffrage and citizenship

As indicated above, the political representation derived from the new idea of sovereignty translated into the exercise of suffrage beginning with the revolutionary processes. The sovereign power of the individual, as defined in the first constitutions, could not be exercised directly and much less in territories as vast as the Spanish monarchy's and later as the independent states. For this reason, a suffrage system delegated power to representatives who would exercise it on behalf of all. The elections thus became the new states' mechanism for legitimizing the formation of a representative government. The issue of suffrage is directly tied to that of citizenship, which was defined in Spanish America to a greater or lesser extent in the framing of the liberal policies during these early years. However, the concept of citizenship included different variables, not only politics, which in these early stages of state-building ended up also reconfiguring the social and political relationships between sovereign subjects and power, whether they be communities or individuals. Other dimensions of citizenship included participating in homeland defense (militias, armed citizens); owning property as a distinctive element; contributing to the maintenance of the state's burdens (fiscal equality); and responsibly exercising judicial duties (a jury system), among others.

For all this, the political equality included in the constitutions in the 1820s involved building an ideal type of political body composed of free and equal individuals which clashed at first, and then was combined with, the previous communitarian representation. This gave rise to a liberalism that incorporated traditional elements while imposing the essential theoretical principles of the doctrine. Including equality in the constitutional regulatory framework meant passing a point of no return, as this guarantee was irrevocably bound to the individual; that is, those that the law converted into equals were individual subjects, not the traditional corporations.

This meant that in the early attempts at constitutions, the right to vote would be extended far into Spanish America thanks to the introduction of a rather broad concept of citizen, one that granted voting to free and non-dependent males. This is perhaps the most important and remarkable issue defining revolutionary liberalism from this era. It helped to extend the ability to vote to a significant portion of the population, even in cases in which the limiting distinction between active and passive voting was introduced, diminishing this political right. It was after independence, once the state was consolidated, that political rights began to be highly restricted and census requirements imposed as an argument for maintaining order.

The first regulated electoral processes held in many American territories took place under the Constitution of Cádiz of 1812 to order to elect municipal councils and provincial deputies to the *Cortes*, thereby putting into practice the three electoral levels and the indirect suffrage established therein. It is true that other elections had been held before, such as those to elect representatives to the *Junta Central* in 1809 and those in 1810, but as several authors have indicated, the parish elections were the ones that mobilized and included a greater part of the population. Despite its many limitations, no political system at the time, however autonomous and democratic it might have been, gave so many people the ability to elect their political representatives and through them to exercise sovereignty as did the constitutional system of Cádiz.<sup>15</sup> Studies on electoral processes in Spanish America during the first two decades of the nineteenth century are conclusive in this regard. The political participation of the population was highly inclusive—far more so than in Europe and the United States—and, despite what was described in the electoral regulations about restrictions on the right to vote, a broad swath of society actively participated in these processes. While it is accepted as true that the Constitution of Cádiz restricted political rights for those of African descent, domestic servants, the religious clergy, criminals and debtors—and of course women—and only granted citizenship to indigenous people, it has also

been demonstrated that in practice, suffrage was allowed for groups of the population theoretically excluded from it.

The parish elections allowed voting to be exercised in a general way. The as-yet sparse studies on these elections indicate that voter participation under the constitutional system of Cádiz was high, and a large part of the rural, not exclusively indigenous, population actively took part in them. Generally, in small towns, the election of constitutional town councils offered individuals the possibility of actively participating in local politics, an act of democratic practice unknown up to then. There are examples of voting by *pardos* (descendants of Europeans, indigenous Americans, and Africans); *mulatos* (descendants of Europeans and Africans); and *morenos* (dark-skinned descendants of Africans); most of all in territories where they were highly concentrated. Historians have pointed out that because these members of the castes participated in the militias of the first monarchy and of the republics during the wars of independence, there was social pressure to include them in the electoral system from the outset. Fully integrated into the militias, these contingents were generally loyal to the king and the monarchy, participated in civil wars that broke out across the continent and, especially in *Costa Firme*,<sup>16</sup> they were rewarded for their services to the royalist cause by enjoying greater participation in local politics. This was also part of the negotiation strategy in rural communities for both indigenous people and slaves, who sought to benefit from the political circumstances at the time and their alliance with the royalists (Monsalvo 2013; Rodríguez O. 1999; Garavaglia 2005; Echeverri 2009).

Given the above, the importance of suffrage was evident as it convincingly established itself as the best system for combating despotism and ensuring greater equality. In contrast, other historians conclude that the increased levels of suffrage and maintenance of the parish as a corporate element indirectly led to the electoral control that the legislation failed to establish, thereby perpetuating power for the former elites (Lorente and Portillo 2012). In some of these processes, especially the most incipient ones, old practices were subordinated to the new ones, thus creating hybrid electoral systems that superimposed the old traditional ways of assigning positions with the new forms of representative elections. Nevertheless, applying indirect masculine suffrage resulted in broad voter turnout and unprecedented social mobilization. The detailed regulations that were established ensured that the elections would be subject to control and oversight to protect the “rights of the sovereign people.” Thus, as has been thoroughly studied by Marta Irurozqui, the old status of *vecino* (neighbor) was maintained alongside the new one of *ciudadano* (citizen) in the formation of popular sovereignty. Since the category of *vecino* was more social than political and provided a sense of recognition within the whole group, its roots at the local level made it possible for the term to be understood inclusively, defining individuals who cooperated for the common good of the nation and because the right to vote, although basic to the definition of citizenship, was not its only distinctive element (Irurozqui 2005). According to Irurozqui, the concept of *vecino* was what made the transition to modern citizenship possible. The attributes of social mobility and recognition within the community that it had acquired throughout the eighteenth century are what made possible the political milestone in the identification of individualized subjects.

But while the notion of *ciudadano* was the offspring of that of *vecino*, the former did not subordinate the latter. Instead, it made use of its specific social features to unite the two with the abstract conception of liberalism, resulting in a social identification within a collective and political participation as an autonomous subject. For this reason, these two concepts were complementary and not exclusive in terms of how voting was shaped during this time. Because, as has already been noted, this first liberalism did not shun the corporate or community-based consideration of society in any restrictive way, but rather adapted it to the new ways of understanding liberal and representative government. Indeed, what was truly novel here was the irrevocable

idea that political posts were to be elected by means of sovereign vote and not through jurisdictional privilege. That is to say, the shift was in the specific way that representation was exercised and not so much in the subjects who exercised it. Although it was true that in many places the same subjects who were on the old town councils were elected as representatives in the new institutions, this does not obscure the shift in its legal nature. The subjects were the old ones but the representatives were new in their status as officials elected by a liberal representative system that did not consider this right as property. Obviously, access to public office was contingent upon the need for a higher education privy to only a few, but it also depended upon the liberal idea that participation in state government, at any and all levels, was not a question of privilege, but rather of exercising the capacity for representation, and therefore, sovereignty. This conviction was what led to the distinction between active and passive suffrage, since only the most competent could exercise the duties of representing the nation or community. Despite the fact that selective suffrage became more widespread in most of the constitutions from that time, the adoption of the indirect system was what provided the popular strata with the opportunity to participate in politics, since they were generally allowed to vote at the parish level. For this reason, the vital importance of the electoral system established in the Constitution of Cádiz is apparent in all the first Spanish-American constitutions from that time.

It is evident that in many of these constitutions, the requirements for voting at the lowest level were quite lax, required very little income or property, and were achievable for a large percentage of the population. The need to channel this idea of equality, included in the declarations of rights of many of the first Spanish-American constitutions, into racially and ethnically unequal societies made the indirect and voting control systems appear even more necessary. This way of indirectly organizing representation allowed a few popular strata to participate in politics and to exercise rights, people who could hardly have voted in direct and selective systems, as will happen in the nineteenth century. In this way, the indirect system was far from being a limitation on the freedoms and capacities of the popular classes; quite the opposite, it was an instrument for exercising political rights as equals.<sup>17</sup>

Scholars who have studied voting practices have also pointed out the *public* aspect of the act of voting, as a kind of social participation that was unique not only to urban centers but found in rural settings as well. This allowed broad sectors of society to converge on election day, whether they had the right to vote or not, and in many cases voting was done in a setting surrounded by games and festivities that made participation more appealing. For this reason, turning out at the voting stations was a collective act where groups of neighbors went together to vote and to share in the celebrations. The verbal nature of voting and the lack of secrecy in casting one's vote—something also common in Europe—has been used to argue the inaccuracy and corruption of the elections in Spanish America and to deny that these processes from the early nineteenth century might be considered “liberal.” Perhaps because the elections in practice, but not in legislation, during this period shaped a universe in which the traditional and new ways of politics interacted to such an extent as to build a syncretic concept of citizenship that did not correspond with what theorists consider to be liberal ideology. Regardless, their mistake has been to expect the defining elements of what “liberalism” should be to fit perfectly into the complex social, political and economic reality of Spanish America in the early nineteenth century. Indeed, the first Spanish-American constitutionalism had its own unique character and was no less liberal for that reason.

### *Brief conclusion*

My intention for writing this text is to outline some of the research topics covered in the historiography of the first Hispanic liberalism and, specifically, I have described them in the context of

the Cádiz Constitution of 1812 and its significance in Spanish America. Although I have focused on political aspects affected by this Constitution in the context of the Spanish–American independence processes, there are many other topics to be explored in the Hispanic dimension of this first constitutionalism. It is worth noting, however, that the theoretical debates on the political organization of the government and the state and their consequences were, without doubt, the most important that took place at the time.

In this regard, beyond the direct or indirect influence of the Constitution of 1812 in the first Spanish–American constitutional governments, what must be highlighted is the transoceanic—or transnational, for some authors—nature of the Constitution. That is, it was designed and sanctioned to include the diverse and plural group that made up the Spanish monarchy at that time. Furthermore, the international significance that the Cádiz Constitution had at the time is undeniable: it was a milestone not only for the first Spanish–American republics but also for other revolutionary experiences that took place in the first third of the nineteenth century in Europe. So much so, that Cádiz has been spoken of as a “political school,” that is, as a model of constitutional liberalism that influenced not just the legislation and normativization of the new states, but also the practice and awareness of citizens aspiring for a freer and equal society (Butrón Prida and Ramos Santana 2016).

The sanction of national sovereignty with constituent value became a maxim that governments would no longer be willing to relinquish after independence. Therefore, regardless of whether the influence was greater or lesser, or whether there were also other experiences that acted as political models for Spanish America, the truth is that after the Constitution of Cádiz, nothing would ever be the same again.

## Notes

- ★ This work is part of the project funded by MINECO with reference HAR2016-78769-P. Translated by David Yium.
- 1 The Spanish royal family, Charles IV (along with Queen María Luisa) and the heir to the throne Fernando VII, went to the French city of Bayonne to ask Napoleon to recognize one of the two, either the father or son, as king of Spain. Both had proclaimed themselves kings in a riot that took place in March of 1808 but once they reached Bayonne, Napoleon did not recognize either and forced them to abdicate the crown, which he then handed over to his brother Joseph Bonaparte. This power vacuum in the legitimate dynasty in the Spanish crown is what historians call the “*vacatio regis*.”
- 2 *Gaditano* is the name for the inhabitants of the city of Cádiz. Historians use this term to refer to the set of political and constitutional values included in the Constitution of Cádiz of 1812 and in the legislation that emerged from the *Cortes*.
- 3 The republican values emphasized the preeminence of the political community as a whole and the shared freedom among all the members of it (positive freedom). In contrast, liberalism appealed to the supreme value of law and individual freedom (negative freedom) as primary values.
- 4 In the *ancien régime*, Western European societies were legally organized into corporations, groups of citizens who shared interests and had legal and sovereign capacity, such as guilds, parliaments, and so on.
- 5 In the eighteenth century, the Spanish monarchy possessed a constitutional culture that included various Enlightenment languages (that of political economy, for example), in which the community was the subject of sovereignty, and at the same time, the latter was shared between the king and the bodies that made up that community. Among the fundamental laws of this monarchy were the Catholic religion, the unity of the territory, and the moderate monarchical government. These elements were adopted by the new liberal theories and were embedded in a new situation in which sovereignty would lie in the individual. This original community conception of sovereignty is what has been considered by historians to be part of the republican values in the constitutional culture prior to liberalism.
- 6 Iusnaturalism or natural law in the eighteenth century was the political thought that established the rights and freedoms of men as something natural, that is, prior to and superior to any form of state or government and, therefore, belonging to men by nature and not granted by any authority.
- 7 Because, as I have already pointed out, Hispanic liberalism was peculiar insofar as it included and adapted corporate and traditional practices to new individualistic ideas and with defined political subjects.

- 8 A system of dispute resolution among the major European powers that arose after the end of the Napoleonic wars.
- 9 An accommodation strategy employed by Spanish-American insurgents to avoid a royalist backlash.
- 10 The *Carlottistas* insisted that the British threat was on the verge of making Buenos Aires into a “republican government.”
- 11 While Rivadavia negotiated with Great Britain, another envoy from Río de la Plata, Manuel de Sarratea, went to Naples to make an agreement with Charles IV to have the Infante Francisco de Paula sent as future sovereign of a state called “United Kingdom of the Río de la Plata.” This negotiation sought to divide the Spanish royal family and to slow the exit of the Morillo expedition sent initially to Plata. The deal was interrupted and modified by the Napoleonic defeat at Waterloo. Later, Sarratea would go to London to enter into conversations with the Spanish Minister Cevallos under British mediation and to end the Portuguese threat on the territories of the Plata.
- 12 Article 3 of the Constitution of Cádiz said: “The Spanish nation is the reuniting of all Spaniards from both hemispheres.” Likewise, this article can be traced in other Spanish-American Constitutions such as the Colombian Constitution from 1821, the Chilean Constitutions of 1822 and 1823, the Peruvian Constitution of 1823, the Bolivian Constitution of 1826, and the Venezuelan Constitution of 1830.
- 13 This is what Annino called “horizontal independence.”
- 14 It was the deputy from Peru, Ramón Feliu, who uttered these words in a famous speech. The same idea was expressed by the deputy from Costa Rica, Florencio Castillo, who stated that: “If the Cortes represent the Nation, the town councils represent a specific town.”
- 15 This extension of suffrage never included women, unlike what was common in the first European liberal constitutionalism.
- 16 Spain’s mainland possessions around the southern Caribbean and the Gulf of Mexico.
- 17 Recent research has shown that in many places, electoral practices allowed suffrage to be exercised by the different castes in the multiracial American societies, including Indians, *mestizos*, *mulatos*, *zambos* (mixed African and Amerindian ancestry), and blacks. In places like Popayán, the indigenous peoples saw their tributes reduced in recognition of their defense of the king’s cause during the war, while the slaves in the mines negotiated their freedom without giving up their loyalty to the monarchy.

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